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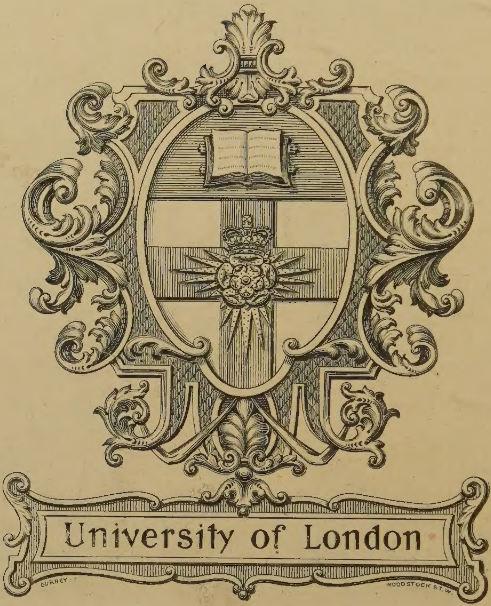

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THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(AUTHORISED EDITION),

FOURTH SERIES

FIRST SESSION OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH PARLIAMENT

OF THE

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

6 EDWARD VII.

VOLUME CLXII.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DAY OF JULY
TO THE FOURTH DAY OF AUGUST, 1906.

ELEVENTH VOLUME OF SESSION

1906.

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CHRONOLOGY OF "THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES."

THE PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY contains all that can be collected of the Legislative History of this country from the Conquest to the close of the XVIIIth Century (1803), 36 vols. The chief sources whence these Debates are derived are the Constitutional History, 24 vols.; Sir Simonds D'Ewes' Journal; Debates of the Commons in 1620 and 1621; Chandler and Timberland's Debates, 22 vols.; Grey's Debates of the Commons, from 1667 to 1694, 10 vols.; Almon's Debates, 24 vols.; Debrett's Debates, 63 vols.; The Hardwicke Papers; Debates in Parliament by Dr. Johnson, &c., &c.

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On Question, Amendment agreed to.

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Moved, "That the Bill do pass."—(*Lord Burghclere.*)

The Earl of Galloway .. 32
Lord Burghclere .. 33

On Question, Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

Labourers (Ireland) Bill [Second Reading].—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Lord Denman .. 33

Moved, "That the Bill be read 2ª."—(*Lord Denman.*)

Lord Ashbourne .. 37
Lord Clonbrock .. 40
The Earl of Dunraven .. 42
The Earl of Arran .. 48
The Earl of Mayo .. 49
The Earl of Crewe .. 50

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

Dogs Bill [Second Reading].—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Earl Carrington .. 54

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*Earl Carrington.*)

The Earl of Onslow .. 55
The Earl of Mayo .. 56

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

House adjourned at Twenty minutes before Eight o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: FRIDAY, 27TH JULY, 1906.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Bacup Corporation Bill; Cork City Railways and Works Bill; Derby Gas Bill; Middlesex County Council (General Powers) Bill; St. John's (Westminster) Improvement Bill; Todmorden Corporation Bill; Tottenham and Edmonton Gas Bill.—Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to .. 57

Folkestone, Sandgate, and Hythe Tramways Bill [Lords].—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments .. 57

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Nettlebed and District Commons (Preservation) Bill [Lords]; Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire Electric Power Bill [Lords].—As amended, considered; to be read the third time 57

South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways Bill [Lords] (by Order).—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 57

Buckhaven, Methil, and Innerleven Burgh Extension Bill [Lords].—Ordered, That, in the case of the Buckhaven, Methil, and Innerleven Burgh Extension Bill [Lords], Standing Orders 82, 211, 236, and 237 be suspended, and that the Committee on the Bill have leave to sit and proceed on Monday next.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*) 57

London Squares and Enclosures Bill [Lords].—Ordered, That, in the case of the London Squares and Enclosures Bill [Lords], Standing Orders 82, 211, 236, and 237 be suspended, and that the Committee on the Bill have leave to sit and proceed on Monday next.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means*) .. 57

Local Government Provisional Order (Housing of Working Classes Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill.—Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to 57

Newburgh and North Fife Railway (Extension of Time) Order Confirmation Bill.—Read the third time, and passed 58

Paisley Roads Order Confirmation Bill.—Considered; to be read the third time upon Monday next 58

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords].—Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next 58

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords].—Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next 58

Gas and Water Orders Comfirmation Bill [Lords].—Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next 58

Tramways Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords].—Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next 58

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [Lords].—Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next 58

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Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [Lords].—Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next. 58

Metropolitan Electric Supply Bill.—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 58

Bute (English and Welsh) Estates Bill [Lords].—Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.
Bill to be read the third time 58

Great Yarmouth Waterworks and Lowestoft Water and Gas Bill [Lords].—Reported [Preamble not proved]; Report to lie upon the Table 59

Private Bills (Group I.).—Mr. Toulmin reported from the Committee on Group I. of Private Bills; That, for the convenience of parties, the Committee had adjourned till Monday next, at Twelve of the clock.

Report to lie upon the Table 59

Message from the Lords.—That they have agreed to—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill; St. Pancras Electricity Bill; Hackney Electricity Bill; London County Council (Money) Bill; South Lincolnshire Water Bill; Hampstead Garden Suburb Bill; Poole Corporation Water Bill, with Amendments.

Amendments to—Prevention of Corruption Bill [Lords]; Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Sewerage Board Bill [Lords], without Amendment 59

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill.—Lords Amendments to be considered upon Monday next 59

PETITIONS.

Education (England and Wales) Bill.—Petitions against; From Barrow on Trent; Kensworth; Lyonsdown; Upper Norwood; and West Hallam; to lie upon the Table 59

Education (England and Wales) Bill (Religious Teaching).—Petitions against alteration of Law; From City of London; Ennerdale (two); Holmebridge; Monyash; and St. Erth; to lie upon the Table 59

Land Values Taxation, Etc., (Scotland) Bill.—Petition from St. Andrews, for alteration; to lie upon the Table 59

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890.—Return [presented July 26th] to be printed. [No. 285.] 60

Post Office (Inland Post).—Copy presented, of the Inland Post Amendment (No. 4) Warrant, 1906, dated June 30th [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 60

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TELEGRAPHS (FOREIGN WRITTEN TELEGRAMS).—Copy presented, of the Telegraph (Foreign Written Telegram) Regulations, 1906, dated July 16th, 1906 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 60

SOUTH AFRICA.—Copy presented, of Reports by the High Commissioner on his visits to Basutoland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate in 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 60

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3681 to 3683 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 60

TRADE REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).—Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Report, Miscellaneous Series, No. 653 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 60

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered July 23rd; *Sir Frederick Banbury*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 286.] 60

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL.—Copy ordered, "of Statement of Particulars of Loans of which the Balances outstanding are proposed to be remitted or written off (in whole or in part) from the Assets of the Local Loans Fund." —(*Mr. McKenna.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 287.] 60

CIVIL SERVANTS (RETIREMENT AT THE AGE OF SIXTY-FIVE).—Copy ordered, "of Treasury Minute, dated the 26th day of July, 1906, stating the circumstances under which certain Civil Servants have been retained in the Service after they have attained the age of Sixty-five; and of the Return therein referred to."—(*Mr. McKenna.*) 61

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

ADMIRALTY ACCOUNTANT-GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman 61

TELEGRAPHISTS AND SUPERVISORY DUTIES IN CENTRAL TELEGRAPH OFFICE, LONDON.—Question, Mr. J. Bethell (Essex, Romford); Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 62

GLASGOW POST OFFICE—MEDICAL OFFICERS.—Question, Mr. James O'Connor (Wicklow, W.); Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 62

ENGLISH CONTRACTOR FOR WICKLOW HARBOUR IMPROVEMENTS.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast S.); Answer, Mr. Bryce 63

VACCINATION EXEMPTION CERTIFICATE—CASE OF MR. HOWARD FARROW.—Question, Mr. Seaverns (Lambeth, Brixton); Answer, Mr. Gladstone .. 63

REFUSAL OF CAMP LEAVE TO VOLUNTEERS IN GLASGOW POST OFFICE.—Question, Mr. Arthur Lee (Hampshire, Fareham); Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton .. 63

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LUNCHEON ACCOMMODATION FOR POSTAL STAFF AT KINGSBRIDGE STATION.—Question, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory); Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 64

CLERKS TO SURVEYORS OF TAXES.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Mr. McKenna 64

NAMES OF BRITISH BATTLESHIPS—THE ADMIRAL CLASS.—Question, Mr. Bellairs (Lynn Regis); Answer, Mr. E. Robertson 65

ORANGE DISTURBANCES AT KEADY, COUNTY ARMAGH.—Question, Mr. McKillop (Armagh, S.); Answer, Mr. Bryce 65

IRISH TENDERS FOR CAST-OFF CLOTHING OF ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Mr. Bryce 66

Education (Provision of Meals) Bill—Consolidated from the Education (Provision of Meals) Bill and the Education (Provision of Meals) (Scotland) Bill. Reported, with Minutes of Evidence, from the Select Committee with Amendments, and with an Amended Title.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 288.]

Bill, as amended, re-committed to a Committee of the Whole House for Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 331.] 66

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (SUPPLY).—Ordered, That on this day, notwithstanding anything in Standing Order No. 15, business other than Business of Supply may be taken before Eleven of the Clock.—(*Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman*) 67

SUPPLY [11TH ALLOTTED DAY, 2ND PART].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. EMMOTT (Oldham) in the Chair.]

NAVY ESTIMATES, 1906–7.

1. £2,407,600, Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, etc.—*Personnel.* *The Secretary to the Admiralty* (*Mr. Edmund Robertson, Dundee*) 67

Mr. Arthur Lee (*Hampshire, Fareham*) 75
Mr. Keir Hardie (*Merthyr Tydvil*) 80
Mr. Lambton (*Durham, S.E.*) 81
Mr. Beauchamp (*Suffolk, Lowestoft*) 82
Captain Hervey (*Bury St. Edmunds*) 85
Mr. Bramsdon (*Portsmouth*) 91
Mr. Courtney Warner (*Staffordshire, Lichfield*) 92
Mr. Bellairs (*Lynn Regis*) 93
Mr. Bowles (*Lambeth, Norwood*) 96
Mr. Bright (*Oldham*) 100
Mr. O. C. Philipps (*Pembroke and Haverfordwest*) 101

Sir Alfred Thomas (*Glamorganshire, E.*) 103
Mr. Maddison (*Burnley*) 104
Mr. A. J. Balfour (*City of London*) 106
The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (*Sir H. Campbell-man, Stirling Burghs*) 114

Vote agreed to.

2. £2,827,200, Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, etc.—*Material.*

3. £8,588,400, Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, etc.—Contract Work.

4. £2,986,000, Naval Armaments.

5. £351,500, Admiralty Office.

Resolutions to be reported.

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS (SUPPLEMENTARY) ESTIMATES, 1906-7—CLASS IV.

—Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £200,000, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Grants towards Expenditure on Public Elementary Schools in England and Wales."

Whereupon Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress; and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Whiteley*)—put, and agreed to.

Resolutions to be reported upon Monday next; Committee also report Progress; to sit again upon Monday next 119

Trade Disputes Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[MR. EMMOTT (Oldham) in the Chair.]

Clause 1.

Mr. Bowles (*Lambeth, Norwood*) 120

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 9, to leave out the words 'contemplation or.'"—(*Mr. Bowles.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Page

The Attorney-General (Sir John Walton, Leeds, S.) 128
Sir E. Carson (Dublin University) 128
Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) 129
Sir E. Carson 130
Mr. Havelock Wilson (Middlesbrough) 130
Sir Frederick Banbury (City of London) 131
Mr. Paul (Northampton) 133
Mr. Hills (Durham) 133
Mr. Parkes (Birmingham, Central) 133

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 319 ; Noes, 48. (Division List, No. 279.)

Mr. Clavell Salter (Hants, Basingstoke) 137

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 10, after the word 'dispute,' to insert the words 'between employers and workmen,' "—(*Mr. Salter.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir John Walton 140
Sir E. Carson 141
Mr. Lyttelton (St. George's, Hanover Square) 143
Mr. Lambton (Durham, S.E.) 144
Mr. Rufus Isaacs (Reading) 144
Mr. Bonar Law (Camberwell, Dulwich) 147
Mr. Clement Edwards (Denbigh District) 148
Mr. Clavell Salter 149

Question put.

The Committee divided : Ayes, 42 ; Noes, 326. (Division List No. 280.)

Lord R. Cecil (Marylebone, E.) 155

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 10, after the word 'dispute,' to insert the words 'for the purpose of lawful gain or the enjoyment of lawful right.' "—(*Lord Robert Cecil.*)

Sir John Walton 156
Sir Francis Powell (Wigan) 157
Sir Frederick Banbury 158
Lord R. Cecil 159

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Sir Frederick Banbury 161

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 10, after the word 'dispute,' to insert the words 'as to wages or other conditions of labour.' "—(*Sir Frederick Banbury.*)

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Mr. Stuart Wortley (*Sheffield, Hallam*) 161
Sir John Walton 162
Lord R. Cecil 162

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 30 ; Noes, 289. (Division List No. 281.)

Sir Frederick Banbury 165

Amendment proposed—

" In page 1, line 10, after the word ' actionable,' to insert the words ' unless damage has been caused or.' "—(*Sir Frederick Banbury.*)

Question proposed, " That those words be there inserted."

Sir John Walton 167
Sir E. Carson 167
Mr. Bowles 168

Question put and negatived.

Mr. Atherley-Jones (*Durham, N.W.*) 168

Amendment proposed—

" In page 1, line 12, to leave out the words ' actionable as a tort,' and to insert the words ' a criminal offence.' "—(*Mr. Atherley-Jones.*)

Question proposed, " That the word ' actionable ' stand part of the Clause."

Sir J. Walton 170

Amendment negatived.

Mr. Bowles 172

Amendment proposed.

" In page 1, line 12, at end, to insert the words ' provided always that nothing in this section shall prevent an action being brought in respect of an act done in pursuance of a malicious intention to injure another person.' "—(*Mr. Bowles.*)

Question proposed, " That those words be there inserted."

Question put, and negatived.

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That Clause 1 stand part of the Bill."

Lord R. Cecil 174
Sir J. Walton 174
Mr. Rawlinson (*Cambridge University*) 176
Sir Frederick Banbury 177
Mr. Lyttelton 180

Question put.

The Committee divided—Ayes, 313; Noes, 33. (Division List, No. 282.)

Mr. Bowles 183

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 13, after the word 'persons,' to insert the words 'not exceeding three.'"—(*Mr. Bowles.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be inserted."

Sir J. Walton 187
Viscount Turnour (Sussex, Horsham) 187
Mr. Parkes (Birmingham, Central) 188
Mr. F. E. Smith (Liverpool, Walton) 189
Mr. Shackleton (Lancashire, Clitheroe) 193
Sir E. Carson 195
Mr. Evelyn Cecil (Aston Manor) 195
Sir J. Walton 196
Mr. Keir Hardie (Merthyr Tydvil) 197
Sir J. Walton 198
Sir E. Carson 198
Mr. Rufus Isaacs 199

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL rose in his place and claimed to move, "That the question be now put."

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 319; Noes, 49. (Division List No. 283.)

Question, "That the words 'not exceeding three' be there inserted," put accordingly, and negatived.

Sir E. Carson 203
The Patronage Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. George Whiteley, Yorks., W.R., Pudsey) 203

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress; and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Sir Edward Carson*)—put, and agreed to.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon Monday next.

Adjournment,—Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn until To-morrow."—(*Mr. Whiteley*)—put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at five minutes before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: SATURDAY, 28TH JULY, 1906.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Perth Corporation Gas Order Confirmation Bill.—"To confirm a Provisional Order under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Perth Corporation Gas," presented by Mr. Sinclair, and ordered (under Section 7 of the Act) to be considered upon Monday next.

Inverclyde Bequest Order Confirmation Bill.—"To confirm a Provisional Order under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to the Inverclyde Bequest," presented by Mr. Sinclair, and ordered (under Section 7 of the Act) to be considered upon Monday next 205

PETITIONS.

BETTING AND GAMBLING.—Petition from West Ham, for legislation; to lie upon the Table 205

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.—Petitions against: From Deddington; and Ossington; to lie upon the Table 205

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL (RELIGIOUS TEACHING).—Petition from Prestwich, against alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 205

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.—Two Petitions from St. Helens, for alteration; to lie upon the Table 205

POISONS AND PHARMACY BILL [LORDS].—Petitions from Sunderland, for alteration; to lie upon the Table 205

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD.—Copy presented, of Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Local Government Board, 1905–6 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 205

METROPOLITAN WATER BOARD.—Copy presented, of Second Annual Report of the Metropolitan Water Board for the year ending 31st March, 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 205

ALKALI, ETC., WORKS REGULATION ACTS, 1881 AND 1892.—Copy presented, of Forty-second Annual Report on Alkali, etc., Works by the Chief Inspector, being for 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 289] 205

FACTORY AND WORKSHOPS ACTS (PERIOD OF EMPLOYMENT).—Copy presented, of Order dated 24th July, 1906, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in pursuance of Section 36 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, revoking an Order of the 12th January, 1884, and granting a special exception as regards the period of employment of women and young persons in Factories in the county of London, in which letterpress bookbinding is carried on [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 205

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FACTORY AND WORKSHOPS ACTS (PERIOD OF EMPLOYMENT).—Copy presented, of Order, dated 24th July, 1906, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in pursuance of Section 36 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, revoking certain previous Orders, and granting a special exception for a period of one year as regards the hours of employment of women and young persons in certain classes of Factories and Workshops [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 205

CIVIL SERVANTS (RETIREMENT AT THE AGE OF SIXTY-FIVE).—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 27th July; *Mr. McKenna*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 290] 205

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

SCOTTISH CHURCHES COMMISSION—SUGGESTED INTERIM REPORT.—Question, Sir T. Glen-Coats (Renfrewshire, W.); Answer, Mr. Sinclair 207

DATE OF TRANSFER OF TREASURY OFFICIAL TO BOARD OF EDUCATION.—Question, Mr. Staveley Hill (Staffordshire, Kingswinford); Answer, Mr. Birrell .. 207

MADRAS ESTATES LAND BILL.—Question, Mr. Rees (Montgomery Borough); Answer, Mr. Morley 207

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

ROSYTH WATER SUPPLY.—Question, Major Anstruther-Gray (St. Andrew's Burghs); Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Edmund Robertson, Dundee) 208

H.M.S. "MONTAGU."—Question, Mr. Courthope (Sussex, Rye); Answer, Mr. Edmund Robertson 208

SUBSIDISED LINERS.—Question, Mr. Fell (Great Yarmouth); Answer, Mr. Edmund Robertson 208

ARMY HORSES.—Question, Major Anstruther-Gray; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Haldane, Haddington) 209

RESERVE OF GUNS AND AMMUNITION.—Question, Mr. Fell; Answer, Mr. Haldane 209

ARMY ESTIMATES.—Question, Mr. Fell and Lord Balcarres (Lancashire, Chorley); Answers, Mr. Haldane 209

THE BRIGADE OF GUARDS.—Questions, Mr. Courthope; Answers, Mr. Haldane 210

ENNISKILLEN MILITARY STATION.—Question, Mr. Fetherstonhaugh (Fermanagh N.); Answer, Mr. Haldane 211

CHINESE COOLIE REPATRIATION.—Question, Mr. Fetherstonhaugh; Answer The Under-Secretary for the Colonies (Mr. Churchill, Manchester, N.W.) .. 211

EXTENSION OF LAGOS RAILWAY.—Question, Mr. Mitchell-Thomson (Lanarkshire, N.W.); Answer, Mr. Churchill 211

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RAILWAY EXTENSION IN SOUTHERN NIGERIA.—Question, Mr Mitchell-Thomson Answer, Mr Churchill 212

RELIGIOUS PROCESSIONS IN MALTA.—Questions, Mr. T. L. Corbett (Down, N.) and Mr. Nield (Middlesex, Ealing); Answers, Mr. Churchill 212

VENEZUELAN TARIFFS.—Question, Mr. Mitchell-Thomson; Answer, The Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Runciman, Dewsbury) (for Sir E. Grey) 213

BRITISH SHIPOWNERS' CLAIMS AGAINST RUSSIA.—Question, Mr. Claude Hay (Shoreditch, Hoxton); Answer, Mr. Runciman 214

TEA DUTY REBATES.—Question, Mr. Nield; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Asquith, Fifeshire, E.) 214

UNPRODUCTIVE PRISON LABOUR.—Question, Mr. Claude Hay; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Gladstone, Leeds, W.) .. 215

SOUTH WALES—SUPERINTENDING INSPECTOR OF MINES.—Questions, Mr. Staveley Hill (Staffordshire, Kingswinford) and Lord Balcarres; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 215

INSURANCE AGAINST WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.—Questions, Mr. Cochrane (Ayrshire, N.); Answers, Mr. Gladstone 216

CASE OF DR. JOHN BATE BAWDEN.—Question, Mr. Bowles (Lambeth, Norwood); Answer, Mr. Gladstone 216

CAPTAIN CLIVE BIGHAM AND THE MOTOR CAR COMMISSION.—Question, Mr. Nield; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 217

BALLYSADARE BAY, FORESHORE.—Question, Mr. Fetherstonhaugh; Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Lloyd-George, Carnarvon Boroughs) 217

LANCASHIRE JUSTICES.—Question, Mr. Claude Hay; Answer, The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Henry Fowler, Wolverhampton, E.) .. 218

NEW WAR OFFICE.—Question, Mr. Claude Hay; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Harcourt, Lancashire, Rossendale) 218

VICTORIA MEMORIAL.—Questions, Mr. Claude Hay; Answers, Mr. Harcourt .. 218

UNPRODUCTIVE LABOUR IN SCOTTISH PRISONS.—Question, Mr. Claude Hay; Answer, The Secretary for Scotland (Mr. Sinclair, Forfarshire) 218

GERMAN GIPSIES IN SCOTLAND.—Question, Mr. Mitchell-Thomson; Answer, Mr. Sinclair.. 219

DUBLIN REVALUATION.—Question, Mr. Fetherstonhaugh; Answer, Mr. Asquith 219

ROYAL COMMISSIONS.—Questions, Mr. Claude Hay; Answers, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Stirling Burghs) 219

TRAFFIC BOARD FOR LONDON.—Question, Mr. Claude Hay; Answer, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman 220

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THE STIBBERT BEQUEST.—Questions, Mr. Claude Hay; Answers, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman 220

THE NATIONAL GALLERY.—Question, Mr. Claude Hay; Answer, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman 220

INDO-CHINESE OPIUM TRAFFIC.—Questions, Mr. T. L. Corbett; Answers, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman 221

National Galleries of Scotland Bill.—Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. Gulland (Dumfries Burghs) 222
Mr. Smeaton (Stirlingshire) 226

Amendment proposed—

" To leave out from the word ' That ' to the end of the Question, in order to add the words ' this House regrets that this Bill does not follow the recommendation of the Departmental Committee of 1903 for the appointment of a representative rather than a nominated Board.' "—(*Mr. Gulland*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, " That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. Munro Ferguson (Leith Burghs) 228
Sir John Tuke (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities) 230
Mr. Akers-Douglas (Kent, St. Augustine's) 232
The Secretary for Scotland (Mr. Sinclair, Forfarshire) 234
Mr. Butcher (Cambridge University) 240
Mr. Crombie (Kincardineshire) 242
Lord Balcarres (Lancashire, Chorley) 243
Mr. Pirie (Aberdeen, N.) 245
Mr. R. Duncan (Lanarkshire, Govan) 245
Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.) 245
Mr. Mitchell-Thomson (Lanarkshire, N.W.) 246
Mr. J. M. Henderson (Aberdeenshire, W.) 247
Mr. Cochrane (Ayrshire, N.) 248
Mr. A. Dewar (Edinburgh, S.) 251
Mr. Morton (Sutherland) 253
Sir Henry Craik (Glasgow and Aberdeen University) 255
Mr. Claude Hay (Shoreditch, Hoxton) 256
Mr. Beale (Ayrshire, S.) 257

Question put, and agreed to.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for Tuesday, 23rd October.

Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill.

Mr. Sinclair 257

Motion made and Question proposed, " That leave be given to introduce a Bill to encourage the formation of small agricultural holdings and to amend the Law relating to the tenure of such holdings (including crofters' holdings) in Scotland ; and for other purposes connected therewith."—(*Mr. Sinclair.*)

Mr. Cochrane (Ayrshire, N.) 266
Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty) 270
Mr. Cathcart Wason (Orkney and Shetland) 271
Mr. Munro Ferguson (Leith Burghs) 272
Mr. Morton (Sutherlandshire) 274
Mr. R. L. Harmsworth (Caithness-shire) 275
Mr. Ainsworth (Argyllshire) 275
Mr. Wilkie (Dundee) 276
Mr. Halley Stewart (Greenock) 276
Mr. Molteno (Dumfrieshire) 277

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Sinclair and the Lord-Advocate.

Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill.—" To encourage the formation of small agricultural holdings and to amend the Law relating to the tenure of such holdings (including crofters' holdings) in Scotland ; and for other purposes connected therewith," presented accordingly, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Tuesday, 23rd October, and to be printed. [Bill 332.]

Fatal Accidents and Sudden Deaths Inquiry (Scotland) Bill.—As amended (by Standing Committee), considered.

New clause—

" Where upon the report of the procurator fiscal in regard to any fatal accident to which The Fatal Accidents Inquiry (Scotland) Act, 1895, applies, the Lord-Advocate shall be satisfied that all the facts have been ascertained, and that a public inquiry could serve no useful purpose and has not been requested by any relative of the deceased or other party interested, he may direct the procurator-fiscal that it is unnecessary to apply for a public inquiry, and in such case no public inquiry shall be held. Section 4 of this Act shall not apply in the case of any fatal accident occurring in connection with any work to which the Factory and Workshop Act of 1901 applies, or in or about any mine, quarry, or railway."—(*Mr. Younger.*)

Brought up and read a first time.

Motion made and Question proposed, " That the Clause be read a second time."

The Lord-Advocate (Mr. Thomas Shaw, Hawick Burghs) 278

Question put and negatived.

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New Clause :—

"Sub-section 10 of Section 4 of The Fatal Accidents Inquiry (Scotland) Act, 1895, is hereby repealed, and in lieu thereof, be it enacted as follows, videlicet : The jury shall be cited by the sheriff clerk from the sheriff court jury book in the manner provided by statute for the citation of jurors in civil cases in Scoltand, and the existing statutory provisions relative to fines for non-attendance of jurors and to the swearing of jurors shall apply to inquiries under this Act ; but no person shall be summoned to attend to serve as a juror in any inquiry held under this Act who resides beyond such distances from the court-house or other building at which the inquiry is held as may from time to time be fixed by the several sheriffs of the several counties, with the approbation of the Secretary for Scotland."—(*Mr. Mitchell-Thomson.*)

Brought up and read a first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

Mr. Thomas Shaw 279

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause read a second time, and added to the Bill.

Amendment proposed to the Bill.

"In page 1, line 12, leave out 'workman.'"—(*Mr. Mitchell Thomson.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. Younger (*Ayr Burghs*) 279

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 23, at end, to add 'Provided that not less than seven days' notice shall be given by the Procurator-fiscal to any person or persons affected thereby that evidence is to be adduced by him at the inquiry such fault or negligence, or precautions or defects in the system working.'"—(*Mr. Younger.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

Mr. Thomas Shaw 280
Mr. Mitchell Thomson 281
Mr. Morton 282
Mr. Cochrane 283
Mr. Thomas Shaw 284

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed,—

"In Clause 3 to leave out section 2 hereof and insert 'this Act.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

Adjournment,—Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Whiteley*,)—put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at eight minutes after Six o'clock till Monday next

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HOUSE OF LORDS, MONDAY, 30TH JULY, 1906.

Several Lords took the Oath.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Pontrefract Corporation Bill.—Read 3^{a}, with the Amendments; further Amendments made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons 285

Sutton District Water Bill.—Read 3^{a}, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons 285

Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill..—Read 3^{a}, with the Amendments; further Amendments made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons .. 285

Electric Lighting Proviisonal Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [H.L.]; Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments .. 285

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]; Tramways Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments 285

Folkestone, Sandgate. and Hythe Tramways Bill [H.L.]; South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to 285

Local Government Provisional Order (Housing of Working Classes Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendment agreed to 285

Nuwburgh and North Fife Railway (Extention of Time) Order Confirmation Bill (No. 185); Paisley Roads Order Confirmation Bill (No. 186); Inverclyde Bequest Order Confirmation Bill (No. 187); Perth Corporation Gas Order Confirmation Bill, (No. 188). Read 1^{a}; to be printed; and (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899) deemed to have been read 2^{a} (The Lord Hamilton of Dalzell), and reported from the Committee 285

Local Government Provisional Orders Gas Bill.—Brought from the Commons. Read 3^{a} (according to order), with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons 286

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Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill; Bacup Corporation Bill; Cork City Railways and Works Bill; Derby Gas Bill; Middlesex County Council (General Powers) Bill; St. John's (Westminster) Improvement Bill; Todmorden Corporation Bill; Tottenham and Edmonton Gas Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to .. 286

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION.—Petition to be allowed to continue to give Church of England teachinge in schools; of—

Teachers in non-provided schools of Higham Ferrers.

Read, and ordered to lie on the Table 286

Petition against abolition of the voluntary school system; of—

Inhabitants of Burythorpe.

Read, and ordered to lie on the Table 286

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

COLONIES: ANNUAL.

No. 488. Gold Coast: Report for 1905 286

CHARITABLE DONATIONS AND BEQUESTS (IRELAND).—Sixty-first Annual Report of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland .. 286

RAILWAY COMPANIES.—Returns of the capital, traffic, receipts, and working expenditure of the railway companies of the United Kingdom for the year 1905; with a general report thereon and summary tables for a series of years .. 286

STATISTICS (COLONIES).—Statistical Tables relating to British Colonies, Possessions, and Protectorates. Part XXIX., 1904 287

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.—Fiftieth Report of His Majesty's Civil Servic Commissioners, with appendix 287

PUBLIC WORKS (IRELAND).—Seventy-fourth Annual Report of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, with appendices, for the year ended March 31st, 1906 287

INLAND REVENUE.—Forty-ninth Report of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Inland Revenue, for the year ended March 31st, 1906 287

TRADE REPORTS: ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3684. Muscat 287

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD.—Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Local Government Board, 1905–1906.

Presented [by Command]; and ordered to lie on the Table 287

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NAVY (PAY).—List of exceptions to the King's Regulations as to pay, non-effective pay, and allowances, sanctioned by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, with the approval of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, pursuant to the Order in Council, dated December 19th, 1881, during the year 1905–1906 287

ALKALI, ETC., WORKS REGULATION ACTS, 1881 AND 1892.—Forty-second Annual Report on Alkali, etc., Works by the chief inspector; proceedings during the year 1905 287

METROPOLITAN WATER BOARD.—Annual Report of the Proceedings of the Metropolitan Water Board, and abstract of their accounts for the year ended March 31st, 1905 287

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP (PERIOD OF EMPLOYMENT).—Orders, dated July 24th, 1906, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in pursuance of Section 36 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901—

Revoking certain previous orders and granting a special exception for a period of one year as regards the hours of employment of women and young persons in certain classes of factories and workshops.

Revoking an Order of January 12th, 1884, and granting a special exception as regards the period of employment of women and young persons in factories in the county of London in which letterpress bookbinding is carried on.. 287

LONDON CORPORATION.—Annual Accounts of the Chamberlain of London, for the year 1905 288

CLERGY (WEST INDIES).—Return of the amount payable on January 5th, 1906, out of the Consolidated Fund for ecclesiastical purposes in the West Indies 288

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.—Return for the year ended March 31st, 1906, of the Army and Navy Officers permitted under Rule 2 of the regulations drawn up under Section 6 of the Act to hold civil employment of profit under public departments.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act); and ordered to lie on the Table 288

RATEABLE HEREDITAMENTS.—Return respecting: Laid before the House (pursuant to order of May 4th last), and to be printed. (No. 183) 288

Fatal Accidents and Sudden Deaths Inquiry (Scotland) Bill.—Brought from the Commons and read 1ª, and to be printed. (No. 184) 288

THE SHIPBUILDING PROGRAMME.

Lord Brassey 288
Earl Cawdor 291
The First Lord of the Admiralty (*Lord Tweedmouth*) 299
The Earl of Camperdown 307
Lord Ellenborough 311
Lord Ampthill 313
Viscount Goschen 313
Lord Eversley 318

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IRRIGATION IN CEYLON.

Lord Stanmore 324

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty for correspondence between the Colonial Office and the Governor of Ceylon on the subject of irrigation works in that island."—(*Lord Stanmore.*)

The Secretary of State for the Colonies (*The Earl of Elgin*) 325

On Question, Motion agreed to, and ordered accordingly.

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER.—The Lords following were named of the Select Committee—M. Cholmondeley, E. Carlisle, E. Lytton, E. Plymouth, L. Stanmore.

The Committee to meet on Wednesday next at Twelve o'clock, and to appoint their own chairman.

Post Office (Literature for the Blind) Bill.—SECOND READING.—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

The Earl of Granard 326

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl of Granard.*)

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow.

LECKHAMPTON HILL RIOTS.

Earl Russell 327
Earl Beauchamp 327

LOUPING, ILL, AND BRAXY.

The Duke of Northumberland 328
The President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (*Earl Carrington*) 329

Charitable Loan Societies (Ireland) Bill.— Read 2ª (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow.

Revenue Bill.—Read 2ª (according to order), Committee negatived; Bill to be read 3ª to-morrow.

Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Bill.—Order of the day read for the House going into Committee.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee."—(*Earl Carrington.*)

Lord Clifford of Chudleigh 330
Earl Carrington 330
Lord Burghclere 331
The Lord Privy Seal (*The Marquess of Ripon*) 331
Lord Burghclere 332

On Question, Motion agreed to.

House in Committee (according to Order).

Clause 1:—

Earl Carrington 332

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, to leave out from the word 'phosphates' in line 10, to the word 'insoluble' in line 12."—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 2:—

Drafting Amendments agreed to.

Clause 2 as amended, agreed to.

Clause 3:—

Earl Carrington 332

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 16, to leave out the word 'samples' and to insert the words 'a sample.'"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

Lord Burghclere 333
Earl Carrington 333

On Question Amendment agreed to.

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 21, after the word 'later' to insert as a new sub-section :—(3) Where a sample has been taken with a view to the institution of any civil or criminal proceeding, the person taking the sample shall divide the sample into three parts, and shall cause each part to be marked, sealed, and fastened up, and shall deliver or send by post two parts to the agricultural analyst and one part to the seller."—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, lines 23 and 24, to leave out the words 'shall divide the sample into two and,' and to insert '(a) if the sample has not been divided into parts and the parts marked, sealed, and fastened up as

hereinbefore mentioned, shall send a copy of the certificate of his analysis to the person who submitted the sample for analysis; and (b) if the sample has been so divided into parts.' "—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Drafting Amendments agreed to.

Earl Carrington 334

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 28, after 'and' to insert 'in every case to the seller and.' "—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 30, after the word 'analysis,' to insert the words provided that if the agricultural analyst does not know the name and address of the seller, he shall send the certificate intended for the seller to the purchaser, to be by him forwarded to the seller.' "—(*Earl Carington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 39, after the word 'witness,' to insert the words provided that this sub-section shall not apply (a) where the sample has been taken otherwise than in the prescribed manner; or (b) where the sample has not been divided into parts, and the parts marked, sealed and fastened up as hereinbefore mentioned.' "—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Earl Carrington 334

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 40, after the word 'proceeding,' to insert the words 'other than a proceeding which cannot be instituted until an analysis has been made and a certificate given by the chief analyst.' "—(*Earl Carrington.*)

Lord Clifford of Chudleigh 335

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Consequential Amendments agreed to.

Clause 3, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 4.

Amendment moved—

> "In page 4, line 26, after 'him' to insert the words 'or at his request.'"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 4, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 5 agreed to.

Clause 6.

Lord Clifford of Chudleigh 336

Amendment moved—

> "To leave out subsection (3)."—(*Lord Clifford of Chudleigh*).

Lord Burghclere 337
The Marquess of Londonderry 337
The Earl of Mayo 338
The Earl of Onslow 338
Earl Carrington 338

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Earl Carrington 339

Amendment moved—

> "In page 6, line 3, after the word 'Fisheries," to insert the words 'and the Board shall not give such consent until the part of the sample retained by the agricultural analyst has been analysed and a certificate of analysis given by the chief analyst.'"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 6, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 7 :—

Amendment moved—

> "In page 6, line 14, to leave out from the word 'Act' to the word 'he' in line 19."—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 7, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 8 agreed to.

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Clause 9:—

Earl Carrington 340

Amendment moved—

"In page 7, line 9, at the end, to add the words, 'But the proceedings may be taken as well before a Court having jurisdiction in the place where the purchaser of the article to which the invoice or description relates resides or carries on business as before a Court having jurisdiction in the place where the invoice or description was given.'"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 9, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 10:—

Amendment moved—

"In page 7, line 16, to leave out from the word 'citric' to the end of line 17, and to insert the words 'acid or other solvent of the prescribed strength.'"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

Lord Clifford of Chudleigh 341
Earl Carrington 341

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Amendment moved—

"In line 17, after the word 'prescribed' to insert the words 'and the percentage of soluble phosphates and percentage of insoluble phosphates mean respectively the percentage of tribasic phosphate of lime which has been, and that which has not been rendered soluble.'"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 10, as amended, agreed to.

Remaining Clauses agreed to.

Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received to-morrow, and Bill to be printed as amended. (No. 189.)

Post Office Sites Bill.—Reported, without Amendment, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow. 341

Open Spaces Bill.—House in Committee (according to order).

Clause 1:—

The Earl of Meath 342

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, line 8, after the first word, 'any,' to insert the word 'administrative,' and after the second 'any' to insert the word 'county'"—(*The Earl of Meath.*)

Earl Carrington 342

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 1 agreed to.

Clause 2:—

Earl Carrington 343

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 3, after the word 'discharged,' to insert the words 'either absolutely, or if the grant was for a term of years or other limited interest during the continuance of that interest.'"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 2, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 3 to 13 agreed to.

Clause 14:—

The Earl of Meath 343

Amendment moved—

"In page 8, line 38, after the word 'support,' to insert the words 'or acquisition.'"—(*The Earl of Meath.*)

Earl Carrington 344

Clause 14 agreed to.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clauses 15 and 16 agreed to.

Clause 17:—

The Earl of Meath 345

Amendment moved—

"In page 10, line 22, after paragraph (*e*) to insert the following new paragraph:—'(*f*) In the case of the City of London, out of the metage on grain duty or otherwise, or out of the consolidated rate of the City.'"—(*The Earl of Meath.*)

Earl Carrington 346

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Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 17 agreed to.

Remaining Clauses agreed to.

Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow, and Bill to be printed as amended. (No. 190.)

Labourers (Ireland) Bill.—House in Committee (according to Order).

Clauses 1, 2, and 3, agreed to.

Clause 4:—

Lord Oranmore and Browne 346

Amendment moved—

"To leave out Clause 4."—(*Lord Oranmore and Browne.*)

The Earl of Arran 348
Lord Denman 349
Lord Ashbourne 349
Lord Hemphill 349
The Marquess of Lansdowne 350
Lord Killanin 351
The Lord President of the Council (*The Earl of Crewe*) 351
The Marquess of Londonderry 352
The Earl of Dunraven 353
The Earl of Mayo 354

On Question whether the clause to be left out shall stand part of the Bill, their Lordships divided:—Contents, 32; Not-Contents, 78.

Clause 4 accordingly disagreed to.

Clause 5 agreed to.

Clause 6:—

Lord Ashbourne 355
Lord Denman 358
Lord Ashbourne 359

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 30, after the second word 'scheme,' to insert the words 'unless it appears that the particular holding or estate has been selected for an indirect purpose,'"—(*Lord Ashbourne.*)

Lord Denman 360
Lord Ashbourne 361

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Lord Ashbourne 361

Amendment moved—

"To leave out sub-section (5)."—(*Lord Ashbourne.*)

The Earl of Crewe .. 362
Lord Ashbourne .. 362

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 6, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 7 and 8 agreed to.

Clause 9:—

Lord Killanin .. 362

Amendment moved—

"In page 5, line 5, after the word 'may,' to insert the words 'with the concurrence of the county council.' "—(*Lord Killanin.*)

Lord Denman .. 364

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 9 agreed to.

Clause 10 agreed to.

Clause 11:—

Lord Dunboyne .. 365
Lord Ashbourne .. 366
Lord Denman .. 367
Lord Clonbrock .. 367

Amendment moved—

"To leave out sub-clause 9."—(*Lord Clonbrock.*)

The Earl of Arran .. 367
Lord Denman .. 368
Lord Clonbrock .. 368
Lord Zouche of Haryngworth .. 369
Lord Hemphill .. 370
Lord Clonbrock .. 371
Lord Dunraven .. 371
The Earl of Arran .. 372
Lord Joicey .. 372
The Marquess of Lansdowne .. 372
The Earl of Crewe .. 373
Lord Londonderry .. 374
The Earl of Donoughmore .. 373

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On Question, whether the sub-section proposed to be left out stand part of the clause, their Lordships divided :—Contents, 32 ; not-contents, 86.

The Earl of Donoughmore 377

Amendment moved—

" In page 7, line 41, after the word ' pounds,' to insert ' unless the Court shall otherwise order.' "—(*The Earl of Donoughmore.*)

Lord Denman 379
The Earl of Donoughmore 379
The Earl of Crewe 379

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 11, as amended, agreed to.

Lord Clonbrock 380

New clause—

" A person shall be disqualified for being elected, or chosen, or being a member of a district council if he is the tenant to that council of a cottage or any land provided under the Labourers Acts. If any such person shall become such tenant when a member of any such council his seat shall be, *ipso facto*, vacated."—(*Lord Clonbrock.*)

Brought up and read 1ª.

Moved, " That the clause be read 2ª."

Lord Denman 380

New clause, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 12 agreed to.

Clause 13 :—

Earl of Mayo 380
Lord Denman 381

Clause 13 agreed to.

Clauses 15, 16 and 17 agreed to.

Clause 18 :—

Marquess of Londonderry 381
The Earl of Crewe 381
The Marquess of Londonderry 382

Clause 18 agreed to.

Clause 19 :—

The Earl of Donoughmore 383

Amendment moved—

"In page 10, line 35, to leave out the words 'or by the son of any such labourer.'"—(*The Earl of Donoughmore.*)

Lord Denman 383

On Question, Amendment negatived.

The Earl of Donoughmore 384

Amendment moved—

"In page 10, line 37, after the word 'made' to insert the words 'and that the applicant has paid all rent due by him in respect of such tenancy.'"—(*The Earl of Donoughmore.*)

The Earl of Crewe 384

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 19, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 20 to 23 agreed to.

Clause 24 :—

Lord Inchiquin 385

Amendment moved—

"In page 11, line 39, after 'Council' insert 'Provided that the owner of the estate has consented to his being so deemed."—(*Lord Inchiquin.*)

Lord Denman 386

Lord Ashbourne 386

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 24, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 25 :

The Earl of ayo 38

Amendment moved—

"In page 12, line 5, after the word 'exists' to insert the words 'for carts and other vehicles.'"—(*The Earl of Mayo.*)

Lord Denman 389

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On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 25, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 26 and 27 agreed to.

The Earl of Donoughmore 389

New Clause—

"The notice of any proposed scheme served upon the owner or occupier of any land proposed to be taken otherwise than by agreement shall have attached thereto a map or plan, sufficient to enable the person so served to identify the portion of land proposed to be so taken.' "—(*The Earl of Donoughmore.*)

Brought up, and read 1ª.

Moved, "That the clause be read 2ª."

Lord Denman 389

On Question, put and agreed to.

Clause read 2ª, and added to the Bill.

Clause 28 :—

Lord Killanin 390

Amendment moved—

"To leave out sub-section (2)."—(*Lord Killanin.*)

Lord Denman 390

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 28 agreed to.

Clause 29 agreed to.

Clause 30 :—

Lord Ashbourne 391

Amendments moved—

"In page 13, line 18, after the word 'may,' to insert the words 'subject to the provisions of this Act,'; In page 13, line 20, after the word 'may,' to insert the words 'the Local Government Board, after consultation with the President of the Incorporated Law Society, may make rules on the subject, as aforesaid.' "—(*Lord Ashbourne.*)

On Question, Amendments agreed to.

Clause 30, as amended, agreed to.

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Clause 31 :—

Amendment moved—

"In page 13, line 32, to leave out the words 'of an inspector.'"—(*Lord Ashbourne.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 31, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 32 agreed to.

Clause 33 :—

The Earl of Mayo 391

Amendment moved—

"In page 14, line 14, to leave out the words 'whether they adjoin or not.'"—(*The Earl of Mayo.*)

Lord Denman 392
Lord Ashbourne 392
Lord Hemphill 392
The Earl of Mayo 393
The Earl of Crewe 393
The Marquess of Lansdowne 393

Amendment by leave withdrawn.

Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow, and Bill, to be printed as amended. (No. 191.)

Dean Forest Bill.—House in Committee (according to Order).

Bill reported without Amendment: Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3ª to-morrow 359

Dogs Bill.—House in Committee (according to Order.)

Clause 1 :—

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, lines 1 and 2, to leave out Sub-section 4."—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Lord Clifford of Chudleigh 395

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, line 3, to leave out the word 'sheep' and insert the word 'cattle'"—(*Lord Clifford of Chudleigh.*)

Earl Carrington 396

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Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, line 3, to leave out the words 'chased or' and to insert the words 'injure cattle or chased."—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 2, agreed to.

Clause 3 :—

Earl Carrington 397

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 9, after the word 'dog' to insert the words 'so seized.'"—(*Earl Beauchamp.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Amendment moved—

"To insert (6) The chief officer of police of a police area shall keep, or cause to be kept, one or more registers of all dogs seized under this section in that area which are not transferred to an establishment for the reception of stray dogs. The register shall contain a brief description of the dog, the date of seizure, and particulars as to the manner in which the dog is disposed of, and every such register shall be open to inspection at all reasonable times by any member of the public on payment of a fee of one shilling. (7) The police shall not dispose of any dog seized under this section by transferring it to an establishment for the reception of stray dogs unless a register is kept for that establishment containing such particulars as to dogs received in the establishment as are above mentioned, and such register is open to inspection by the public on payment of a fee not exceeding one shilling."—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Amendment moved—

"In lines 27 and 28 to leave out the words 'arising from the sale, or received from the owner, of any dog in pursuance of,' and to insert the words 'received by the police under.'"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Drafting Amendments made.

Clauses 3 and 4 agreed to.

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Clause 5 :—

Amendment moved—

"In page 4, line 11, to leave out the words 'are duly complied with on the part of' and to insert the words 'apply in the case.'"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 5, as amended agreed to.

Clause 6 :—

Amendment moved—

"In page 4, line 23, after 'any' to insert the words 'head of.'"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 6, as amended, agreed to,

Clause 7 :—

The Earl of Camperdown 398

Clause 7 agreed to.

Clause 8 :—

Drafting Amendments agreed to.

Amendment moved—

"In page 4, line 19, after paragraph (*c*), to insert the following paragraph '(*d*) Orders under Section 2 of this Act may permit the name and address of the owner of the dog to be inscribed in Irish characters.'"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

Lord Ashbourne 399
Earl Carrington 399

On Question, Amendment negatived.

New clause :—

"In this Act the expression 'cattle' includes horses, mules, asses, sheep, goats and swine."—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, new clause agreed to, and added to the Bill

Bill of Exchange Act (1882) Amendment Bill.—Read 3ª (according to order), and passed.. 401

Isle of Man (Customs) Bill.—Read 3ª (according to order), and passed .. 401

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Deanery of Manchester Bill.—Order of the day for Second Reading read

The Lord Privy Seal (*The Marquess of Ripon*) 401

On Question, Bill read 2ª (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow

Crown Lands Bill.—Read 2ª (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow 401

Education (England and Wales) Bill.—Education (England and Wales) Bill. Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª on Wednesday next. (The Lord President [*E. Crewe*]). (No. 182.) 401

House adjourned at a quarter before One o'clock a.m. till a quarter past Four o'clock p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: MONDAY, 30TH JULY, 1906.

The House met at quarter before Three of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Macclesfield and District Tramways Bill.—Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to 402

Poole Corporation Water Bill.—Lords' Amendments considered, and agreed to 402

County of Durham Electric Power Supply (Recommitted) Bill [Lords].—As amended, considered 402

Ordered, That Standing Orders 223 and 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*) | (King's consent signified.)

Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 402

Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords].—Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]. Report to lie upon the Table.

London Squares and Enclosures Bill [Lords].—Reported, with Amendments Bill, as amended, to be considered To-morrow 402

Report to lie upon the Table 402

Buckhaven, Methill, and Innerleven Burgh Extension Bill [Lords].—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 402

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Message from the Lords.—That they have agreed to; Paisley Gas and Water Provisional Order Bill, without Amendment.

Ground Game Bill; Pontefract Corporation Bill; Sutton District Water Bill; Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill; with Amendments.

Amendments to—Crediton Gas Bill [Lords]; Kent Electric Power Bill [Lords]; Truro Gas Bill [Lords]; Havana United Railways and Regla Warehouses Bill [Lords]; without Amendment 402

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill.—Lords' Amendments considered, and agreed to 403

Paisley Roads Order Confirmation Bill.—Read the third time, and passed 403

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [Lords]; Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords]; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords]; Tramways Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords].—As amended, considered; read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 403

Inverclyde Bequest Order Confirmation Bill; Perth Corporation Gas Order Confirmation Bill.—Considered; read the third time, and passed .. 403

Glasgow and South Western Railway Order Confirmation Bill [Lords] (by Order).—Order read, for resuming adjourned Debate on Question [24th July], "That the Bill be now considered."

Question put and agreed to.

Bill considered; to be read the third time To-morrow 403

Private Bills.—Ordered, That Standing Orders 220 and 246, relating to Private Bills, be suspended for the remainder of the session.

Ordered, That, as regards Private Bills to be returned by the House of Lords with Amendments, such Amendments (if unopposed) shall be considered forthwith.

Ordered, That, as regards Private Bills returned, or to be returned, by the House of Lords with Amendments, such Amendments (if opposed) shall be considered at such times as the Chairman of Ways and Means may determine.

Ordered, That, when it is intended to propose any Amendments thereto, a copy of such Amendments shall be deposited in the Private Bill Office and notice given on the day on which the Bill shall have been returned from the Lords.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*) 403

Great Northern (Ireland) and Midland Railways Bill.—As amended, considered.

Mr. MacVeagh (Down, S.) 404

Amendments made.

Bill to be read the third time.

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RAILWAY RETURNS.—Copy presented, of Returns of the Capital, Traffic, Receipts and Working Expenditure of the Railway Companies of the United Kingdom for the year 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 406

COLONIAL STATISTICS.—Copy presented, of Statistical Tables [relating to British Colonies, Possessions, and Protectorates. Part XXIX., for the year 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 406

LOCAL GOVERNMENT INSPECTORS (IRELAND).—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 12th July; *Mr. Ginnell*]; to lie upon the Table 406

COLONIAL REPORTS (ANNUAL).—Copy presented, of Colonial Report No. 488 (Gold Coast, Annual Report for 1905) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 406

ARMY REORGANISATION.—Copy presented, of Memorandum by the Secretary of State for War on Army Reorganisation, dated 30th July, 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 406

ARMY (PAY, NON-EFFECTIVE PAY, AND ALLOWANCES).—Copy presented of List of Exceptions to the Army Regulations as to Pay, Non-effective Pay, and Allowances sanctioned during the year 1905–6 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 406

ARMY (MILITIA).—Copy presented, of Further Regulations relating to the Militia [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 406

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ARMY (IMPERIAL YEOMANRY).—Copy presented, of Further Regulations relating to the Imperial Yeomanry [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 407

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.—Copy presented, of Fiftieth Report of the Commissioners, with Appendix [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 407

PUBLIC WORKS (IRELAND).—Copy presented, of Seventy-fourth Annual Report of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, with Appendices, for the year ending 31st March, 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 407

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INLAND REVENUE.—Copy presented, of Forty-ninth Report of the Commissioners, for the year ended 31st March, 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon Table 407

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.—Copy presented, of Return for the year ended March 31st, 1906, of the Army and Navy Officers permitted, under Rule 2 of the Regulations drawn up under Section 6 of the Act, to hold Civil Employment or profit under Public Departments [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 292] 407

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NEW BILLS.

Public Works Loans Bill.—"To grant money for the purpose of certain Local Loans out of the Local Loans Fund, and for other purposes relating to Local Loans," presented by Mr. McKenna; to be read a second time to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 333] 475

Poor Law (Scotland) Amendment Bill.—"To further amend the Law relating to the settlement of the Poor in Scotland," presented by Sir Thomas Glen-Coats; supported by Mr. Munro Ferguson, Mr. Cochrane, Mr. Crombie, Mr. Gulland, Mr. Menzies, Mr. Smeaton, Mr. Dundas White, and Mr. Younger; to be read a second time upon Thursday, 25th October, and to be printed [Bill 334] 475

Education (England and Wales) Bill.—Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

Mr. Walter Long (*Dublin, S.*) 475

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now,' and at the end of the question to add the words 'upon this day three months.'"—(*Mr. Walter Long.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Asquith, Fifeshire, E.) 483
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Mr. A. J. Balfour (City of London) 545
The President of the Board of Education (Mr. Birrell, Bristol, N.) .. 552

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 369 ; Noes, 177. (Division List No. 284.)

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

Corporation of London (Blackfriars and other Bridges) Bill. [By Order.]—Lords Amendments considered.

Lords Amendments to the Amendment in page 9, line 31, agreed to.

Lords Amendment in page 9, line 31 (leave out Clause 15), the next Amendment, read a second time.

Mr. Barnard (Kidderminster) 565

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth disagree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. Barnard.*)

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. Kearley, Devonport) 556
Mr. Morton (Sutherlandshire) 568

Question put.

The House proceeded to a Division ; but there being no Members willing to act as Tellers for the Ayes, Mr. Speaker declared the Noes had it.

Subsequent Lords Amendments agreed to.

London County Council (Tramways and Improvement) Bill (By Order).

(*Mr. Barnard (Kidderminster)* 569

Lords Amendment considered, and agreed to.

NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1904–5.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Whereas it appears by the Navy Appropriation Account for the year ended the 31st day of March, 1905, and the statement appended thereto, as follows, viz :—

(*a*) That the gross expenditure for certain Navy Services exceeded the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £415,439 18s. 8d., as shown in Column No. 1 of the Schedule hereto appended ; while the gross expenditure for other Navy Services fell short of the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £449,539 13s. 7d., as shown in Column No. 2 of the said appended Schedule, so that the gross actual expenditure for the whole of the Navy Services fell short of the gross estimated expenditure by the net sum of £34,099 14s. 11d.

(*b*) That the receipts in aid of certain Grants for Navy Services fell short of the total estimated receipts by the sum of £80,479 6s. 10d., as shown in Column No. 3 of the said appended Schedule, while the receipts in aid of other Navy Services exceeded the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £76,198 8s. 9d., as shown in Column No. 4 of the said appended Schedule, so that the total actual receipts in aid of the Grants for Navy Services fell short of the total estimated receipts by the net sum of £4,280 18s. 1d.

(*c*) That the resulting differences between the Exchequer Grants for Navy Services and the net expenditure are as follows, viz :—

	£	s.	d.
Total Surpluses - - - - - - -	455,107	18	8
Total Deficits - - - - - - - -	425,289	1	10
Net Surplus - - - - - - -	£29,818	16	10

And whereas the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application, in reduction of the net charge on Exchequer Grants for certain Navy Services, of the whole of the sums received in excess of the Estimated Appropriation-in-Aid, in respect of the same services, and have also temporarily authorised the application of so much of the said total surpluses on certain Grants for Navy Services as is necessary to cover the said total deficits on other Grants for Navy Services.

1. Motion made, and Question proposed, " That the application of such sums be sanctioned."—(*Mr. McKenna.*)

Mr. W. Rutherford (*Liverpool, West Derby*) 570
Mr. Bowles (*Lambeth, Norwood*) 571
The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (*Mr. McKenna, Monmouthshire, N.*) 572

Question put and agreed to.

Schedule.

Number of Vote.	Navy Services, 1904-5. Votes.	Gross Expenditure.		Appropriations in Aid.	
		Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure. 1.	Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure. 2.	Deficiencies of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 3.	Surpluses of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 4.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1 -	Wages, &c., of Officers, Seamen, and Boys, Coast Guard, and Royal Marines	67,474 12 8	—	27,310 2 9	—
2 -	Victualling and Clothing for the Navy	—	4,869 8 7	—	13,100 9 4
3 -	Medical Establishments and Services	—	11,525 9 9	1,689 19 2	—
4 -	Martial Law	—	1,094 17 11	3 17 10	—
5 -	Educational Services	—	12,944 6 2	—	3,310 8 11
6 -	Scientific Services	4,167 15 5	—	—	8,634 10 5
7 -	Royal Naval Reserves	—	26,290 0 8	669 9 2	—
8 -	Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, &c.:				
Sec. 1 -	Personnel	—	23,824 18 8	—	803 14 6
Sec. 2 -	Matériel	224,212 8 9	—	—	26,823 8 1
Sec. 3 -	Contract Work	—	279,759 11 0	37,273 4 9	—
9 -	Naval Armaments	—	11,028 19 9	—	19,155 8 7
10 -	Works, Buildings and Repairs at Home and Abroad	—	78,202 1 1	—	4,367 19 8
11 -	Miscellaneous Effective Services	82,354 11 5	—	3,912 19 0	—
12 -	Admiralty Office	1,751 7 1	—	—	2 9 3
13 -	Half-Pay, Reserved and Retired Pay	5,584 1 3	—	4,103 10 6	—
14 -	Naval and Marine Pensions, Gratuities, and Compassionate Allowances	5,604 12 10	—	5,436 16 9	—
15 -	Civil Pensions and Gratuities	22,235 13 11	—	79 6 11	—
	Amount written off as irrecoverable	2,054 15 4	—	—	—
		415,439 18 8	449,539 13 7	80,479 6 10	76,198 8 9
		Net Surplus, £34,099 14 11		Net Deficit, £4,280 18 1	

Surplus surrendered to the Exchequer ... ... £29,818 16s. 10d.

Whereas it appears by the Army Appropriation Account for the year ended the 31st day of March, 1905, and the statement appended thereto, as follows, viz.:—

(*a*) That the gross expenditure for certain Army Services exceeded the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £256,367 3s. 3d., as shown in Column No. 1 of the Schchule hereto appended; while the gross expenditure for other Army Services fell short of the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £365,574 5s. 6d., as shown in Column No. 2 of the said appended Schedule; so that the gross actual expenditure for the whole of the Army Services fell short of the gross estimated expenditure by the net sum of £109,207 2s. 3d.

(*b*) That the receipts in aid of certain Army Services fell short of the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £8,475 7s. 10d., as shown in Column No. 3 of the said appended Schedule; while the receipts in aid of other Army Services exceeded the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £383,643 16s. 2d., as shown in Column No. 4 of the said appended

Schedule; so that the total actual receipts in aid of the Grants for Army Services exceeded the total estimated receipts by the net sum of £375,168 8s. 4d.

(*c*) That the resulting differences between the Exchequer Grants for Army Services and the net expenditure are as follows, viz.:—

	£	s.	d.
Total Surpluses - - - - - -	701,636	8	5
Total Deficits - - - - - - -	217,260	17	10
Net Surplus - - - -	£484,375	10	7

And whereas the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application, in reduction of the net charge on Exchequer Grants for certain Army Services, of the whole of the sums received in excess of the estimated Appropriation-in-Aid, in respect of the same services, and have also temporarily authorised the application of so much of the said total surpluses on certain Grants for Army Services as is necessary to cover the said total deficits on other Grants for Army Services.

2. Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the application of such sums be sanctioned."—(*Mr. McKenna.*)

Mr. William Rutherford 576
Mr. Claude Hay 576

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report progress; and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Claude Hay.*)

The Secretary of State for War (*Mr. Haldane, Haddington*) 577
Mr. Victor Cavendish (*Derbyshire, W.*) 578

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 32; Noes, 252. Division List No. 285.)

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. Claude Hay 581
Mr Haldane 581
Mr. William Rutherford 582

Original Question put, and agreed to.

Schedule.

Number of Vote.	Army Services, 1904–1905. Votes.	Gross Expenditure.		Appropriations in Aid.	
		Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure 1.	Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure. 2.	Deficiencies of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 3.	Surpluses of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 4.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1	Pay, &c., of Army (General Staff, Regiments, Reserve, and Departments) -	—	166,856 6 11	—	7,751 1 11
2	Medical Establishments: Pay, &c. - -	—	223 19 2	—	5,037 6 7
3	Militia: Pay, Bounty, &c. - - - -	—	58,279 1 9	2,527 15 9	—
4	Imperial Yeomanry: Pay and Allowances	—	46,175 10 3	—	770 11 2
5	Volunteer Corps: Pay and Allowances -	12,562 16 5	—	—	567 5 8
6	Transport and Remounts - - - -	—	2,777 12 6	—	269,809 12 1
7	Provisions, Forage, and other Supplies -	115,062 16 11	—	—	15,128 14 8
8	Clothing Establishments, and Services -	—	22,939 19 10	—	1,968 3 8
9	Warlike and other Stores: Supply and Repair - - - - - - - -	10,285 12 6	—	—	31,117 2 3
10	Works, Buildings, and Repairs: Cost, including Staff for Engineer Services -	—	33,771 18 3	—	22,350 11 8
11	Establishments for Military Education -	2,211 14 11	—	4,527 10 8	—
12	Miscellaneous Effective Services - -	7,617 12 3	—	—	2,647 11 9
13	War Office: Salaries and Miscellaneous Charges - - - - - - -	39,458 7 8	—	1,357 7 8	—
14	Non-effective Charges for Officers, &c. -	—	24,735 1 8	—	10,133 15 7
15	Non-effective Charges for Men, &c. - -	35,675 15 9	—	—	16,361 19 2
16	Civil Superannuation, Compensation, and Compassionate Allowances - - -	—	4,814 15 2	62 13 9	—
	Balances irrecoverable - - - -	33,492 6 10	—	—	—
		256,367 3 3	365,574 5 6	8,475 7 10	383,643 16 2
		Net Surplus, £109,207 2 3		Net Surplus, £375,168 8 4	

Surplus surrendered to the Exchequer ... £484,375 10s. 7d.

Resolutions to be reported this day.

Colonial Marriages Bill.—Order for the Second Reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Lord R. Cecil (*Marylebone, E.*) 583
The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (*Mr. Churchill, Manchester, N.W.*) 583
Mr. William Redmond (*Clare, E.*) 584
Sir Brampton Gurdon (*Norfolk, N.*) 584

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) Bill.—As amended by the Standing Committee.

Mr. Cullinan (*Tipperary, S.*) 584
Mr. Sloan (*Belfast, S.*) 584

July 30.] *Page*

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 6, to leave out from the word 'until,' to the end of the clause, and insert the words 'the thirty-first day of December, one thousand nine hundred and ten, and no longer unless Parliament shall otherwise determine, and on the said day all the provisions of any Act now in force regulating the hours of opening or keeping open of any premises for the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday, and shall come into operation and take effect as if this Act had not been passed.'"—(*Mr. Cullinan*),—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.) 585
Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.) 536
Mr. Sloan 588
Mr. William Redmond 589
Mr. Sloan 589
Mr. Nannetti (Dublin, College Green) 590
Mr. Walter Long (Dublin, S.) 590

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Clancy (Dublin County, N.) 592

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, line 8, at end, to add "notwithstanding anything in any public or local Act."

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 2, at end, to add the words, 'nothing in this Act shall in any way interfere with the rights of any licensed person who is the owner or lessee of a theatre, music hall, or other place of public amusement; and all such persons shall have the same rights and privileges as they now have under the existing licensing law, as if this Act had not been passed.'"

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 10, after 'person,' 'residing or lodging in the metropolitan police district of Dublin, and the cities of Cork, Waterford. Limerick, and Belfast.'"

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 12, to leave out 'six' and insert 'five.'"—(*Mr. Cogan.*)

Mr. Barrie (Londonderry, N.) 593
Mr. Sloan 595
Mr. Fetherstonhaugh (Fermanagh, N.) 596

Amendment agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

Public Works Loans (Repayment).—Committee to consider of authorising the extension of time for the repayment of a loan made by the Public Works Loan Commissioners to the South Staffordshire Mines Drainage Commissioners, in pursuance of any Act of the present session, to grant money for the purpose of certain local loans out of the local loans fund, and for other purposes relating to local loans (King's Recommendation signified), to-morrow.—(*Mr. McKenna*) 597

Whereupon Mr. Speaker, in pursuance of the Order of the House of July 13th, adjourned the House without Question put.

Adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: TUESDAY, 31st JULY, 1906.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Metropolitan Electric Supply Bill.—Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; and referred to the Examiners 597

Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments to be considered To-morrow 597

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill; Macclesfield and District Tramways Bill; Poole Corporation Water Bill; Corporation of London (Blackfriars and other Bridges) Bill; London County Council (Tramways and Improvements) Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to 597

Bute (English and Welsh) Estates Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to 597

County of Durham Electric Power Supply Bill [H.L.]; Great Northern (Ireland) and Midland Railways Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to 597

Nettlebed and District Commons (Preservation) Bill [H.L.]; Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire Electric Power Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, made and agreed to 594

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Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.].—Commons Amendments considered (according to order) and agreed to 597

Tramways Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [H.L.].—Commons Amendments considered (according to order) and agreed to 597

Rutherglen Burgh Order Confirmation Bill.—Read 3ª (according to order); Amendments made. Bill passed, and returned to the Commons 598

Newburgh and North Fife Railway (Extension of Time) Order Confirmation Bill; Paisley Roads Order Confirmation Bill; Inverclyde Bequest Order Confirmation Bill; Perth Corporation Gas Order Confirmation Bill.—To be read 3ª To-morrow 598

PETITIONS.

Education Bill.—Petitions against; of Inhabitants of West Felton; Bolington; Sandhurst; Staunton-Harold; Cheshunt and Waltham Cross; Grosmont; Great and Little Saling. Of the Company of Merchants of Edinburgh; the Governing Body of the Sarum and Wilts Diocesan Voluntary Schools' Association; Llandyssil Rural District Council. Of parents of children attending Hull National School.

Read, and ordered to lie on the Table 598

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Navy.—Memorandum explanatory of recent and forthcoming changes in the administration of His Majesty's Dockyards in the United Kingdom 598

Morocco, No. 1 (1906). — Despatches from the British delegate at the International Conference at Algeciras, forwarding the General Act of the Conference, signed April 7th, 1906, and other documents relating to the affairs of Morocco 598

Judicial Statistics (Ireland), 1905.—Part I. Criminal Statistics 598

Irish Land Commission.—Report of the Commissioners for the period from April 1st, 1905, to March 31st, 1906 598

Shipping Casualties.—Shipping casualties which occurred on or near the coasts, or in rivers and harbours, of the United Kingdom, from 1st July, 1904, to 30th June, 1905; and shipping casualties which occurred to British vessels elsewhere than on the coasts of the United Kingdom, and to foreign vessels on or near the coasts, or in rivers and harbours, of British Possessions abroad, reported during the same period, etc., etc.: with charts and appendices 599

Post Office.—Fifty-second Report of the Postmaster-General on the Post Office. Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 599

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ARMY.— Imperial Yeomanry —Further regulations relating to the Imperial Yeomanry. Army Reserve —Further Regulations relating to the Army Reserve. Militia —Further regulations relating to the Militia. List of exceptions to the Army regulations as to pay, non-effective pay, and allowances, sanctioned by the Treasury pursuant to the Royal Warrant, dated 27th October, 1884, during the year 1905–1906 599

INCLOSURE, ETC., EXPENSES ACT, 1868.—Fees to be taken in respect of transactions under the Tithe Acts, 1836 to 1891, in accordance with the provisions of the Inclosure, etc., Expenses Act, 1868, in lieu of the fees heretofore authorised for such business. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 599

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889.—University Court Ordinance, No. XVII. St. Andrews, No. 3 : Institution of degrees in agriculture and relative regulations. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 193) 599

IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.—Report to the Board of Trade on the work of the Imperial Institute at South Kensington during the year 1905. Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 599

LIFE INSURANCE COMPANIES.—Report from the Select Committee (with the proceedings of the Committee) made, and to be printed. (No. 194.) Minutes of evidence together with appendices. Laid upon the Table, and to be delivered out 600

NATIONAL ART COLLECTIONS.

The Earl of Carlisle 600
The Lord Steward of the Household (*The Earl of Liverpool*) 600

PRIVATE BILLS.

The Chairman of Committees (*The Earl of Onslow*) 600

Moved, That the Standing Orders be amended as follows—

" That the Standing Orders be amended as follows :

NOTE.—The words in SMALL CAPITALS are to be omitted, and the words printed within brackets are to be inserted.

[The Two Classes of Local Bills.]

1. All Bills (not being Estate Bills) which seek powers with reference to any of the following subjects are in these Orders termed Local Bills, and are divided into two classes, according to the subjects to which they respectively relate :—

1st Class.—Arbitration in respect of the affairs of any company . . . Crown, church, or corporation property, or property held in trust for public or charitable purposes.

[Electricity Supply.]

Market or market place, erecting, improving, repairing, maintaining, or regulating.

[Pilotage.]

15. On or before the fifteenth day of December immediately preceding the application for a Bill for constructing gasworks or sewage works, or works for the manufacture or conversion of the residual products of gas or sewage [or for constructing any station for generating electrical energy on specified lands] or for making or constructing a sewage farm, cemetery, burial ground, crematorium, destructor, or hospital for infectious disease, notice shall be served upon the owner and lessee of every dwelling-house situate within three hundred yards of the lands in or upon which such gasworks, sewage works, works for the manufacture or conversion of residual products, generating station, farm, cemetery, burial ground, crematorium, destructor, or hospital, may be made or constructed.

Insert as a new Standing Order:

[17a. On or before the twenty-first day of December immediately preceding the application for a local Bill whereby any express statutory provision relating to nuisance arising on any lands is sought to be altered or repealed, notice in writing of such Bill and of the intention to alter or repeal such provision shall be served upon the owner and lessee of every dwelling-house situate within three hundred yards of the said lands.]

34. On or before the twenty-first day of December a printed copy of every Local Bill of the Second Class which proposes to authorise any work in London, shall be deposited at the Office of the London County Council.

Insert as a new Standing Order:

[34a. On or before the twenty-first of December a printed copy of every Local Bill which proposes to authorise any persons other than the road authority to break up or otherwise interfere with any streets or roads, shall be deposited at the office of the road authority.]

70a. Every Provisional Order Confirmation Bill and every Local Bill brought from the House of Commons shall, after the First Reading, be referred to the Examiners, but in respect of such Standing Orders only as have not been previously inquired into.

[In the case of any Provisional Order Confirmation Bill in which provisions have been inserted in the House of Commons to which the Standing Orders of this House would apply if the Bill were a Local Bill, the Examiners shall inquire whether, with respect to those provisions, the Standing Orders have been complied with, and report to the House accordingly.]

Leave out Standing Order 102B—

102B. ANY PROVISIONAL ORDER CONFIRMATION BILL MAY, BEFORE BEING COMMITTED TO A COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE, BE REFERRED TO THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES, WITH RESPECT TO ALL OR ANY OF THE ORDERS SCHEDULED THERETO, TO BE DEALT WITH IN THE SAME MANNER AS AN UNOPPOSED LOCAL BILL.

And insert as a new Standing Order:

[102b. Every Provisional Order Confirmation Bill shall, as respects any unopposed Orders scheduled thereto, before being committed to a Committee of the Whole House be referred to the Chairman of Committees to be dealt with in the same manner as an unopposed Local Bill.]

112. In the case of a Railway Bill a company shall not be authorised to raise by mortgage or debenture stock a larger sum than one third of their capital until fifty per cent. ON [of] the whole of the capital has been paid up to, or raise any money by mortgage or debenture stock.—(*The Earl of Onslow.*)

On Question, Motion agreed to. Standing Orders amended accordingly, and to be printed as amended. (No. 196.)

Rutherglen Burgh Order Confirmation Bill.—Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª."—(*Lord Ribblesdale.*)

On Question, Bill read 3ª.

Lord Ribblesdale 602

Amendments made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

Public Slaughter Houses Bill [H.L.] [SECOND READING.] Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

The Earl of Donoughmore 60

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl of Donoughmore.*)

The Earl of Camperdown 606
The President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (*Earl Carrington*) 607

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Tuesday, the 23rd of October next.

Marriage with Foreigners Bill [SECOND READING].—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Earl Beauchamp 608

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*Earl Beauchamp.*)

The Marquess of Salisbury 609

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On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow.

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER.—The Earl of Liverpool and the Lord Denman added to the Select Committee 609

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) Bill.—Read 1ª, and to be printed. (No. 195.)

To be read 2ª on Tuesday, the 23rd of October next.—(*The Earl of Mayo*) 609

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Standing Order No. XXXIX. considered (according to Order), and suspended for this day's Sitting 610

Post Office Sites Bill; Post Office (Literature for the Blind) Bill; Charitable Loan Societies (Ireland) Bill. — House in Committee according to Order). Bills reported without Amendment. Standing Committee negatived. Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended) Bills read 3ª, and passed 610

Revenue Bill.—Read 3ª (according to Order), and passed 610

Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Bill.—Amendments reported (according to Order); a further Amendment made. Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended) Bill read 3ª, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons 610

Open Spaces Bill.—Amendment reported (according to Order). Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended) Bill read 3ª, with the Amendment, and passed, and returned to the Commons 610

Labourers (Ireland) Bill.—Amendments reported (according to Order) and (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended) Bill to be read 3ª after the remaining Orders of the Day and Notices 610

Dean Forest Bill.—Read 3ª (according to Order), and passed 610

Dogs Bill.—Amendments reported (according to Order); further Amendments made. Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended) Bill read 3ª, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons .. 611

Deanery of Manchester Bill.—House in Committee (according to Order). Bill reported without Amendment. Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended) Bill read 3ª, and passed 611

THE TRANSVAAL CONSTITUTION.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies (*The Earl of Elgin*) 611
The Duke of Marlborough 625
Lord Sandhurst 632
Lord Harris 635
Lord Courtney 640
Viscount Milner 646
The Marquess of Lansdowne 658
The Lord Privy Seal (*The Marquess of Ripon*) 662

Labourers (Ireland) Bill.—Order of the Day for Third Reading read.

Lord Denman 667

Moved, "That the Bill be read 3ª."—(*Lord Denman.*)

On Question, Bill read 3ª.

Drafting Amendments agreed to.

Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed.

Musical Copyright Bill.—Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª To-morrow (*The Earl Beauchamp*). (No. 197) 667

House adjourned at One o'clock a.m., till half-past Three o'clock p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: TUESDAY, 31st JULY, 1906.

The House met at quarter before Three of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill; Pontefract Corporation Bill; Sutton District Water Bill.—Lords Amendments in pursuance of the Order of the House [30th July], considered, and agreed to 668

Metropolitan Electric Supply Bill.—As amended, considered 668

Ordered, That Standing Orders 223 and 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

Blil accordingly read the third time, and passed 668

Bristol Corporation Bill (by Order).—Lords Amendments to be considered on Thursday, at a quarter past Eight of the Clock 668

Hackney Electricity Bill (by Order); Hampstead Garden Suburb Bill (by Order); London County Council (Money) Bill (by Order); North West London Railway Bill (by Order); St. Pancras Electricity Bill (by Order); South Lincolnshire Water Bill (by Order); South Wales Electrical Power Distribution Company Bill (by Order); Watford and Edgware Railway Bill (by Order).—Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to 668

Bute (English and Welsh) Estates Bill [Lords] (by Order).—Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment 668

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Nettlebed and District Commons (Preservation) Bill [Lords] (by Order); Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire Electric Power Bill [Lords] (by Order).—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 668

Glasgow and South Western Railway Order Confirmation Bill [Lords].—Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment 668

Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords].—As amended, considered; read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 669

Great Northern (Ireland) and Midland Railways Bill [Lords].—Ordered, That Standing Order 243 be suspended, and the Great Northern (Ireland) and Midland Railways Bill [Lords], be now read the third time.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

Bill accordingly read the third time, and passed, with Amendments .. 669

Standing Orders (Private Business).—Standing Order 1 read, and amended, in line 14, by inserting after the word "Purposes," as a new line, the words "Electricity Supply."

In line 25, by inserting after the word "Regulating," as a new line, the word "Pilotage."

Standing Order 15 read, and amended, in line 4, by leaving out the word "and," and inserting the word "or," instead thereof.

In line 4, by inserting after the word "for," the words "constructing any station for generating electrical energy on specified lands, or for."

In line 9, by inserting after the word "products," the words "generating station."

Ordered, That on or before the twenty-first day of December immediately preceding the application for a Bill whereby any express statutory provision relating to nuisance arising on any lands is sought to be altered or repealed, notice in writing of such Bill, and of the intention to alter or repeal such provision, shall be served upon the owner and lessee of every dwelling-house situate within three hundred yards of the said lands.

Resolved, That this Order be a Standing Order of this House.

Ordered, That on or before the eighteenth day of December a printed copy of every Bill of the 1st Class which proposes to authorise any persons other than the road authority to break up or otherwise interfere with any streets or roads, shall be deposited at the office of the road authority.

Resolved, That this Order be a Standing Order of this House.

Standing Order 72, read, and amended, by adding, at the end thereof, the words, In the case of any Provisonal Order Confirmation Bill in which provisions have been inserted in the House of Lords to which the Standing Orders of this House would apply if the Bill were a Private Bill, the Examiners shall inquire whether, in respect of such provisions, the Standing Orders have been complied with, and report to the House accordingly.

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Standing Order 153, read and amended, in line 3, by leaving out the word "on," and inserting the word "of," instead thereof.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*) 669

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have agreed to—Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill; Rutherglen Burgh Order Confirmation Bill, with Amendments.

Amendments to—Folkestone, Sandgate, and Hythe Tramways Bill [Lords]; South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways Bill [Lords], without Amendment 670

PETITIONS.

LAND VALUES TAXATION, ETC. (SCOTLAND) BILL.—Petition of the Incorporated Society of Law Agents in Scotland, against; to lie upon the Table 670

STREET BETTING BILL [LORDS].—Petition from Clitheroe, n favour; to lie upon the Table 670

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.—Petitions against; from Burghfield; North Perrott; Pauler's Pury; St. Cleer; and West Hallam: to lie upon the Table 670

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL (RELIGIOUS TEACHING).—Petitions against alteration of Law; from Ashow; Bromsgrove; Coplock; Hartley; Leck Wooton (two); Leigh; Llangyfelach (two); Loose; Severn Stoke (two); Shelsley; and Wolphanpcote; to lie upon the Table 670

INFANTILE LIFE PROTECTION.—Petitions for alteration of Law; from Chapel-en-le-Frith; and Headington; to lie upon the Table 671

LAND TENURE (SCOTLAND) BILL.—Petition of the Incorporated Society of Law Agents in Scotland, against; to lie upon the Table 671

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CRIMINAL AND JUDICIAL STATISTICS (IRELAND).—Copy presented, of Criminal and Judicial Statistics of Ireland for the year 1905. Part I. Criminal Statistics [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 671

IRISH LAND COMMISSION.—Copy presented of Report of the Commissioners for the period from 1st April, 1905, to 31st March, 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 671

MOROCCO (No. 1, 1906).—Copy presented, of Despatches from the British Delegate at the International Conference at Algeciras, forwarding the General Act of the Conference, signed 7th April, 1906, and other documents relating to the affairs of Morocco [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 671

INCLOSURE, &c., EXPENSES ACT, 1868.—Copy presented, of Fees to be taken in respect of transactions under the Tithe Acts, 1836 to 1891, in accordance with the provisions of The Inclosures, &c., Expenses Act, 1868, in lieu of the Fees heretofore authorised for such business [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 671

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UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889 (ORDINANCE).—Copy presented, of University Court Ordinance No. XVII. (St. Andrews, No. 3) (Institution of Degrees in Agriculture and relative Regulations) [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 294.] 671

POST OFFICE.—Copy presented, of Fifty-second Report of the Postmaster-General [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 672

SHIPPING CASUALTIES (1904–5).—Copy presented, of Abstract of the Returns of Shipping Casualties which occurred on or near the Coasts or in Rivers and Harbours of the United Kingdom from the 1st July, 1904, to 30th June, 1905, and of the Returns of Shipping Casualties to British Vessels elsewhere than on the Coasts of the United Kingdom, and to Foreign Vessels on or near the Coasts, or in Rivers and Harbours, of British Possessions abroad, &c., with Charts and Appendices [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 672

IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.—Copy presented, of Report to the Board of Trade on the work of the Imperial Institute at South Kensington during the year 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 672

NAVY (DOCKYARDS).—Copy presented, of Memorandum explanatory of recent and forthcoming changes in the administration of His Majesty's Dockyards in the United Kingdom [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 672

WEST INDIAN ISLANDS (EXPORTS).—Return ordered, "of the average annual Exports to the United Kingdom and the United States of America during each quinquennium ending 1904, 1899, 1894, and 1889 from the British West Indian Islands; how much of such Exports were of sugar and molasses; how much were of fruit (fresh and dried), coffee, cocoa and tobacco; and the proportions for each such period going to the United States of America and the United Kingdom, respectively."—(*Mr. Essex.*) 672

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CABS AND OMNIBUSES (METROPOLIS.)—Report from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence, brought up, and read.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 295] 728

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.—Second Report, brought up, and read. Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 296] 728

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have agreed to—Bills of Exchange Act (1882) Amendment Bill; Isle of Man (Customs) Bill, without Amendment; Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Bill; Open Spaces Bill; Dogs Bill; Labourers (Ireland) Bill 728

Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Bill.—Lords Amendments to be considered upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 335] 729

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NEW BILL.

Sea Fisheries (Scotland) (Application of Penalties) Bill.—" To provide for the payment to the Fishery Board for Scotland of the penalties or other monies recovered in respect of illegal sea fishing in Scotland," presented by Mr. Sinclair; to be read a second time upon Tuesday, October 23rd, and to be printed. [Bill 337] 729

SUPPLY [19TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. EMMOTT (Oldham) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1906-7.—CLASS II.

1. Motion made, and Question proposed, " That a sum, not exceeding £29,050, be granted to His Majesty to complete the sum necessary to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, including a Grant-in-Aid of certain Expenses connected with Emigration."

The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Churchill, Manches-N.W.). 729
Mr. Lyttelton (St. George's, Hanover Square) 753
Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) 764
Sir Gilbert Parker (Gravesend) 773

Mr. Rufus Isaacs (*Reading*) 776
Mr. Evelyn Cecil (*Aston Manor*) 779
Mr. Everett (*Suffolk, Woodbridge*) 782
Mr. Wedgwood (*Newcastle-under-Lyme*) 784
Mr. Molteno (*Dumfriesshire*) 783
Mr. Arnold-Foster (*Croydon*) 794
Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald (*Leicester*) 795
Mr. A. J. Balfour (*City of London*) 798
The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (*Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman Stirling Burghs*) 804

And, it being Ten of the Clock, the CHAIRMAN proceeded, in pursuance of Standing Order No. 15, to put forthwith the Question necessary to dispose of the Vote under consideration.

Question put, "That a sum, not exceeding £29,050, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, including a Grant-in-Aid of certain Expenses connected with Emigration."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 316 ; Noes, 83. (Division List No. 286.)

The CHAIRMAN then proceeded to put severally the Questions, That the total amounts of the Votes outstanding in each Class of the Civil Service Estimates, including Supplementary Estimates, and the total amount of the Votes outstanding in the Estimates for the Army (including Ordnance Factories) be granted for the Services defined in those Classes and Estimates.

CLASS

2. "That a sum, not exceeding £707,580, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure on the Services included in Class I. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
5. Miscellaneous Legal Buildings, Great Britain -	34,800
6. Art and Science Buildings, Great Britain - -	45,800
10. Surveys of the United Kingdom - - -	124,578
11. Harbours under the Board of Trade - - -	14,606
12. Peterhead Harbour - - - - - -	22,000
13. Rates on Government Property - - - -	340,656
14. Public Works and Buildings, Ireland - -	96,477
15. Railways, Ireland - - - - - -	28,663
	£707,580"

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 324 ; Noes, 82. (Division List No. 287.)

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CLASS II.

3. "That a sum, not exceeding £1,203,002, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure in respect of the Services included in Class II. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
1. House of Lords Offices - - - - - -	10,210
2. House of Commons Offices - - - -	17,900
3. Treasury and Subordinate Departments - -	59,911
4. Home Office - - - - - - -	124,085
8. Board of Trade - - - - - -	160,373
9. Mercantile Marine Services - - - -	69,873
10. Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade -	5
12. Charity Commission - - - - - - -	16,079
16. Local Government Board - - - - -	147,470
17. Lunacy Commission, England - - - -	10,736
22. Registrar-General's Office, England - - -	25,412
23. Stationery and Printing - - - - -	401,480
24. Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, etc., Office -	12,756
25. Works and Public Buildings Office - - -	45,278
26. Secret Service - - - - - - -	10,000
Scotland.	
27. Secretary for Scotland's Office - - - -	9,750
28. Fishery Board - - - - - - -	13,691
29. Lunacy Commission - - - - - -	3,731
30. Registrar-General's Office - - - - -	3,241
31. Local Government Board for Scotland - -	10,470
Ireland.	
32. Household of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland - -	2,672
35. Charitable Donations and Bequests Office - -	1,049
37. Public Record Office, Ireland - - - -	3,484
38. Public Works Office - - - - - -	23,938
39. Registrar General's Office - - - - -	7,032
40. Valuation and Boundary Survey (including a Supplementary sum of £1,000) - - - - -	12,276
	£1,203,002"

Question put—

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 342; Noes, 82. (Division List, No. 288.)

CLASS III.

4. "That a sum, not exceeding £2,077,936, be granted to His Majesty to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year

ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure in respect of the Services included in Class III. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
1. Law Charges	31,954
2. Miscellaneous Legal Expenses	21,914
3. Supreme Court of Judicature	179,066
4. Land Registry	25,602
5. County Courts	2
7. Prisons, England and the Colonies	394,255
8. Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain	113,977
9. Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum	27,121
Scotland.	
10. Law Charges and Courts of Law	50,828
11. Register House, Edinburgh	27,745
12. Crofters' Commission	2,445
13. Prisons	52,600
Ireland.	
14. Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions	32,652
15. Supreme Court of Judicature and other Legal Departments	59,586
16. Irish Land Commission	124,215
17. County Court Officers, &c.	66,088
18. Dublin Metropolitan Police	35,721
19. Royal Irish Constabulary	710,038
20. Prisons	62,556
21. Reformatory and Industrial Schools	55,995
22. Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum	3,576
	£2,077,936 "

Question put—

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 339 ; Noes, 81. (Division List No. 289.)

CLASS IV.

5. " That a sum, not exceeding £8,387,882, be granted to His Majesty to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for expenditure in respect of the Services included in Class IV. of the Estimates for Civil Service, viz.:—

	£
1. Board of Education, including a Supplementary Sum of £200,000	6,339,600
2. British Museum	99,998
3. National Gallery	7,038
4. National Portrait Gallery	2,619
5. Wallace Collection	3,821
6. Scientific Investigation, etc., United Kingdom	33,650

7. Universities and Colleges, Great Britain and Intermediate Education, Wales	140,400
8. Public Education, Scotland	1,122,128
9. National Gallery, etc., Scotland	768

Ireland.

10. Public Education	633,223
11. Endowed Schools Commissioners	510
12. National Gallery	1,766
13. Queen's Colleges	2,361
	£8,387,882 "

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 341 ; Noes, 79. (Division List, No. 290.)

CLASS V.

6. "That a sum, not exceeding £1,196,905, be granted to His Majesty to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure on the Services included in Class V. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
1. Diplomatic and Consular Services	303,856
2. Colonial Services	827,952
3. Telegraph Subsidies and Pacific Cable	49,497
4. Cyprus (Grant-in-Aid)	1,000
5. Treasury Chest Fund	14,600
	£1,196,905 "

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 337 ; Noes, 79. (Division List, No. 291.)

CLASS VI.

7. "That a sum, not exceeding £582, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure in respect of the Services included in Class VI. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz.:—

3. Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances	383
4. Hospitals and Charities, Ireland	199
	£582 "

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 334 ; Noes, 78. (Division List No. 292.)

CLASS VII.

8. "That a sum, not exceeding £350,759, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure in respect of the Services included in Class VII. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz.:—

	£
1. Temporary Commissions - - - - - -	27,000
2. Miscellaneous Expenses - - - - - -	10,743
3. Repayments to the Local Loans Fund - - -	58
4. Ireland Development Grant - - - - -	85,000
5. Repayments to Civil Contingencies Fund - -	22,958
6. Inter-Parliamentary Conference - - - -	5,000
7. Expenses under the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905	200,000
	£350,759"

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 322; Noes, 74. (Division List No. 293.)

ARMY ESTIMATES, 1906–7.

9. "That a sum, not exceeding £1,803,100, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure on the Army Services, including Army (Ordnance Factories), viz.:—

	£
5. Volunteer Corps, Pay and Allowances - - -	1,244,000
13. War Office and Army Accounts Department -	559,000
Ordnance Factories - - - - - -	100
	£1,803,100"

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 318; Noes, 67. (Division List No. 294.)

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Chairman do report these Resolutions to the House."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 298; Noes, 67. (Division List No. 295.)

Resolutions to be reported to-morrow

WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. EMMOTT (Oldham) in the Chair.]

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Motion made, and Question put, "That towards making good the Supply granted to His Majesty for the Service of the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, the sum of £68,528,828 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 252 ; Noes, 64. (Division List No. 296.)

Motion made, and Question put, " That the Chairman do report this Resolution to the House."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 239 ; Noes, 55. (Division List No. 297.)

Resolution to be reported to-morrow.

Musical Copyright Bill.—Order for Third Reading read.

The Secretary of State for the Home Department (*Mr. Gladstone, Leeds, W.*) 857

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. J. D. White (*Dumbartonshire*) 859
Mr. Morton (*Sutherland*) 859
Mr. Byles (*Salford, N.*) 859
Mr. Lupton (*Lincolnshire, Sleaford*) 860

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a third time and passed.

Street Betting Bill [LORDS].—Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. Bottomley (*Hackney, S.*) 861
Mr. Claude Hay (*Shoreditch, Hoxton*) 864

Amendment proposed—

" To leave out the word 'now,' and at the end of the Question to add the words 'upon this day three months.' "—(*Mr. Bottomley.*)

Question proposed, " That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

The Secretary of State for the Home Department (*Mr. Gladstone, Leeds, W.*) 865
Sir E. Carson (*Dublin University*) 867
Mr. J. W. Wilson (*Worcestershire, N.*) 867
Mr. Shackleton (*Lancashire, Clitheroe*) 868
Mr. Lupton (*Lincolnshire, Sleaford*) 869

Mr. Clough rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question, "That the Question be now put," put, and agreed to.

Question, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question," put accordingly, and agreed to.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

Navy and Army Expenditure, 1904–5.

Resolutions reported.

Whereas it appears by the Navy Appropriation Account for the year ended the 31st day of March, 1905, and the statement appended thereto, as follows, viz.:—

(*a*) That the gross expenditure for certain Navy Services exceeded the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £415,439 18s. 8d., as shown in Column No. 1 of the Schedule hereto appended, while the gross expenditure for other Navy Services fell short of the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £449,539 13s. 7d., as shown in Column No. 2 of the said appended Schedule, so that the gross actual expenditure for the whole of the Navy Services fell short of the gross estimated expenditure by the net sum of £34,099 14s. 11d.

(*b*) That the receipts in aid of certain Grants for Navy Services fell short of the total estimated receipts by the sum of £80,479 6s. 10d., as shown in Column No. 3 of the said appended Schedule, while the receipts in aid of other Navy Services exceeded the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £76,198 8s. 9d., as shown in Column No. 4 of the said appended Schedule, so that the total actual receipts in aid of the Grants for Navy Services fell short of the total estimated receipts by the net sum of £4,280 18s. 1d.

(*c*) That the resulting differences between the Exchequer Grants for Navy Services and the net expenditure are as follows, viz.:—

	£	s.	d.
Total Surpluses - - - - - - -	455,107	18	8
Total Deficits - - - - - - - -	425,289	1	10
Net Surplus - - - - - - -	£29,818	16	10

And whereas the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application, in reduction of the net charge on Exchequer Grants for certain Navy Services, of the whole of the sums received in excess of the estimated Appropriation-in Aid, in respect of the same Services, and have also temporarily authorised the application of so much of the said total surpluses on certain Grants for Navy Services as is necessary to cover the said total deficits on other Grants for Navy Services, "That the application of such sums be sanctioned."

Schedule.

Number of Vote.	Navy Services, 1904–5. Votes.	Gross Expenditure.		Appropriations in Aid.	
		Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure. 1.	Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure. 2.	Deficiencies of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 3.	Surpluses of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 4.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1	Wages, &c., of Officers, Seamen, and Boys, Coast Guard, and Royal Marines	67,474 12 8	—	27,310 2 9	—
2	Victualling and Clothing for the Navy	—	4,869 8 7	—	13,100 9 4
3	Medical Establishments and Services	—	11,525 9 9	1,689 19 2	—
4	Martial Law	—	1,094 17 11	3 17 10	—
5	Educational Services	—	12,944 6 2	—	3,310 8 11
6	Scientific Services	4,167 15 5	—	—	8,634 10 5
7	Royal Naval Reserves	—	26,290 0 8	669 9 2	—
8	Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, &c.:				
Sec. 1	Personnel	—	23,824 18 8	—	803 14 6
Sec. 2	Matériel	224,212 8 9	—	—	26,823 8 1
Sec. 3	Contract Work	—	279,759 11 0	37,273 4 9	—
9	Naval Armaments	—	11,028 19 9	—	19,155 8 7
10	Works, Buildings and Repairs at Home and Abroad	—	78,202 1 1	—	4,367 19 8
11	Miscellaneous Effective Services	82,354 11 5	—	3,912 19 0	—
12	Admiralty Office	1,751 7 1	—	—	2 9 3
13	Half-Pay, Reserved and Retired Pay	5,584 1 3	—	4,103 10 6	—
14	Naval and Marine Pensions, Gratuities, and Compassionate Allowances	5,604 12 10	—	5,436 16 9	—
15	Civil Pensions and Gratuities	22,235 13 11	—	79 6 11	—
	Amount written off as irrecoverable	2,054 15 4	—	—	—
		415,439 18 8	449,539 13 7	80,479 6 10	76,198 8 9
		Net Surplus, £34,099 14 11		Net Deficit, £4,280 18 1	

Surplus surrendered to the Exchequer ... ... £29,818 16s. 10d.

Whereas it appears by the Army Appropriation Account for the year ended the 31st day of March, 1905, and the statement appended thereto, as follows, viz.:—

(*a*) That the gross expenditure for certain Army Services exceeded the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £256,367 3s. 3d., as shown in Column No. 1 of the schedule hereto appended; while the gross expenditure for other Army Services fell short of the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum £365,574 5s. 6d., as shown in Column No. 2 of the said appended Schedule; so that the gross actual expenditure for the whole of the Army Services fell short of the gross estimated expenditure by the net sum of £109,207 2s. 3d.

(*b*) That the receipts in aid of certain Army Services fell short of the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £8,475 7s. 10d., as shown in Column No. 3 of the said appended schedule; while the receipts in aid of other Army Services exceeded the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £383,643 16s. 2d., as shown in Column No. 4 of the said appended Schedule ; so that the total actual receipts in aid of the grants for Army Services exceeded the total estimated receipts by the net sum of £375,168 8s. 4d.

(*c*) That the resulting differences between the Exchequer Grants for Army Services and the net expenditure are as follows, viz. :—

	£	s.	d.
Total Surpluses - - - - - - -	701,636	8	5
Total Deficits - - - - - -	217,260	17	10
Net Surplus - - - - - - -	£484,375	10	7

And whereas the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application, in reduction of the net charge on Exchequer Grants for certain Army Services, of the whole of the sums received in excess of the estimated Appropriation-in-Aid in respect of the same Services, and have also temporarily authorised the application of so much of the said total surpluses on certain Grants for Army Services as is necessary to cover the said total deficits on other grants for Army Services.

2. "That the application of such sums be sanctioned."

Schedule.

Number of Vote.	Army Services, 1904–1905. Votes.	Gross Expenditure.		Appropriations in Aid	
		Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure 1.	Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure. 2.	Deficiencies of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 3.	Surpluses of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 4.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1	Pay, &c., of Army (General Staff Regiments, Reserve, and Departments) -	—	166,856 6 11	—	7,751 1 11
2	Medical Establishments : Pay, &c. - -	—	223 19 2	—	5,037 6 7
3	Militia : Pay, Bounty, &c. - - - -	—	58,279 1 9	2,527 15 9	—
4	Imperial Yeomanry : Pay and Allowances	—	46,175 10 3	—	770 11 2
5	Volunteer Corps : Pay and Allowances -	12,562 16 5	—	—	567 5 8
6	Transport and Remounts - - - -	—	2,777 12 6	—	269,809 12 1
7	Provisions, Forage, and other Supplies -	115,062 16 11	—	—	15,128 14 8
8	Clothing Establishments, and Services -	—	22,989 19 10	—	1,968 3 8
9	Warlike and other Stores : Supply and Repair - - - - - - - -	10,285 12 6	—	—	31,117 2 3
10	Works, Buildings, and Repairs : Cost, including Staff for Engineer Services -	—	33,771 18 3	—	22,350 11 8
11	Establishments for Military Education -	2.211 14 11	—	4,527 10 8	—
12	Miscellaneous Effective Services - -	7,617 12 3	—	—	2,647 11 9
13	War Office : Salaries and Miscellaneous Charges - - - - - - -	39,458 7 8	—	1,357 7 8	—
14	Non-effective Charges for Officers, &c. -	—	24,735 1 8	—	10,133 15 7
15	Non-effective Charges for Men, &c. - -	35,675 15 9	—	—	16,361 19 2
16	Civil Superannuation, Compensation, and Compassionate Allowances - - -	—	4,814 15 2	62 13 9	—
	Balances irrecoverable - - - -	33,492 6 10	—	—	—
		256,367 3 3	365,574 5 6	8,475 7 10	383,643 16 2
		Net Surplus, £109,207 2 3		Net Surplus, £375,168 8 4	

Surplus surrendered to the Exchequer ... £484,375 10s. 7d.

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Resolutions read a second time.

First Resolution agreed to.

Second Resolution :

Motion made, and Question put, " That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

The House divided : Ayes, 156 ; Noes, 11. (Division List, No. 298.) .. 870

Public Works Loans Bill.—Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. T. M. Healy (*Louth, N.*) 877
Mr. Staveley Hill (*Staffordshire, Kingswinford*) 877
Sir F. Banbury (*City of London*) 877

Amendment proposed—

" To leave out the word ' now,' and at the end of the Question to add the words ' upon this day three months.' "—(*Mr. Staveley Hill.*)

Question proposed, " That the word ' now ' stand part of the Question.'

Mr. Claude Hay (*Shoreditch, Hoxton*) 878
The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (*Mr. McKenna, Monmouthshire, N.*) 878

Question put and agreed to.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

Solicitors Bill.—Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. Emmott (Oldham) in the Chair.]

Motion made, and Question, " That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again," put, and negatived.

Bill reported without Amendment ; read the third time, and passed .. 879

Local Government (Ireland) Act (1898) Amendment Bill.—Read a second time, and committed to-morrow. 880

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS [REPAYMENT.]

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the extension of time for the repayment of a loan made by the public Works Loan Commissioners to the South Staffordshire Mines Drainage Commissioners, in pursuance of any Act of the present Session, to grant money for the purpose of certain Local Loans out of the Local Loans Fund, and for other purposes relating to Local Loans.—(*Mr. McKenna.*)

Resolutions to be reported this day 880

Whereupon Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to the Order of the House of the 13th July.

Adjourned at half after Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: WEDNESDAY, 1st AUGUST, 1906.

The Lord Bishop of Durham took the Oath 881

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Solicitors Bill [H.L.]; Glasgow and South Western Railway Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to 881

Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—Commons Amendments considered (according to Order), and agreed to 881

Newburgh and North Fife Railway (Extension of Time) Order Confirmation Bill; Paisley Roads Order Confirmation Bill; Inverclyde Order Confirmation Bill; Perth Corporation Gas Order Confirmation Bill.—Read 3ª (according to Order), and passed 881

PETITIONS.

Education Bill.—Petitions against.—Of parents, guardians, and teachers of children attending schools at Copp; Oswaldtwistle; Knuzden; Milnrow; Farnworth; Clifton; Newton; Blackburn (two); Ramsbottom; Castleton (two); Accrington (six); Castleton (two); Westleigh (two); Bolton (two); Newney; Howe Bridge (two); Dearnley (two); Harpurhey; Melling in Lunsdale; Blackburn; Middleton (two); Lower Broughton (four); Ruswarp; Westcombe Park; Ashow; Fernhurst; Shaw, near Oldham; Eartham; Darowen; Penrhoslligwy; Sapiston; Christow; Temple Colston. Of inhabitants of Tardeligge Parish, Bromsgrove; Pirton Parish, Hertfordshire; Crosby Ravensworth; Bickershaw.
Read, and ordered to lie on the Table 881

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Tramways Act, 1870.—Report by the Board of Trade of their proceedings under the Tramways Act, 1870, during the Session of 1906 881

Light Railways Act, 1898.—Orders made by the Light Railway Commissioners and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising—

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The construction of Light Railways in the parts of Lindsey, in the county of Lincoln, from Winteringham to Barton-upon-Humber, and from Whitton to Aldborough in extension of the North Lindsey light railways.

The Urban District Council of Barking Town, to take lands for the purpose of widening a road on which a light railway authorised by the Barking Light Railways (Extensions) Order, 1903, will be laid in the urban district of Barking Town, in the county of Essex 882

Labour Statistics.—Third Abstract of Foreign Labour Statistics 882

Treaty Series, No. 9 (1906).—Convention between the United Kingdom and China respecting Tibet, signed at Peking, April 27th, 1906, to which is annexed the Convention between the United Kingdom and Tibet, signed at Lhasa, September 7th, 1904. Ratifications exchanged at London, July 23rd, 1906 882

Army.—Memorandum by the Secretary of State for War on army re-organisation, dated July 30th, 1906 882

Meteorological Committee.—First report of the Meteorological Committee to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, for the year ended 31st March, 1906 882

Board of Education.—Education Bill, 1906 (Draft Ballot Regulations.)

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 882

Army.—Further Regulations under the Regimental Debts Act, 1893 882

Shop Hours Act, 1904.—Closing orders made by the Portadown Urban District Council.

Order made by the Council of the City of Bath, and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the hours of closing for certain shops within the city.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 882

Army.—Return respecting: Laid before the House (pursuant to Address of Tuesday the 24th of July last, and to be printed). (No. 198). 883

Chairman of Committees.—The Lord Ribblesdale appointed to take the Chair in Committees of the Whole House this day, in the absence of the Chairman of Committees 883

Business of the House.—Standing Order No. XXXIX. considered (according to Order), and suspended for this day's sitting 883

The Land Purchase Act.

Lord Massey 883
Lord Denman 884

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Education (England and Wales) Bill.—[SECOND READING.]—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

The Lord President of the Council (*The Earl of Crewe*) 885

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl of Crewe.*)

The Marquess of Londonderry 910
The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury 921
Lord Glantawe 943
The Marquess of Huntly 947
Lord Farrer 953
Lord Zouche of Haryngworth 958
The Duke of Norfolk 966
Lord Burghclere 970
The Earl of Malmesbury 982
The Lord Bishop of St. Asaph 986
The President of the Board of Agriculture (*Earl Carrington*) .. 995
The Marquess of Salisbury 1000
The Lord Bishop of Ripon 1008
Lord Overtoun 1016

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned."

On Question, Debate adjourned till to-morrow.

Crown Lands Bill.—On the order for going into Committee on the Crown Lands Bill.

Lord Castletown 1019
The Lord Privy Seal (*The Marquess of Ripon*) 1002

House in Committee (according to Order); Bill reported without Amendment: Standing Committee negatived: Then (Standing Order XXXIX. having been suspended) Bill read 3ª and passed.

Marriage with Foreigners Bill.—House in Committee (according to Order).

Earl Beauchamp 1021

Amendments moved—

"In Clause 1, page 1, line 7, after the word 'may' to insert the words 'if it is desired for the purpose of complying with the requirement of the law of that country to obtain the certificate hereinafter mentioned.'"

"In page 2, line 11, after the word 'of' to insert the words 'any notice of an intended marriage or.'"—(*Earl Beauchamp.*)

Amendments agreed to.

Standing Committee negatived. Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended): Amendments reported: Bill read 3ª, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Fatal Accidents and Sudden Deaths Inquiry (Scotland) Bill.—Order of the Day for Second Reading read.

On Question, Bill read 2ª (according to Order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow 1021

Statute Law Revision (Scotland) Bill.—House in Committee (according to Order).

The Lord Chancellor 1022

Amendments made.

Standing Committee negatived. Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended): Amendments reported: Bill read 3ª, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Musical Copyright Bill.—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Earl Beauchamp 1022

Moved, That the Bill be now read 2ª.

The Earl of Plymouth 1022

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow.

Labourers (Ireland) Bill.—Returned from the Commons, with several of the Amendments agreed to; one other agreed to, with an Amendment; one disagreed to on an Amendment made in lieu thereof; and certain others disagreed to, for which they assign a reason; the said Amendments and reason to be printed, and to be considered To-morrow (No. 199) 1023

House adjourned at half-past Twelve o'clock a.m., till half-past Three o'clock p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: WEDNESDAY, 1st AUGUST, 1906.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Buckhaven, Methil, and Innerleven Burgh Extension Bill [Lords].—Ordered, That, in the case of the Buckhaven, Methil, and Innerleven Burgh Extension Bill [Lords], Standing Orders 84, 214, 215, and 239 be suspended, and that the Bill be now taken into Consideration.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

Bill, as amended, accordingly considered:—

Ordered, That Standing Orders 223 and 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

Bill accordingly read the third time, and passed, with Amendments .. 1023

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London Squares and Enclosures Bill [Lords].—Ordered, That, in the case of the London Squares and Enclosures Bill [Lords], Standing Orders 84, 214, 215, and 239 be suspended, and that the Bill be now taken into Consideration.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

Bill, as amended, accordingly considered :—

Ordered, That Standing Orders 223 and 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time.—(King's Consent signified.)—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 1023

Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill.—Lords Amendments considered and agreed to 1024

Rutherglen Burgh Order Confirmation Bill.—Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to 1024

Message from the Lords.—They have agreed to—Amendments to : Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords] ; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords] ; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords] ; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [Lords] ; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [Lords] ; Tramways Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords] ; County of Durham Electric Power Supply Bill [Lords] ; Great Northern (Ireland) and Midland Railways Bill [Lords] ; Nettlebed and District Commons (Preservation) Bill [Lords] ; Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire Electric Power Bill [Lords] ; without Amendment 1024

The London Squares and Enclosures Bill.—Order for Third Reading read.

The President of the Local Government Board (*Mr. John Burns, Battersea*) 1024

PETITIONS.

Betting and Gambling.—Petitions for legislation ; from Barry ; Chorley ; and Middle Claydon ; to lie upon the Table 1024

Education (England and Wales) Bill.—Petition from Sale, against ; to lie upon the Table 1025

Education (England and Wales) Bill (Religious Teaching).—Petitions against alteration of Law ; from Latimer road, London ; and, Llanfabon ; to lie upon the Table 1025

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Local Government Inspectors (Ireland).—Return [presented 30th July] to be printed. [No. 297.] 1025

Education (England and Wales) Bill.—Copy presented, of Draft Ballot Regulations [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table 1025

Shop Hours Act, 1904.—Copy presented, of Order made by the Urban District Council of Portadown, and confirmed by the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, closing shops on certain days within the Urban District of Portadown [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table 1025

Treaty Series (No. 9, 1906.).—Copy presented, of Convention between the United Kingdom and China, respecting Tibet. Signed at Peking, 27th April, 1906 (to which is annexed the Convention beween the United Kingdom and Tibet, signed at Lhasa, 7th September, 1904). Ratifications exchanged at London, 23rd July, 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table - - 1025

Meteorological Committee.—Copy presented of first Report of the Meteorological Committee to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, for the year ending 31st March, 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table .. 1025

Shop Hours Act, 1904.—Copy presented of Order made by the Council of the City of Bath, and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the hours of closing for Barbers' and Hairdressers' Shops within the city [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 1025

Tramway Orders —Copy presented of Report of the Board of Trade of their Proceedings under the Tramways Act, 1870, during the session of 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1026

Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy presented of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the parts of Lindsey, in the county of Lincoln, from Winteringham to Barton-upon-Humber and from Whitton to Aldborough, in extension of the North Lindsey Light Railways (North Lindsey Light Railways (Extensions) Order, 1906) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1026

Light Railways Act, 1896.—Copy presented of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the Urban District Council of Barking Town to take lands for the purpose of widening a road on which a Light Railway, authorised by the Barking Light Railways (Extensions) Order, 1903, will be laid in the Urban District of Barking Town, in the county of Essex (Barking Light Railways (Lands) Order, 1906) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1026

Board of Trade (Labour Department) (Foreign Labour Statistics).—Copy presented of Third Abstract of Foreign Labour Statistics by the Labour Department of the Board of Trade [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1026

Tramways and Light Railways (Street and Road).—Return presented relative thereto [Ordered 5th April; *Mr. Lloyd-George*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 298.] 1026

Papers Laid upon the Table by the Clerk of the House.—Inquiry into Charities (County of Wilts.) Further Return relative thereto [ordered 9th August, 1901; *Mr. Griffith-Boscawen*]; to be printed. [No. 299.] .. 1026

Inquiry into Charities (County of Berks). Further Return relative thereto [Ordered 28th March, 1905; *Mr. Griffith-Boscawen*]; to be printed. [No. 300.]

Inquiry into Charities (Administrative county of Devon). Further Return relative thereto [Ordered 26th July, 1905; *Mr. Griffith-Boscawen*]; to be printed. [No. 301.] 1026

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INCLOSURES (COUNTY OF KENT).—Return ordered, "showing (1) the number of Inclosures of common land made under the Inclosure Acts from 1845 to 1899 in the county of Kent; (2) list of parishes within which such lands are wholly or partly situate; (3) total acreage of such Inclosures; (4) average acreage of such Inclosures."—(*Mr. Rowlands.*) 1027

EAST INDIA.—Address for "Return for the five years 1888–1892, showing the number of Native States of India having an area of more than 100 square miles each, which were, during the above period, under the administrative control of political agents on account of the infancy or incapacity of their chiefs; and what has been the increase in their number during the five years covered by the Return."—(*Mr. Morton.*) 1027

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

GOUROCK TOWN COUNCIL AND THE RATEPAYERS.—Question, Mr. Torrance (Glasgow, Central); Answer, Mr. Sinclair 1027

GRIEVANCES OF BELFAST POST OFFICE CLERICAL STAFF.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 1028

REFUSAL OF GUN LICENCES FOR MR. EDMOND POWER OF DUNGARVAN.—Question, Mr. O'Shee (Waterford, W.); Answer, Mr. Bryce 1028

PARCELS POST ARRANGEMENT FOR ADAIE AND RATHKEALE.—Question, Mr. O'Shaughnessy (Limerick, W.); Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 1029

CASE OF TIMOTHY FITZGERALD, RURAL POSTMAN AT ATHEN, COUNTY LIMERICK.—Question, Mr. O'Shaughnessy; Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 1029

INSPECTOR OF SHEEP DIPPING FOR COUNTY DONEGAL.—Question, Mr. T. L. Corbett (Down, N.); Answer, Mr. Bryce 1030

BOARD OF EDUCATION AND EDEN GROVE SCHOOL, HOLLOWAY.—Question, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.); Answer, Mr. Birrell 1030

PROVISION FOR SURVIVORS OF THE BALACLAVA CHARGE.—Question, Mr. Dobson (Plymouth); Answer, Mr. Haldane 1032

CLEANSING OF THE ROYAL CANAL.—Question, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick); Answer, Mr. Bryce 1032

ERECTION OF GLASS HOUSES IN PHŒNIX PARK, DUBLIN—SCOTTISH CONTRACTORS.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Bryce 1032

REINSTATEMENT OF JAMES AND GEOFFREY RING, OF LACKA, COUNTY CORK.—Question, Mr. Flynn (Cork. N.); Answer, Mr. Bryce 1033

EDUCATION OF BLIND CHILDREN IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Bryce 1033

DISAPPEARANCE OF GAME FROM IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Fetherstonhaugh (Fermanagh, N.); Answer, Mr. Bryce 1034

PUNISHMENT OF THE GHAFFIRS OF DENSHAWI.—Question, Mr. Dillon (Mayo, E.); Answer, Sir. Edward Grey 1034

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THE DENSHAWI AFFAIR AND THE OMBASHI OF EGYPTIAN POLICE.—Question, Mr. Dillon; Answer, Sir Edward Grey 1034

THE ANHUI MINING CONTRACT.—Question, Sir Edward Sassoon (Hythe); Answer, Sir Edward Grey 1035

COMPENSATION FOR INJURIES BY RAILWAY ACCIDENT TO MR. WINSKIL—LETTER SORTER. — Question, Mr. Steadman (Finsbury, Central); Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 1035

POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS AT TOLLCROSS.—Question, Mr. Mitchell-Thomson (Lanarkshire, N.W.); Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 1035

PUBLICATION OF REPORT OF ROYAL COMMISSION ON TUBERCULOSIS.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. John Burns 1036

ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE TO INMATES OF LUNATIC ASYLUM.—Question, Mr. Wills (Islington, S.); Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1036

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL PARLIAMENTARY EXPENSES.—Question, Mr. Thornton (Clapham); Answer, Mr. John Burns 1037

HOLDING OF FAIRS AT BALLINA.—Question, Mr. Fetherstonhaugh; Answer, Mr. Cherry 1037

THE KENT HOP INDUSTRY AND FOREIGN COMPETITION.—Question, Mr. H. H. Marks (Kent, Thanet); Answer, Sir. Edward Strachey 1037

COMMANDER OF PORTSMOUTH NAVAL BARRACKS AND THE CANTEEN COMMITTEE. —Question, Mr. Bellairs (Lynn Regis); Answer, Mr. Edmund Robertson .. 1038

CLERKS TO SURVEYORS OF TAXES.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Mr. McKenna 1038

RETURN OF INTERCEPTED PUBLIC REVENUE.—Question, Mr. Bowles; Answer, Mr. McKenna 1040

EXTENSION OF THE AVON AND STONE CONSERVANCIES.—Question, Mr. W. D. Ward (Southampton); Answer, Mr. Edward Strachey 1040

EVICTED RYOTS IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, Mr. Morley 1040

CONTRACT FOR CONVEYANCE OF MILITARY STORES FROM DUBLIN TO KILBRIDE —FAIR WAGES CLAUSE.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Haldane .. 1041

LODGING ALLOWANCES TO SERGEANTS AND BUGLERS ON PERMANENT STAFF OF MILITIA.—Question, Captain Craig (Down, E.); Answer, Mr. Haldane .. 1041

THE WAR OFFICE AND CASE OF MR. BRENNER.—Question, Mr. Clavell Salter (Hants, Basingstoke); Answer, Mr. Haldane 1042

POOR LAW COMMISSION—IRISH MEDICAL REPRESENTATIVE.—Question, Mr. O'Shee; Answer, Sir. H. Campbell-Bannerman 1042

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

THE "RENOWN."—Question, Mr. Nield (Middlesex, Ealing); Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Edmund Robertson, Dundee) 1043

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HARBOUR WORKS AT ARKLOW.—Questions, Mr. Walter Long (Dublin, S.) and Mr. Thomas Esmonde; Answers, Mr. Bryce 1058

PROPOSED RAILWAY BETWEEN MULLARNEY AND BELMULLET.—Question, Mr. Walter Long; Answer, Mr. Bryce 1058

PORTOVOGIE HARBOUR WORKS.—Questions, Mr. Walter Long and Mr. T. L. Corbett (Down, N.); Answers, Mr. Bryce 1059

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MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have agreed to—Revenue Bill; Post Office Sites Bill; Post Office (Literature for the Blind) Bill; Charitable Loan Societies (Ireland) Bill; Dean Forest Bill; Deanery of Manchester Bill, without Amendment.

Amendments to:—Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords]; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [Lords]; Tramways Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]; County of Durham Electric Power Supply Bill [Lords]; Great Northern (Ireland) and Midland Railways Bill [Lords]; Nettlebed and District Commons (Preservation) Bill [Lords]; Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire Electric Power Bill [Lords]; without Amendment 1069

Ground Game Bill.—Lords' Amendments to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to 1069

Open Spaces Bill.—Lords Amendment to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to 1099

NEW MEMBER SWORN.—Thomas Michael Kettle, esquire, for the County of Tyrone (East Tyrone Division)... 1099

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (SUPPLY).—Ordered, That on this day, notwithstanding anything in Standing Order No. 15, Business other than Business of Supply may be taken before Eleven of the clock.—(*Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.*) 1070

SUPPLY [20TH ALLOTTED DAY] [31ST JULY]—REPORT.

Resolutions reported.

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1906-7.

CLASS II.

1. "That a sum, not exceeding £29,050, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, including a Grant in Aid of certain Expenses connected with Emigration."

CLASS I.

2. "That a sum, not exceeding £707,580, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure on the Services included in Class I. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
5. Miscellaneous Legal Buildings, Great Britain	34,800
6. Art and Science Buildings, Great Britain	45,800
10. Surveys of the United Kingdom	124,578
11. Harbours under the Board of Trade	14,606
12. Peterhead Harbour	22,000
13. Rates on Government Property	340,656
14. Public Works and Buildings, Ireland	96,477
15. Railways, Ireland	28,663
	£707,580"

CLASS II.

3. "That a sum, not exceeding £1,203,002, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure in respect of the Services included in Class II. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz.:—

	£
1. House of Lords Offices	10,210
2. House of Commons Offices	17,900
3. Treasury and Subordinate Departments	59,911
4. Home Office	124,085
8. Board of Trade	160,379
9. Mercantile Marine Services	69,873
10. Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade	5
12. Charity Commission	16,079
16. Local Government Board	147,470
17. Lunacy Commission, England	10,736
22. Registrar-General's Office, England	25,412
23. Stationery and Printing	401,480
24. Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, etc., Office	12,756
25. Works and Public Buildings Office	45,278
26. Secret Service	10,000

SCOTLAND.

27. Secretary for Scotland's Office	9,750
28. Fishery Board	12,691
29. Lunacy Commission	3,731
30. Registrar-General's Office	3,241
31. Local Government Board for Scotland	10,470

IRELAND.

32. Household of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	2672
35. Charitable Donations and Bequests Office	1,049
37. Public Record Office, Ireland	3,484
38. Public Works Office	23,938
39. Registrar General's Office	7,132
40. Valuation and Boundary Survey (including a Supplementary sum of £1,000)	12,276
	£1,203,002 "

CLASS III.

4. " That a sum, not exceeding £2,077,936, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure in respect of the Services included in Class III. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
1. Law Charges	31,954
2. Miscellaneous Legal Expenditure	21,914
3. Supreme Court of Judicature	179,066
4. Land Registry	25,602
5. Country Courts	2
7. Prisons, England and the Colonies	394,255
8. Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain	113,977
9. Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum	27,121

SCOTLAND.

10. Law Charges and Courts of Law	50,828
11. Register House, Edinburgh	27,745
12. Crofter's Commission	2,445
13. Prisons	52,600

IRELAND.

14. Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions	32,652
15. Supreme Court of Judicature and other Legal Departments	59,586
16. Irish Land Commission	124,215
17. County Court Officers, etc	66,088
18. Dublin Metropolitan Police	35,721
19. Royal Irish Constabulary	710,038
20. Prisons	62,556
21. Reformatory and Industrial Schools	55,995
22. Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum	3,576
	£2,077,936 "

CLASS IV.

5. " That a sum, not exceeding £8,387,882, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure in respect of the Services, included in Class IV. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz.:—

	£
1. Board of Education (including a Supplementary Sum of £200,000)	6,339,600
2. British Museum	99,998
3. National Gallery	7,038
4. National Portrait Gallery	2,619
5. Wallace Collection	3,821
6. Scientific Investigation, etc., United Kingdom	33,650
7. Universities and Colleges, Great Britain, and Intermediate Education, Wales	140,400
8. Public Education, Scotland	1,122,128
9. National Gallery, etc., Scotland	768

IRELAND.

10. Public Education	633,223
11. Endowed Schools Commissioners	510
12. National Gallery	1,766
13. Queen's Colleges	2,361
	£8,387,882 "

CLASS V

6. " That a sum, not exceeding £1,196,905, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure on the Services included in Class V. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
1. Diplomatic and Consular Services	303,856
2. Colonial Services	827,952
3. Telegraph Sudsidies and Pacific Cable	49,497
4. Cyprus (Grant in Aid)	1,000
5. Treasury Chest Fund	14,600
	£1,196,905 "

CLASS VI.

7. " That a sum, not exceeding £582, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending

on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure in respect of the Services included in Class VI. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
3. Miscellaneous, Charitable, and other Allowances -	383
4. Hospitals and Charities, Ireland - - - ..	199
	£582 "

CLASS VII.

8. " That a sum not exceeding £350,759, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure in respect of the Services included in Class VII of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
1. Temporary Commissions - - - - - -	27,000
2. Miscellaneous Expenses - - - - - -	10,743
3. Repayments to the Local Loans Fund - - -	58
4. Ireland Development Grant - - - - -	85,000
5. Repayments to Civil Contingencies Fund - -	22,958
6. Inter-Parliamentary Conference - - - -	5,000
7. Expenses under the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905	200,000
	£350,759 "

ARMY ESTIMATES 1906–7.

9. " That a sum, not exceeding £1,803,100, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure on the Army Services, including Army (Ordnance Factories), viz. :—

	£
5. Volunteer Corps, Pay and Allowances - - -	1,244,000
13. War Office and Army Accounts Department - -	559,000
Ordnance Factories - - - - - - -	100
	£1,803,100 "

Resolutions read a second time :—

First two Resolutions postponed.

Third Resolution :—

Sir Charles Dilke (*Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean*) 1075
Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald (*Leicester*) 1080

Amendment proposed—

" To leave out ' £1,203,002,' and insert ' £1,202,902.' "—(*Sir Charles Dilke*).

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Question proposed, " That '£1,203,002' stand part of the said Resolution,"

Mr. Tennant (Berwickshire) 1085
Mr. Gill (Bolton) 1090
Mr. Jowett (Bradford, W.) 1093
Mr. Byles (Salford, N.) 1095
Mr. O'Grady (Leeds, E.) 1098
Mr. Brace (Glamorganshire, S.) 1099
The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Gladstone, Leeds, W.) 1100
Mr. T. Richards (Monmouthshire, W.) 1112
Mr. Fenwick (Northumberland, Wansbeck) 1114

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

Mr. Stuart (Sunderland) 1114
Mr. Shackleton (Lancs., Clitheroe) 1115
Dr. Cooper (Southwark, Bermondsey) 1117

And, it being a quarter past Eight of the clock, and there being Private Business set down by direction of the Chairman of Ways and Means under Standing Order No. 8, further Proceeding was postponed without Question put.

Lancashire Electric Power Bill (BY ORDER).—Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to 1118

SUPPLY [31ST JULY] REPORT.—Postponed Proceeding on Consideration of Third Resolution resumed.

Question again proposed, " That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

Dr. Cooper 1118
Mr. Remnant (Finsbury, Holborn) 1121
Mr. Rees (Montgomery Boroughs) 1122
Mr. T. F. Richards (Wolverhampton, W.) 1123
Mr. Gladstone 1124
Mr. T. L. Corbett (Down, N.) 1126

Question put, and agreed to.

Subsequent Resolutions agreed.

Postponed Resolutions agreed to.

SUPPLY [5TH JULY] REPORT.

Resolution reported.

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1906–7.—CLASS II.

" That a sum, not exceeding £40,396, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for the

Salaries and Expenses of the Department of His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs."

Mr. Gooch (*Bath*) 1127
Mr. Lynch (*Yorkshire, W.R., Ripon*) 1128
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*Sir Edward Grey, Northumberland, Berwick*) 1132

Resolution agreed to.

And, it being Ten of the clock, Mr. SPEAKER proceeded to put forthwith the Questions, That this House doth agree with the Committee in the outstanding Resolutions reported in respect of Class II. of the Civil Services Estimates, and the Navy Estimates.

Question, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the outstanding Resolutions reported in respect of Class II. of the Civil Services Estimates,"

Put, and agreed to.

NAVY ESTIMATES, 1906–7.

Question, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the outstanding Resolutions reported in respect of the Navy Estimates," put, and agreed to 1136

WAYS AND MEANS [31ST JULY] REPORT.

Resolution reported.

"That, towards making good the Supply granted to His Majesty for the Service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1907, the sum of £68,528,828 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom."

Resolution agreed to.

Bill ordered to be brought in by the Chairman of Ways and Means, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. McKenna, and Mr. Whiteley 1137

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS [REPAYMENT].—Resolution reported.

"That it is expedient to authorise the extension of time for the repayment of a loan made by the Public Works Loan Commissioners to the South Staffordshire Mines Drainage Commissioners, in pursuance of any Act of the present Session, to grant money for the purpose of certain Local Loans out of the Local Loans Fund, and for other purposes relating to Local Loans."

Resolution agreed to 1137

Public Works Loans Bill.—Considered in Committee, and reported, without Amendment; Bill read the third time and passed 1137

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Local Government (Ireland) Act (1898) Amendment Bill. Considered in Committee, and reported, without Amendment; Bill read the third time and passed 1137

Consolidated Fund Appropriation Bill.—"To apply a sum out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March, one thousand nine hundred and seven, and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time To-morrow 1137

Labourers (Ireland) Bill.—Lords Amendments considered.

The Chief Secretary for Ireland (*Mr. Bryce, Aberdeen, S.*) 1138

Lords Amendment—

"In page 1, line 23, to leave out 'can' and insert 'will.'"

Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said amendment."

Mr. Clancy (*Dublin County, N.*) 1138

Question put, and agreed to.

Lords Amendment—

"In page 2, line 7, leave out clause 4."

Mr. Bryce 1139
Sir E. Carson (*Dublin University*) 1139

Lords Amendment disagreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"'Clause 4, line 7, leave out '14' in order to insert '21.'"—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Subsequent Lords Amendments down to the Lords Amendment in page 6, line 41, agreed to.

Lords Amendment—

"In page 6, line 41, after 'sub-section,' insert as a new sub-section:—'A copy of the receipt shall, on the request of any person entitled to any estate or interest in the land in respect of which the purchase money or compensation was paid, be furnished by the council to that person.'"

Mr. Bryce 1140

Lords Amendment agreed to.

Question, "That the words 'at their expense' be inserted after the word 'council,'" put, and agreed to.

Lords Amendment—

"In page 7, line 30, to leave out Sub-section (9) of Clause 11."

Lords Amendment disagreed to.

Lords Amendment—

"In page 7, line 41, after 'pounds,' insert unless the court shall otherwise order.'"

Lords Amendment disagreed to.

Lords Amendment—

"In page 10, line 35, to leave out 'or by the son of any such labourer.'"

Mr. Bryce 1140
Mr. Flynn (*Cork, N.*) 1141
Mr. Sheehan (*Cork County, Mid.*) 1141
Mr. Hayden (*Roscommon, S.*) 1141
The Attorney-General for Ireland (*Mr. Cherry, Liverpool, Exchange*) .. 1141
Mr. E. Carson 1141
Mr. Clancy 1142

Lords Amendment agreed to.

Remaining Lords Amendments agreed to.

Mr. Bryce 1142

Committee appointed to draw up reasons to be assigned to the Lords for disagreeing to certain of their Amendments to the Bill.

Committee nominated of—Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland, Mr. James Bryce, Mr. Clancy, Mr. Charles Craig, and Mr. Sheehan.

To withdraw immediately.

Three to be the quorum.—(*Mr. James Bryce.*)

Colonial Marriages Bill. [LORDS].

Considered in Committee.

[MR. EMMOTT (Oldham) in the Chair.]

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1:—

The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (*Mr. Churchill, Manchester, N.W.*) 1142

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Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the words, 'Nor any claim by the Crown for any duty due at the passing of this Act.'"

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Sir E. Carson (*Dublin University*) 1143
Mr. Churchill 1143

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause," put and negatived.

New proviso inserted.

Bill reported; as amended, to be considered To-morrow, and to be printed. [No. 339.]

Street Betting Bill. [LORDS].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1:—

The Secretary of State for the Home Department (*Mr. Gladstone, Leeds, W.*) 1144
Sir E. Carson 1145
Mr. Gladstone 1146
Mr. Paul (*Northampton*) 1147
Sir E. Carson 1147
Mr. Charles Craig (*Antrim, S.*) 1147
Mr. Bottomley (*Hackney, S.*) 1148

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 7, to leave out the words 'or wagering.'"—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Mr. Claude Hay (*Shoreditch, Hoxton*) 1148

Amendment by leave withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 11, to leave out the word 'ten' and insert the word 'five.'"—(*Mr. Bottomley.*)

Question, "That the word 'ten' stand part of the Clause," put, and agreed to.

Mr. Lupton (*Lincolnshire, Sleaford*) 1149

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Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 20, to leave out from the words 'pounds' to the word 'fine' in line 22.—(*Mr. Lupton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Mr. Charles Craig 1149
Mr. J. W. Wilson (*Worcestershire, N.*) 1149
Sir E. Carson 1149

Amendment negatived.

Mr. Bottomley 1150

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out Sub-section 2."—(*Mr. Bottomley.*)

Mr. Lupton 1150
Mr. Shackleton (*Lancashire, Clitheroe*) 1115
Mr. Mitchell-Thomson (*Lanarkshire, N.W.*) 1151

Amendment negatived.

Mr. Watt (*Glasgow College*) 1152

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 5, after 'and,' to insert 'the officer in charge of the police station to which such person is taken may cause such person to be searched and.'"—(*Mr. Watt.*)

Mr. Gladstone 1152

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Bottomley 1153

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 7, to leave out Sub-section (3)."—(*Mr. Bottomley.*)

Mr. Gladstone 1153
Mr. Lupton 1153

Amendment negatived.

Mr. Bottomley 1154

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 10, leave out Sub-section (4)."

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Mr. Gladstone 1154
Mr. Hicks Beach 1154

Amendment negatived.

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

Mr. Claude Hay 1154

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 14, to leave out the word 'unenclosed.'"

Question proposed, "That the word proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. Gladstone 1155
Sir E. Carson 1155

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Forster (*Kent, Sevenoaks*) 1155

Motion made, and question proposed, "That Clause 1, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. T. M. Healy 1156
The Attorney-General for Ireland (*Mr. Cherry, Liverpool Exchange*) .. 1156

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 2:—

Mr. Mitchell-Thomson (*Lanarkshire, N.W.*) 1156

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 16, after the word 'shall,' to insert the words 'save as hereinbefore provided.'"—(*Mr. Mitchell-Thomson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Mitchell-Thomson 1157
Mr. Gladstone 1157
Mr. Charles Craig 1157
Sir E. Carson 1158

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, clause 2, lines 17 and 18, to leave out the words 'or adjacent thereto.'"— *Sir E. Carson.*

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Page
Mr. Gladstone 1158
Lord Balcarres .. .. 11[illegible]

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Report made, and Question proposed, " That Clause 2 stand part of the Bill."

Mr. T. M. Healy 1159
Mr. Gladstone 1160
Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*) 1160
Mr. Shackleton 1161
Mr. H. H. Marks (*Kent, Thanet*) 1161
Mr. Clough (*Yorks., W. R., Skipton*) 1162
Sir E. Carson 1162
Mr. Charles Craig 1162
Lord Balcarres 1162
Mr. Bottomley 1163
Mr. Crossley (*Cheshire, Altrincham*) 1163
The Lord Advocate (*Mr. Thos. Shaw, Hawick Burghs*) 1164
Mr. Arthur Henderson (*Durham, Barnard Castle*) 1164
Mr. A. E. W. Mason (*Windsor*) 1165
Mr. Bertram (*Herts, Hitchin*) 1166
Mr. Gibbs (*Bristol, W.*) 1166
Viscount Morpeth 1166
Mr. Richardson (*Nottingham, S.*) 1167
Mr. T. M. Healy 1167
Mr. J. M. Robertson (*Northumberland, Tyneside*) 1168

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 77 Noes, 69. (Division List No. 299.)

Clause 3.

Mr. Thos. Shaw 1169

Amendment proposed—

> " In page 2, line 20, at end, to add the words ' and " passage " includes common close or common stair or passage leading thereto ; and in the event of an offender failing to make payment of a fine imposed under Section 1, 1 , *a* or *b* of this Act, he shall be liable to imprisonment in accordance with the provisions of the Summary Jurisdiction Acts.' "— *Mr. Thomas Shaw.*

Question proposed, " That those words be there added."

Mr. Mitchell-Thomson 1170

Question put and agreed to

Clause 3 amended, and agreed to.

Clause 4 agreed to.

Bill reported, with Amendments ; as amended, to be considered To-morrow.

Census of Production Bill.—Order for Second Reading read.

Proposition made and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second second time."

Lord Balcarres (*Lancashire, Chorley*) 1171
Mr. Stuart (*Sunderland*) 1172
Mr. T. M. Healy (*Louth, N.*) 1172
The President of the Board of Trade (*Mr. Lloyd George, Carnarvon Boroughs*) 1173
Mr. John O'Connor (*Kildare, N.*) 1175

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time and committed for To-morrow.

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS (REPAYMENT).

Resolution reported:

"That it is expedient to authorise the extension of time for the repayment of a loan made by the Public Works Loan Commissioners to the South Staffordshire Mines Drainage Commissioners in pursuance of any Act of the present Session, to grant money for the purpose of certain Local Loans out of the Local Loans Fund and for other purposes relating to Local Loans." 1176

Resolution agreed to.

Labourers (Ireland) Bill.—Reasons for disagreeing to Lords Amendments reported and agreed to.

To be communicated to the Lords 1176

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have agreed to: Marriage with Foreigners Bill; Statute Law Revision (Scotland) Bill, with Amendments 1176

Whereupon Mr. Deputy Speaker adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to the Order of the House of the 13th July last.

Adjourned at a quarter after Two o'clock a.m.

HOUSE OF LORDS: THURSDAY, 2ND AUGUST, 1906.

EARLDOM OF NORFOLK.—The evidence taken and the speeches delivered by counsel before the Committee for Privileges to be printed. (No. 200) .. 1177

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with: Metropolitan Electric Supply.
The same was ordered to lie on the Table 1177

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Buckhaven, Methil, and Innerleven Burgh Extension Bill [H.L.]; **London Squares and Enclosures Bill** [H.L.]—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to. 1177

Open Spaces Bill; Sutton District Water Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendment made to each Bill agreed to 1177

Ground Game Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill; Rutherglen Burgh Order Confirmation Bill; Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill; Pontefract Corporation Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to 1177

Metropolitan Electric Supply Bill.—Ordered, That Standing Order No. 93 be suspended; and that the time for depositing petitions praying to be heard against the Metropolitan Electric Supply Bill be extended to the first day on which the House shall sit after the Recess 1177

Hackney Electricity Bill; Hampstead Garden Suburb Bill; London County Council (Money) Bill; North West London Railway Bill; St. Pancras Electricity Bill; South Lincolnshire Water Bill; South Wales Electrical Power Distribution Company Bill; Watford and Edgware Railway Bill; Lancashire Electric Power Bill.—Returned from the Commons, with the Amendments agreed to 1177

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.—Petitions against; of Inhabitants of Carshalton; Whepstead; Llandegfau; Mendham; Runwell; Eythorne; Hemswell; Harpswell; Stoke Newington (Parish of St. Faith's); Northwood; Crambe; Everley; Sowton; Brighton; Elton; Stambermill; Staunton-on-Wye; Public Elementary Schools in Diocese of Ely; Bolton (Parish of St. George the Martyr); Granby; Worminghall; Kilkhampton; Basildon; Little Malvern; Bylchau; Llangranog; Laindon; Hinton; Blewett; Brighton; Hawthorn; Monewden; Helindon; Paulerspury; Parish of St. Peter's, Hindley; Parish of All Saints, Wigan; and Colwyn Bay; Read, and ordered to lie on the Table 1178

EDUCATION.—Petitions in favour of maintenance of existing religious teaching in Church of England schools; of parents and guardians of children attending school at St. John's National School; and Brindle; Read, and ordered to lie on the Table 1178

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LAND REGISTRY (LAND TRANSFER ACTS, 1875 AND 1897).—Report of the Registrar of the Land Registry for the years 1902, 1903, 1904, and 1905, as to the work of constructing a general register of title for the county of London 1178

MARRIAGES, BIRTHS, AND DEATHS (IRELAND).—Annual Report of the Registrar-General for Ireland, for the year 1905 1178

EVICTIONS (IRELAND).—Return of Evictions in Ireland for the quarter ended 30th June, 1906 1178

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LUNACY (IRELAND).—Supplement of the Fifty-fourth Annual Report of the Inspectors of Lunatics in Ireland, being a special report on the alleged increase of lunacy in Ireland 1178

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, BELFAST.—Annual Report of the President for the year 1905–6 1178

WAR STORES IN SOUTH AFRICA (ROYAL COMMISSION).—Report of the Royal Commission on War Stores in South Africa, together with appendices and minutes of evidence (four volumes).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 1179

ARMY (PENSIONS).—Return for the year ended 31st March, 1906, of pensions specially granted under Articles 730, 1173A, and 1207 of the Pay Warrant 1179

RAILWAY SERVANTS (HOURS OF LABOUR).—Report by the Board of Trade respecting their proceedings under the Railway Regulation Act, 1893, during the year ended 27th July, 1906 1179

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 1179

Criminal Appeal Bills.—Return respecting ; laid beore the House (pursuant to Address of the 3rd of May last), and to be printed. (No. 201) 1179

Public Works Loans Bill.—Brought from the Commons ; read 1ª ; to be printed ; and to be read 2ª To-morrow. (The Lord Privy Seal [*M. Ripon*].) (No. 202) 1179

Local Government (Ireland) Act (1898) Amendment Bill.—Brought from the Commons ; read 1ª ; to be printed ; and to be read 2ª To-morrow. (The Lord Ribblesdale.) (No. 203) 1179

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Standing Order No. XXXIX. considered (according to Order), and suspended for this day's sitting 1179

Local Authorities (Transfer of Treasury Powers) Bill.—Read 2ª (according to Order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow 1179

Labourers (Ireland) Bill.

The Marquess of Lansdowne 1179
The Lord Privy Seal (*The Marquess of Ripon*) 1180

Education (England and Wales) Bill [SECOND READING].—Order of the Day read for the adjourned debate on the Motion for the Second Reading.

The Duke of Devonshire 1180
The Lord Bishop of Southwark 1192
Lord Stanley of Alderley 1199
The Lord Bishop of London 1212
Viscount Halifax 1219
The First Lord of the Admiralty (*Lord Tweedmouth*) 1232

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Lord Colchester .. 1236
Lord Killanin .. 1240
Lord Northbourne .. 1244
Lord Winterstoke .. 1248
Lord Blythswood .. 1249
Lord Kinnaird .. 1250
Earl Nelson .. 1254
Lord Castletown .. 1257
Lord Hylton .. 1261
Lord Ampthill .. 1266
Earl Cawdor .. 1273
Lord Ribblesdale .. 1287
Lord Robertson .. 1292
Lord Reay .. 1300

Further debate adjourned till To-morrow.

CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES.—The Lord RIBBLESDALE appointed to take the Chair in Committees of the Whole House this day, in the absence of the Chairman of Committees .. 1306

Fatal Accidents and Sudden Deaths Inquiry (Scotland) Bill.—House in Committee (according to Order); Bill reported without Amendment: Standing Committee negatived: Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended): Bill read 3ª, and passed .. 1306

Musical Copyright Bill.—House in Committee according to Order.

Lord RIBBLESDALE in the Chair.

Earl Beauchamp .. 1306

Amendments made: Standing Committee negatived: Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended): Amendments reported: Bill read 3ª, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Labourers (Ireland) Bill.—Commons Amendments, to Lords Amendments, and Commons reason for disagreeing to certain of the Lords Amendments considered (according to Order).

The Marquess of Lansdowne .. 1307
Lord Clonbrock .. 1310
The Earl of Mayo .. 1311
The Earl of Crewe .. 1312
The Earl of Dunraven .. 1314
Lord Balfour of Burleigh .. 1315

Moved, That the omission of Clause 4 with which the Commons have disagreed be not insisted on and that Amendments made by the Commons to the said Clause be agreed to.—(*The Marquess of Lansdowne.*)

On Question, Motion agreed to.

Moved, That Amendment on page 7 to Clause 11, in line 30, to which Commons have disagreed, be not insisted on.—(*The Marquess of Lansdowne*).

On Question, Motion agreed to.

Moved, That Amendment to Clause 11, page 7, in line 41, to which the Commons have disagreed, be not insisted on, but that in lieu thereof the following Amendment be agreed to : " Provided where the Court is satisfied in any particular case, that owing to the difficulty of showing title, the cost properly and necessarily incurred in respect of such payment amounted to larger sum, the limit of £10 may be exceeded."—(*Lord Lansdowne.*)

On Question, Motion agreed to.

Moved, That the following resolutions be placed upon the Journals of this House :—" That this House, although not insisting in its Amendments in page 7, to which the Commons have disagreed, maintains its right to legislate with regard to the principles of valuation upon which property may be taken for public purposes."—(*Lord Lansdowne.*)

On Question agreed to, and ordered to be entered on the Journals.

Bill returned to the Commons, with the Amendment.

Bristol Corporation Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to 1317

House of Lords Offices.—Third Report from the Select Committee made, to be printed, and to be considered To-morrow. [No. 204] 1317

Business of the House.—Standing Order No. XXXIX. to be considered Tomorrow in order to its being suspended for that day's sitting 1317

House adjourned at ten minutes before One o'clock a.m., till Twelve o'clock noon.

HOUSE OF COMMONS : THURSDAY, 2ND AUGUST, 1906.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Message from the Lords.—That they have agreed to :—Crown Lands Bill, Newburgh and North Fife Railway (Extension of Time) Order Confirmation Bill, Paisley Roads Order Confirmation Bill, Inverclyde Bequest Order Confirmation Bill, Perth Corporation Gas Order Confirmation Bill, without Amendment.

Amendments to—Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords], Wallasey Tramways and Improvements Bill [Lords], without Amendment 1317

PETITIONS.

Education (England and Wales) Bill (Religious Teaching).—Petition from Halifax, against alteration of Law ; to lie upon the Table 1318

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EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.—Petitions from Higham Ferrers, for alteration; to lie upon the Table 1318

POISONS AND PHARMACY BILL [LORDS].—Petitions from Rotherhithe, for alteration; to lie upon the Table 1318

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.—Petitions from Derby, in favour; to lie upon the Table 1318

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

MARRIAGES, BIRTHS, AND DEATHS (IRELAND).—Copy presented, of Forty-second detailed Annual Report of the Registrar-General of Marriages, Births, and Deaths in Ireland, 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1318

QUEEN'S COLLEGE (BELFAST).—Copy presented, of Annual Report of the President for 1905–6 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1318

EVICTIONS (IRELAND).—Copy presented, of Return of Evictions in Ireland for the quarter ended 30th June, 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1318

LUNACY (IRELAND).—Copy presented, of Supplement to the Fifty-Fourth Annual Report of the Inspectors of Lunatics in Ireland, being a Special Report on the alleged increase of Lunacy in Ireland [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1318

WAR STORES IN SOUTH AFRICA (ROYAL COMMISSION).—Copy presented, of Report of the Royal Commission on War Stores in South Africa, together with Appendices and Minutes of Evidence (four volumes) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1318

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (EXPENSES).—Return presented relative thereto [Address March 13th; *Mr. Lamont*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 302] 1319

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (LIGHTS UPON VEHICLES).—Return presented relative thereto [Address March 21st; *Mr. Marnham*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 303] 1319

DEATHS FROM STARVATION OR ACCELERATED BY PRIVATION (LONDON).—Return presented relative thereto [Address March 27th; *Mr. Talbot*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 304] 1319

EDUCATION (UNITED KINGDOM).—Return presented relative thereto [Address April 4th; *Mr. Thomas O'Donnell*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 305] 1319

ILLITERATE VOTERS (GENERAL ELECTION, 1906).—Return presented, relative thereto [Address May 9th; *Mr. Crooks*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 306] — 1319

PROBATION OF FIRST OFFENDERS.—Return presented relative thereto [Address May 14th; *Sir Howard Vincent*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 307] 1319

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MAGISTRATES (ENGLAND AND WALES).—Return presented relative thereto (Address May 14th ; *Mr. Bennett*] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 308] 1319

MIDWIVES.—Return presented relative thereto [Address July 25th ; *Mr. Helme*] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 309] 1319

NAVAL EXPENDITURE (PRINCIPAL NAVAL POWERS).—Return presented relative thereto [ordered July 18th ; *Mr. Thomasson*] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 310] 1319

LOCAL TAXATION RETURNS (ENGLAND).—Copy presented of the Annual Local Taxation Returns for 1904–5 [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 311] 1320

RAILWAY SERVANTS (HOURS OF LABOUR).—Copy presented of Report by the Board of Trade of their Proceedings under The Railway Regulation Act, 1893, during the year ended July 27th, 1906 [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 312] 1320

WALNEY LIGHT DUTIES.—Return presented relative thereto [ordered May 9th; *Major Seely*] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 313] 1320

ARMY (SPECIAL PENSIONS).—Return presented for the year ended March 31st, 1906, of Pensions specially granted under Articles 730, 1173A, and 1207 of the Pay Warrant [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table 1320

ARMY (REGIMENTAL DEBTS.)—Copy presented of Further Regulations under The Regimental Debts Act, 1893 [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table 1320

VOLUNTEER BRIGADES.—Return presented relative thereto [Address July 2nd ; *Sir Howard Vincent*] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 314] .. 1320

LAND REGISTRY.—Copy presented, of Report of the Registrar of the Land Registry for the years 1902, 1903, 1904, and 1905, as to the work of constructing a General Register of Title for the County of London [by Command] to lie upon the Table 1320

HIGHER EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) (APPLICATION OF FUNDS BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES).—Return ordered, "showing the extent to which and the manner in which Local Authorities in England and Wales have applied funds to the purposes of Education other than Elementary during the year 1905–6 under any of the following Acts ; Education Act, 1902 ; Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889 ; Public Libraries and Museum Acts ; Local or Private Acts."—(*Mr. Birrell.*) 1320

POOR-RELIEF (ENGLAND AND WALES.)—Return ordered, "of statement of the amount expended by boards of guardians for Poor Relief during the half year ended Lady-day, 1906 ; and similar Statement for the half year ended Michaelmas, 1906 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 325, of Session 1905)."—(*Mr. Runciman.*) 1321

LOCAL TAXATION LICENCES, ETC., 1905–6.—Return ordered, "of the amount received during the year ended 31st day of March, 1906, in respect of each administrative county and county borough in England and Wales for Local Taxation Licence Duties, and penalties and forfeitures recovered in respect of such duties, and for other duties and payments which are directed to be dealt with in the same manner as the Local Taxation Licence Duties (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 280, of Session 1905)."—(*Mr. Runciman.*) 1321

PUBLIC REVENUE (INTERCEPTION).—Return ordered, "of the amounts of all Public Revenue derived from taxes levied by Parliament, and from any other sources, which are not paid into His Majesty's Exchequer, for the years 1904–5, 1905–6, and 1906–7 (estimated), with the totals in each case (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 223, of Session 1905)."—(*Mr. Bowles.*) 1321

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DUBLIN MAIL CONTRACTOR.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 1322

OVERTIME IN THE DUBLIN POST OFFICE.—Question, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory); Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 1322

PURCHASES OF THE CONGESTED DISTRICTS BOARD.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, Mr. Sinclair 1323

SCOTTISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD.—Question, Mr. Watt (Glasgow College); Answer, Mr. Sinclair 1323

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BELFAST TELEGRAPHISTS' COMPLAINT.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 1332

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RICHMOND PARK.—Question, Mr. Cathcart Wason (Orkney and Shetland); Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Harcourt, Lancashire, Rossendale) 1370

CHESHIRE CHEESE.—Questions, Mr. A. L. Stanley (Cheshire, Eddisbury; Answer, Mr. Jacoby (Derbyshire, Mid.) 1703

WYRE SALMON FISHERY.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Sir Edward Strachey (Somersetshire, S.) 1371

SUTHERLAND PIERS AND HARBOURS.—Question, Mr. Morton; Answer, The Secretary for Scotland (Mr. Sinclair, Forfarshire) 1372

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SUTHERLANDSHIRE STEAMBOAT SERVICES.—Question, Mr. Morton; Answer, Mr. Sinclair 1372

DUNBLANE.—Question, Mr. Morton; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. Shaw, Hawick Burghs) 1372

KILLAFER EVICTED TENANT.—Question, Mr. T. Smyth (Leitrim, S.); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Bryce, Aberdeen, S.) 1373

COSTREA EVICTED FARM.—Question, Mr. T. Smyth; Answer, Mr. Bryce 1373

FERNS SCHOOL, WEXFORD.—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde (Wexford, N.); Answer, Mr. Bryce 1374

IRISH PRIMARY EDUCATION.—Question, Mr. Murphy (Kerry, E.); Answer, Mr. Bryce 1374

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY.—Questions, Mr. Flynn (Cork, N.); Answers, Mr. Bryce 1374

SECOND-TERM RENT APPEALS.—Question, Mr. Murphy; Answer, Mr. Bryce .. 1375

IRISH TEACHERS' SALARIES.—Question, Mr. Murphy; Answer, Mr. Bryce .. 1376

IRISH INTERMEDIATE BOARD.—Mr. Bryce 1376

NEWCASTLE (COUNTY DOWN) FORESHORE.—Questions, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answers, Mr. Lloyd-George 1377

BELFAST DOCK ACCOMMODATION.—Questions, Mr. John Redmond (Waterford) and Mr. MacVeagh (Down, S.); Answers, Mr. Lloyd-George 1378

BELFAST STOCK EXCHANGE.—Questions, Mr. MacVeagh; Answers, Mr. Lloyd-George 1378

HOWTH HARBOUR AND IRELAND'S EYE. — Questions, Mr. Clancy (Dublin County, N.); Answers, Mr. Lloyd-George 1379

CORK POST OFFICE OVERSEER.—Question, Mr. A. Roche (Cork); Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 1379

CORK TELEPHONE OPERATORS.—Question, Mr. A. Roche; Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 1380

CORK TELEGRAPH STAFF.—Question, Mr. A. Roche; Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 1380

KILLARNEY POSTMEN'S LOAD.—Question, Mr. Murphy; Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 1380

DUBLIN ORDNANCE SURVEY STAFF.—Question, Mr. Clancy; Answer, Sir E. Strachey 1381

THE COUNTY MAGISTRACY.—Questions, Mr. Bridgeman (Shropshire, Oswestry); Answers, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, (Stirling Burghs) 1382

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THE TRADE DISPUTES BILL.—Question, Mr. Shackleton (Lancashire, Clitheroe); Answer, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman 1382

Statute Law Revision (Scotland) Bill.—Lords Amendments to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to 1382

CENSUS OF PRODUCTION [EXPENSES].—Committee to consider of authorising the payment, out of moneys provided by Parliament, of any expenses incurred for the purposes of the Census under any Act of the present session to provide for taking a Census of Production (King's Recommendation signified), to-morrow.—(*Mr. Whiteley*) 1382

Light Railways Bill.—Order for Second Reading [October 23rd] read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn 1382

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill—Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Major Seely (*Liverpool, Abercromby*) 1382

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now,' and at the end of the Question to add the words 'upon this day three months.'"—(*Major Seely.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Sir Gilbert Parker (*Gravesend*) 1386
Mr. A. J. Balfour (*City of London*) 1389
The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (*Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Stirling Burghs*) 1397
Sir J. Jardine (*Roxburghshire*) 1402
Mr. Lyttelton (*St. George's, Hanover Square*) 1405
The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (*Mr. Churchill, Manchester, N.W.*) 1411
Mr. Menzies (*Lanarkshire, S.*) 1417
Mr. Rees (*Montgomery Boroughs*) 1418
Mr. Joseph Walton (*Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley*) 1420

And, it being a quarter-past Eight of the clock, and there being Private Business set down by direction of the Chairman of Ways and Means under Standing Order No. 8, further Proceeding was postponed without Question put.

Bristol Corporation Bill (BY ORDER).—Lords Amendments considered.

Lords' Amendments to the Amendment in page 27, line 21, agreed to

Lords' Amendment in page 27, line 21, after Clause 49 insert Clauses 49a and 49b, the next Amendment, read a second time.

Mr. O'Grady (*Leeds, E.*) 1425

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth disagree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. O'Grady.*)

Mr. W. H. Davies (Bristol, S.) 1428
Mr. Gibbs (Bristol, W.) 1429
Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald (Leicester) 1430
Mr. Charles Hobhouse (Bristol, E.) 1431
The Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. H. Samuel, Yorkshire, Cleveland) 1432

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 44 ; Noes, 139. (Division List No. 300.)

Remaining Lords' Amendments agreed to.

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation Bill).—Postponed Proceeding on Amendment to Question, "That the Bill be now read a second time," resumed

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. Ashley (Lancashire, Blackpool) 1437
Mr. Walter Long (Dublin, S.) 1437
Sir Thomas Esmonde (Wexford, N.) 1443
Mr. Flynn (Cork, N.) 1444
Mr. Gordon (Londonderry, S.) 1445
Mr. Power (Waterford, E.) 1445
Mr. John O'Connor (Kildare, N.) 1446
The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Bryce, Aberdeen, S.) 1448
Mr. Munro Ferguson (Leith Burghs) 1454
Mr. Morton (Sutherlandshire) 1455
The Secretary for Scotland (Mr. Sinclair, Forfarshire) 1456

Mr. GEORGE WHITELEY rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question, "That the Question be now put," put, and agreed to.

Question, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question," put accordingly, and agreed to.

Main Question put, and agreed to. Bill read a second time, and committed for To-morrow.

Census of Production Bill.—Order for Committee read, and discharged. Bill committed to the Standing Committee on Trade, etc. 1458

Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Bill.—Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to 1458

Dogs Bill.—Consideration of Lords' Amendments.

Mr. Claude Hay (Shoreditch, Hoxton) 1459
Mr. Morton (Sutherlandshire) 1459
Sir Edward Strachey (Somersetshire, S.) 1459
Mr. Hicks Beach (Gloucestershire, Tewkesbury) 1459

The Lords Amendments were agreed to.

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Colonial Marriages Bill [Lords].—As amended, considered; read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 1459

Poor Relief (England and Wales Bil.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 2nd August; *Mr. Runciman*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 315] 4159

Local Taxation Licences, Etc., 1905–6.—Return presented, relative thereto, [ordered 2nd August; *Mr. Runciman*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 316.] 1460

Message from the Lords.—That they have agreed to—Musical Copyright Bill, with Amendments 1460

Labourers (Ireland) Bill.—That they agree to the Amendment made by this House to one of the Amendments made by the Lords to the Labourers (Ireland) Bill, and do not insist on one of their Amendments to which this House had disagreed and agree to the Amendment made by this House in lieu thereof, and do not insist on one other of their Amendments to which this House has disagreed, and do not insist on another of their Amendments to which this House has disagreed, and propose an Amendment in lieu thereof to which they desire the concurrence of this House 1460

Musical Copyright Bill.—Lords Amendments to be considered to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 340.] 1460

Labourers (Ireland) Bill.—Lords Amendment to be considered to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 341.] 1460

Whereupon Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to the Order of the House of 13th July last.

Adjourned at twelve minutes before Twelve o'clock

HOUSE OF LORDS: FRIDAY, 3rd AUGUST, 1906.

Colonial Marriages Bill [h.l.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with an Amendment 1461

Statute Law Revision (Scotland) Bill; Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Bill; Dogs Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to .. 1461

PETITIONS.

Education.—Petitions in favour of denominational religious teaching in schools. Of inhabitants of Burford; Croston; Clayton-le-Woods; and Whittle-le-Woods. Of parents or guardians of children attending schools at Chorley (4); Whittle-le-Woods; Hesken; Leyland; Coppul; and Croston. Of teachers in schools at Chorley; Whittle-le-Woods; Leyland; Blackburn (2); and Croston.

Read, and ordered to lie on the Table 1461

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EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.—(1) Petitions against; of Residents in Westminster; Parishioners of Wath-upon-Dearne; Clerical and Lay Members of Synod of Diocese of Salisbury; and of Residents in Wiltshire and Hartlebury; (2) Petition for amendment of; of congregation of St. Philip's, Griffin (Blackburn).

Read, and ordered to lie on the Table 1461

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

NAVY (COURTS MARTIAL).—Return of the number of Courts Martial held and summary punishments inflicted during the year 1905 1461

NAVY (HEALTH).—Statistical Report of the Health of the Navy for the year 1905 1461

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894.—Return of all British ships provisionally detained from 1st July, 1905, to 30th June, 1906, in pursuance of the provisions of Section 459 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894; also of all Foreign Ships ordered to be provisionally detained during the same period in pursuance of Section 462 of the same Act, together with summaries showing respectively the total number of ships detained as unsafe from 1st October, 1876, to 30th June, 1906, distinguishing between those cases in which ships were found safe or unsafe (in continuation of Parliamentary Papers [Cd. 2678.]).. .. 1461

BOILER EXPLOSIONS.—Report to the Secretary of the Board of Trade upon the working of the Boiler Explosions Acts, 1882, and 1890, with appendices (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper [Cd. 2676]) 1462

MERCHANT SHIPPING (LOSS OF LIFE). Returns showing the lives lost by wreck, drowning, or other accident in British seagoing merchant ships registered in the United Kingdom, during the years 1891 to 1905 inclusive (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper [Cd. 2639]) 1462

DISEASES OF ANIMALS ACTS.—Report of preceedings as regards Ireland, for the year 1905 1462

STATISTICS.—Statistical Abstract for the principal and other foreign countries in each year from 1894 to 1903–1904 (as far as particulars can be stated). Thirty-second number 1462

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS (ROYAL COMMISSION).—Calendar of the manuscripts of the Marquess of Salisbury, preserved at Hatfield House, Herts. Part XI.: Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 1462

FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1870.—Two Orders in Council, dated 28th July, 1906, entitled—The Brunei Order in Council, 1906; the Nigeria Coinage Order, 1906 1462

COLONIAL PROBATES ACT, 1892 (SOUTHERN RHODESIA).—Order in Council dated 28th July, 1906, applying certain provisions of the Colonial Probates Act, 1892, to Southern Rhodesia 1462

WINTER ASSIZES ACTS, 1876 AND 1877.—Seven Orders in Council, dated 28th July, 1906, constituting Winter Assize Counties Nos. 1 to 7 for the purposes of the ensuing Winter Assizes 1463

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Greenwich Hospital Act, 1865.—Order in Council, dated 28th July, 1906, approving the appointment of a receiver and agent for the Greenwich Estate, and a revision of the salary of the officer supervising the staff of instructors and servants at the Royal Hospital School, Greenwich 1463

Local Government Act, 1888.—Fourteen Orders under Section 57 of the Act, as confirmed by the Local Government Board, of the following county councils :

Carnarvon—For uniting the parishes of Eglwysrhos and Llandudno to form the new parish of Llandudno-cum-Eglwysrhos.

Carnarvon—For uniting the parishes of Llanrhychwyn and Tre Gwydir to form the new parish of Llanrhychwyn.

Hereford—For transferring an area from the parish of Ross Rural and from the Ross Rural district to the parish of Ross Urban and to the Ross Urban district.

Hertford—For forming the area of the parish of Bushey Rural into the urban district of Bushey, and for altering the names of the parishes of Bushey Rural and Bushey Urban to Bushey and Oxhey respectively.

Holland, parts of—For altering the areas of certain parishes in the Boston Poor Law Union.

Huntingdon and the Isle of Ely—For constituting part of the parish of Stanground the parish of Stanground South, and the remaining part of the parish of Stanground North, and for forming the area of the parishes of Fletton Rural, Stanground South, and Woodstone Rural into the urban district of Old Fletton.

Kent—For uniting the parishes of Gillingham and Grange to form the new parish of Gillingham.

Norfolk—For transferring to the parish of Overstrand parts of the parishes of Northrepps and Sidestrand.

Oxford—For uniting the parishes of Greys and Henley-on-Thames to form the new parish of Henley-upon-Thames.

Salop—For transferring to the parish of Eyton on the Wild Moors parts of the parishes of Hadley and Kinnersley.

Southampton—For transferring ot the parish of Milford parts of the parish of Hordle.

Surrey—For abolishing the rural district of Egham and forming the area of the parish of Egham into the urban district of Egham.

Sussex, East—For uniting parts of the parishes of Mayfield and Buxted to form the new parish of Hadow Down.

Yorkshire, West Riding of—For transferring to the township of Normanton and to the urban district of Normanton part of the township of Syndale, in the urban district of Featherstone 1463

MOTOR CAR ACTS, 1896 AND 1903.—Regulations as to the restriction of the driving of motor cars on certain highways or parts of highways within the borough of Kingston-upon-Thames, made by the Local Government Board under Section 6 of the Act of 1896, and Section 8 of the Act of 1903.

Regulation as to the restriction of the driving of motor cars on certain roads and parts of roads within the city of Saint Alban, made by the Local Government Board under Section 9 (1) of the Act of 1903.

Regulation as to the restriction of the driving of motor cars on the highway known as Middle Street, within the urban district of Horsham, made by the Local Government Board under Section 6 of the Act of 1896, and Section 8 of the Act of 1903.

Regulation as to the restriction of the driving of motor cars on the highway known as Austey's Cove Road, within the borough of Torquay, made by the Local Government Board, under Section 6 of the Act of 1896, and Section 8 of the Act of 1903.

Regulation as to the registration of motor cars made by the Local Government Board under Section 6 of the Act of 1896, and under Section 7 of the Act of 1903; Southport (county borough). For assigning an index mark to the council of the county borough of Southport 1464

HOUSING OF WORKING CLASSES ACT, 1890.

City of Leeds.—Statement of modification permitted by the Local Government Board to be made in the scheme confirmed by the Leeds (Housing of Working Classes) Order, 1901.

County of London.—Statement of modification permitted by the Local Government Board to be made in the London (Aylesbury Place, Clerkenwell, and Union Buildings, Holborn) Improvement Scheme, 1899.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 1465

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Standing Order No. 39 considered (according to order), and suspended for this day's sitting 1465

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (TRANSFER OF TREASURY POWERS) BILL.—House in Committee, according to Order; Bill reported without Amendment; Standing Committee negatived. Then (Standing Order No. 39 having been suspended); Bill read 3ª, and passed 1465

VISCOUNT HALIFAX AND MR. PAUL—A PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Viscount Halifax 1465

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.

The Earl of Camperdown 1465
The Lord President of the Council (*The Earl of Crewe*) 1467

PUBLIC WORKS (LOANS) BILL.—Bill read 2ª (according to Order).

Moved, "That the Bill be committed."—(*The Earl of Crewe*).

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Lord Ashbourne 1468
The Earl of Crewe 1468

On Question, Committee negatived. Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended), Bill read 3ª, and passed.

Marine Insurance Bill [H.L.].—Order of the Day read for the consideration of Commons Amendments.

The Earl of Halsbury 1469
The Lord Chancellor (*Lord Loreburn*) 1469

Order of the Day for the consideration of Commons Amendments discharged.

Local Government (Ireland) Act (1898) Amendment Bill.—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

Lord Ribblesdale 1470

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*Lord Ribblesdale.*)

Lord Ashbourne 1470
The Marquess of Salisbury 1470
Lord Ribblesdale 1471
Lord Ashbourne 1472

Debate (by Order) adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS OFFICES.—Order of the Day read for the consideration of the third Report from the Select Committee.

Moved, "That this Report be now received."—(*The Earl of Onslow.*)

Lord Balfour of Burleigh 1472
The Chairman of Committees (*The Earl of Onslow*) 1472
The First Lord of the Admiralty (*Lord Tweedmouth*) 1473
Viscount Knutsford 1474
Lord Balfour of Burleigh 1474
The Marquess of Lansdowne 1474
The Marquess of Salisbury 1475

Debate (by Order) adjourned.

Education (England and Wales) Bill.—Debate on the Motion for the Second Reading resumed (according to Order).

The Earl of Halsbury 1475
The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*Lord Fitzmaurice*) .. 1482
The Lord Bishop of Winchester 1495
Lord Clifford of Chudeligh 1509
Lord Hatherton 1504
The Lord Bishop of Hereford 1505
The Lord Bishop of Birmingham 1522
The Lord Chanrellor (*Lord Loreburn*) 1534
The Lord Bishop of Oxford 1540
Lord Stanmore 1542

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The Lord Bishop of Durham 1546
The Marquess of Lansdown 1549
The Lord Privy Seal (*The Marquess of Ripon*) 1561

On Question, Bill read 2ª.

Bill committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Wednesday, October 24th next.

Local Government (Ireland) Act (1898) Amendment Bill.—Debate on the Motion for the Second Reading resumed (according to Order).

Lord Ribblesdale 1572
Lord Ashbourne 1573

On Question, Bill read 2ª.

Moved, "That the Bill be committed."—(*Lord Ribblesdale.*)

The Marquess of Salisbury 1573
Lord Ribblesdale 1574
The Marquess of Ripon 1574
Lord Ashbourne 1574
The Marquess of Lansdowne 1575

On Question, Committee negatived; Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended) Bill read 3ª, and passed.

House of Lords Offices.—Debate on the Motion, "That the Third Report from the Select Committee be received," resumed (according to Order).

The Earl of Onslow 1575
Lord Balfour of Burleigh 1575
Lord Tweedmouth 1576
The Earl of Onslow 1577
The Marquess of Lansdowne 1577

On Question, Report in part agreed to, and to be further considered on Tuesday, the 23rd of October.

Colonial Marriage Bill [H.L.].—Commons Amendment considered (on Motion) and agreed to 1578

Education (Provision of Meals) Bill; Cabs and Omnibuses (Metropolis); Official Publications, etc. Messsage to the Commons for copies of the Reports, etc., of the Select Committees 1578

Business of the House.—Moved, "That the House do now adjourn till To-morrow at Eleven o'clock."—(*The Marquess of Ripon.*)

The Earl of Camperdown 1578
The Marquess of Lansdowne 1578
The Marquess of Ripon 1578

On Question, Motion agreed to.

House adjourned at ten minutes past Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, Eleven o'clock.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS: FRIDAY, 3RD AUGUST, 1906.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock. ..

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.—Petition from Gilesgate, against; to lie upon the Table 1579

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL (RELIGIOUS TEACHING).—Petitions against alteration of Law; From Ipswich; and Nottingham; to lie upon the Table 1579

LAND VALUES TAXATION, ETC. (SCOTLAND), BILL.—Petition of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, for alteration; to lie upon the Table ..1579

SOUTH AFRICA (CONSTITUTION OF THE TRANSVAAL AND ORANGE RIVER COLONIES).—Petition, from Cape Colony, for enfranchisement of the coloured races; to lie upon the Table 1579

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 1888.—Copy presented, of Orders made by the various County Councils in England and Wales under Section 57 of the Act, as confirmed by the Local Government Board [by Act]; to lie upon the Table .. 1579

HOUSING OF WORKING CLASSES ACT, 1890.—Copy presented, of Statement of Modification permitted by the Local Government Board to be made in the Leeds (Housing of Working Classes) Order, 1901, and in the London (Aylesbury Place, Clerkenwell, and Union Buildings, Holborn) Improvement Scheme, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 1579

MOTOR CAR ACTS.—Copy presented, of Regulations made under the Acts; I. Kingston-upon-Thames; II. St. Albans; III. Horsham; IV. Torquay; V. Southport [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 1579

DISEASES OF ANIMALS ACTS.—Copy presented, of Report of Proceedings by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, under the Diseases of Animals Acts, for the year 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1579

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS (ROYAL COMMISSION).—Copy presented, of Calender of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Salisbury preserved at Hatfield House, Herts. Part XI. [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1580

WINTER ASSIZES ACTS, 1876 AND 1877.—Copy presented, of Seven Orders in Council of 28th July, 1906, relating to the ensuing Winter Assizes [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 1580

FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1890,—Copies presented, of two Orders in Council of July 28th, 1906, entitled the Brunei Order in Council, 1906, and the Nigeria Coinage Order, 1906 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 1580

GREENWICH HOSPITAL ACT, 1865.—Copy presented, of Order in Council of 28th July, 1906, approving the appointment of a Receiver and Agent for the Greenwich Estate and a revision of the salary of the officer supervising the staff of Instructors and Servants at the Royal Hospital School, Greenwich [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 1580

COLONIAL PROBATES ACT, 1892.—Copy presented, of Order in Council of 28th July, 1906, applying certain provisions of The Colonial Probates Act, 1892, to Southern Rhodesia [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 1580

EAST INDIA (NATIVE STATES UNDER ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OF POLITICAL AGENTS).—Return presented, relative thereto [Address 1st August; *Mr. Morton*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 317.) 1580

NAVY (COURTS MARTIAL).—Copy presented, of Return of the Number of Courts Martial held and Summary Punishments inflicted during the year 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1580

NAVY (HEALTH).—Copy presented, of Statistical Report of the Health of the Navy for the year 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 318.) 1580

CASUALTIES TO SHIPS ON THE NAVY LIST.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 1st May; *Mr. Bellairs*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 319) 1581

STATISTICAL ABSTRACT (FOREIGN COUNTRIES).—Copy presented, of Statistical Abstract for the principal and other Foreign Countries in each year from 1894 to 1903-4 (Thirty-second Number) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table .. 1581

BOILER EXPLOSIONS ACTS 1882 AND 1890.—Copy presented, of Report to the Secretary of the Board of Trade upon the working of the Boiler Explosions Acts, 1882 and 1890, with Appendices [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1581

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894 (VESSELS DETAINED).—Copy presented, of Return of all ships ordered by the Board of Trade or its Officers during the period from July 1st, 1905, to June 30th, 1906, to be provisionally detained as nusafe together with Summaries, etc. [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1581

LOSS OF LIFE AT SEA.—Copy presented, of Return showing the lives lost by Wreck, Drowning, or other accidents in British sea-going Merchant Ships registered in the United Kingdom during the years 1894 to 1905, inclusive [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1581

WEST INDIAN ISLANDS (EXPORTERS).—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 31st July; *Mr. Essex*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 320.) 1581

COAL TABLES, 1905.—Copy ordered, " of Statistical Tables relating to the production, comsumption, and imports and exports of Coal in the British Empire and the principal Foreign Countries in each year from 1883 to 1905, as far as the particulars can be stated; together with Statements showing the production of Lignite and Petroleum in the principal producing countries for a series of years (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 295, of Session 1905)."—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 321) 1582

IRON AND STEEL, 1905.—Copy ordered, "of Memorandum and Statistical Tables showing the production and consumption of Iron Ore and Pig Iron, and the production of Steel in the United Kingdom and the principal Foreign Countries in recent years, and the Imports and Exports of certain classes of Iron and Steel Manufactures (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 296, of Session 1905)."—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 322) 1582

MERCHANT SHIPPING, 1905.—Copy ordered, "of Tables showing the progress of Merchant Shipping in the United Kingdom and the principal Maritime Countries."—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 323) 1582

METROPOLITAN BOROUGH COUNCILS (BILLS IN PARLIAMENT).—Return ordered, "of expenses incurred by each Metropolitan Borough Council in each financial year since the constitution of the Council, in promoting or opposing, Bills in Parliament, including Bills to confirm Provisional Orders, in the following form:—

Name of Metropolitan Borough Council.	Year ended 31st March.	Bills promoted by the Council.		Bills opposed by the Council.		Totals of Columns 4 and 6.
		Titles of Bills.	Amount of expenses incurred.	Titles of Bills.	Amount of expenses incurred.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Expenses incurred in opposing Bills promoted by the London County Council being distinguished."—(*Mr. Cleland*) 1583

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD INSPECTORS AND AUDITORS.—Return ordered, "of all Inspectors and Auditors now in the service of the Local Government Board, showing in respect of each (1) his name, (2) date of appointment, (3) age on appointment, (4) experience of local government or professional qualification previous to appointment, (5) present remuneration, (6) travelling and other expenses in the last financial year."—(*Mr. Cooper*) 1584

LUNATICS.—Return ordered, "of the number of Lunatics chargeable to each Board of Guardians or Local Authority in London and Middlesex who are not irremovable from or settled therein, and who are natives of Scotland or Ireland."—(*Mr. Claude Hay*) 1584

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have agreed to—Fatal Accidents and Sudden Deaths Inquiry (Scotland) Bill; Local Authorities (Transfer of Treasury Powers) Bill; Public Works Loans Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Act (1898) Amendment Bill, without Amendment.

Amendments to—Colonial Marriages Bill [Lords]; Buckhaven, Methil, and Innerleven Burgh Extension Bill [Lords]; London Squares and Enclosures Bill [Lords], without Amendments.

That they request that this House will be pleased to communicate to their Lordships copies of the Reports from the Select Committees appointed by this House in the present session of Parliament on :—1. Education (Provision of Meals) Bill ; 2. Cabs and Omnibuses (Metropolis) ; 3. Official Publications, etc., together with the Proceedings of the Committees and Minutes of Evidence.

Lords Message, requesting copies of Reports of Select Committees, considered.

Printed copies to be communicated 1584

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Postal Delivery to Towns on Cambrian Railway.—Question, Mr. Rees (Montgomery Boroughs) ; Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 1583

Lundy Island—Suggested Harbour of Refuge.—Question, Mr. Jenkins (Chatham) ; Answer, Mr. Edmund Robertson 1584

Vacant Judgeship in Ireland.—Question, Mr. Fetherstonhaugh (Fermanagh, N.) ; Answer, Mr. Bryce 1584

Chinese Customs Administration.—Question, Mr. Rees ; Answer, Sir Edward Grey 1584

Land Commission Methods.—Question, Mr. Dodd (Tyrone, N.) ; Answer, Mr. Bryce 1585

Imprisonment of Men at Buenos Ayres.—Question, Mr. Havelock Wilson (Middlesborough) ; Answer, Sir Edward Grey 1586

Seat of Government in Uganda.—Question, Mr. Cathcart Wason (Orkney and Shetland) ; Answer, Mr. Churchill 1587

Agricultural Experiments at Nairobi and Naivasha.—Question, Sir C. Hill (Shrewsbury) ; Answer, Mr. Churchill 1587

Secondary and Technical Schools in Scotland.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty) ; Answer, Mr. Sinclair 1587

Trawling in Moray Firth.—Question, Mr. Weir ; Answer, Mr. Sinclair .. 1588

Housing Cattle in Crofters' Dwellings in Lewis.—Question, Mr. Weir ; Answer, Mr. Sinclair 1588

Worsthorne Council School.—Question, Mr. Shackleton (Lancashire, Clitheroe Answer, Mr. Birrell 1588

Cunard Company Agreement.—Question, Mr. Bellairs (Lynn Regis) ; Answer, Mr. McKenna 1589

Alleged Payment of Wages at Public Houses in Cardiff.—Question, Mr. J. H. Wilson ; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1590

Education Bill—Clause 4.—Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) ; Answer, Mr. Birrell 1591

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HOUSING PROCEEDINGS IN BIRMINGHAM.—Question, Mr. Steadman (Finsbury, Central); Answer, Mr. John Burns 1591

POOR RATES—PROPORTION DUE FOR EDUCATION.—Question, Mr. Rees; Answer, Mr. John Burns 1591

WATFORD SECONDARY SCHOOL—LOANS.—Question, Mr. Micklem (Hertfordshire, Watford); Answer, Mr. John Burns 1592

GERMAN NAVAL PROGRAMME.—Question, Mr. Bellairs; Answer, Mr. Edmund Robertson 1592

BRITISH NAVAL PROGRAMME.—Question, Mr. Bellairs; Answer, Mr. Edmund Robertson 1594

FERTILISERS AND FEEDING STUFFS ACTS—REGULATIONS.—Question, Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.); Answer, Sir E. Strachey 1594

CASE OF EX-INSPECTOR M'CARTHY (METROPOLITAN POLICE).—Question, Mr. Nolan (Louth, S.); Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1595

CUSTOMS HOUSE QUAY—OPEN SPACE.—Question, Lord Balcarres (Lancashire, Chorley); Answer, Mr. Asquith 1595

PORTMAGEE—SUGGESTED APPOINTMENT OF JUSTICE OF THE PEACE.—Question, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.); Answer, Mr. Bryce 1595

BOURKE COCHRAN TRUST.—Question, Mr. Fetherstonhaugh; Answer, Mr. Bryce 1596

CONDUCT OF COUNCILLORS MADDEN AND O'REILLY—DUBLIN CORPORATION INQUIRY.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answer, Mr. Bryce 1597

COUNTY ARMAGH—EMPLOYMENT OF DIRECT OR CONTRACT LABOUR.—Question, Mr. McKillop (Armagh, S.); Answer, Mr. Bryce 1597

DOG LICENCES IN COUNTY DOWN.—Question, Mr. McKillop; Answer, Mr. Bryce 1598

ENGINEER SERVICES—CHECKING MEASUREMENTS.—Question, Mr. Fetherstonhaugh; Answer, Mr. Haldane 1599

YEOMANRY—RETURN OF DISCHARGES.—Question, Mr. Brodie (Surrey, Reigate); Answer, Mr. Haldane 1599

RETURN OF MEASUREMENTS OF RECRUITS.—Question, Mr. Brodie; Answer, Mr. Haldane 1599

IMPERIAL YEOMANRY—RETURN AS TO RECRUITS.—Question, Mr. Brodie; Answer, Mr. Haldane 1600

IMPERIAL YEOMANRY—RETURN OF EXPENDITURE.—Question, Mr. Brodie; Answer, Mr. Haldane 1600

ALLEGED ATTACK ON CONNAUGHT RANGERS.—Question, Mr. Lonsdale (Armagh, Mid.); Answer, Mr. Haldane 1600

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LANCASHIRE ROYAL FIELD ARTILLERY MILITIA—EFFICIENCY IN DRILL AND SHOOTING.—Question, Major Seely (Liverpool, Abercromby); Answer, Mr. Haldane 1601

ESTABLISHMENT OF RIFLE RANGES.—Question, Mr. Rees; Answer, Mr. Haldane 1601

PUBLIC HOSPITALS AND RATES.—Question, Mr. Brodie; Answer, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman 1602

DESCRIPTION OF "GRANITE" IN ADMIRALTY CONTRACTS.—Question, Sir E. Boyle (Taunton); Answer, Mr. Edmund Robertson 1602

TREATMENT OF CREW OF THE "MELVILLE ISLAND."—Question, Mr. J. H. Wilson Answer, Mr. Lloyd-George 1602

SUPPLY OF JAM UNDER ADMIRALTY CONTRACTS.—Question, Mr. Cathcart Wason; Answer, Mr. Edmund Robertson 1603

New Writ for the County of Denbigh (Eastern Division), in the room of Samuel Moss, esquire (Judge of the County Court of Chester and North Wales).—(*Mr. Whiteley.*) 1603

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

THE ARMY AND POLITICAL GATHERINGS.—Questions, Mr. Morrell (Oxfordshire, Henley); Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Haldane, Haddingtonshire) 1603

LECKHAMPTON HILL—REDUCTION OF SENTENCES ON RIOTERS.—Question, Mr. Sears (Cheltenham); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Gladstone, Leeds, W.) 1604

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL—EXPENDITURE ON BILLS IN PARLIAMENT.—Question, Mr. Thornton (Clapham); Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. John Burns, Battersea) 1604

ROYAL BOTANIC GARDENS, KEW.—Question, Mr. Summerbell (Sunderland); Answer, Sir Edward Strachey (Somersetshire, S.) 1605

BLAIRGOWRIE WATER STORAGE.—Question, Mr. Wilkie (Dundee); Answer, The Secretary for Scotland (Mr. Sinclair, Forfarshire) 1605

DRUMRANEY (WESTMEATH) OUTRAGE.—Question, Viscount Castlereagh (Maidstone); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Bryce, Aberdeen, S.) 1606

THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS.—Question, Viscount Castlereagh; Answer, Mr. Bryce 1606

SESSEAGHONEILL CO-OPERATIVE STORES.—Question, Mr. McVeigh (Donegal, E.); Answer, Mr. Bryce 1607

Trades Disputes Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee

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[Mr. Emmott (Oldham) in the Chair.]

Clause 2 :—

Mr. Fell (*Great Yarmouth*) 1607

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 13, after the word 'persons,' to insert the words 'but not more than three for each door, gate, or exit of the houses, works, or places after mentioned.' "—(*Mr. Fell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

The Attorney-General (*Sir John Walton, Leeds, S.*) 1608
Sir E. Carson (*Dublin University*) 1608
Sir F. Banbury (*City of London*) 1610

Question put and negatived.

Mr. Bowles (*Lambeth, Norwood*) 1610

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, lines 13 and 14, to leave out the words 'acting on their own behalf or,' and insert the words 'duly appointed by and acting.' "—(*Mr. Bowles.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Sir John Walton 1611
Sir Howard Vincent (*Sheffield, Central*) 1611
Sir F. Banbury 1611
Sir Francis Powell (*Wigan*) 1612

Amendment negatived.

Mr. F. E. Smith (*Liverpool, Walton*) 1612

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 14, after the word 'union,' to insert the words 'whether of workmen or masters.' "—(*Mr. F. E. Smith.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir John Walton 1613
Mr. Hills (*Durham*) 1613
Sir E. Carson 1613
Lord R. Cecil (*Marylebone, E.*) 1614

Question put, and negatived.

Mr. Bowles 1614

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 14, after the word "union,' to insert the words 'or of an employer.'"—(*Mr. Bowles.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir John Walton 1616
Mr. F. E. Smith 1616
Sir John Walton 1617
Lord R. Cecil 1618
Sir E. Carson 1619
Mr. Hills 1619
Sir John Walton 1620

Sir JOHN WALTON rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 169 ; Noes, 22. (Division List No. 301.)

Sir JOHN WALTON claimed, "That the Question 'That the words of the Clause to the word "peaceably," in line 15, stand part of the Clause' be now put."

Question put, "That the Question 'That the words of the Clause to the word "peaceably," in line 15, stand part of the Clause' be now put."

The Committee divided :—Ayes. 178 ; Noes, 24. (Division List No. 303.)

Question put accordingly.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 181 ; Noes, 22. (Division List No. 304.)

Sir Charles Dilke (*Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean*) .. .. ..

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 15, to leave out the words 'peaceably and in a reaonable manner.'"—(*Sir C. Dilke.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Sir John Walton 1631
Mr. Atherley-Jones (*Durham, N.W.*) 1632
Mr. Shackleton (*Lancashire, Clitheroe*) 1633
Sir Francis Powell 1633
Sir E. Carson 1634
Mr. Parkes (*Birmingham, Central*) 1634
Sir Charles Dilke 1635
Mr. Keir Hardie (*Merthyr Tydvil*) 1635
Sir John Walton 1636

Question put, "That the words 'peaceably and in a reasonable manner' stand part of the clause."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 140 ; Noes, 91. (Division List No. 305.)

Mr. Bowles 1639

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 16, after the word 'near,' to insert the words 'any entrance to.'"—(*Mr. Bowles.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir John Walton 1640

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Sir Frederick Banbury 1641

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 16, after the word 'person' to insert the words 'concerned in any such trade dispute.'"—(*Sir Frederick Banbury.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be inserted."

Sir John Walton 1642
Lord R. Cecil 1642
Mr. Verney (Bucks, N.) 1643
Sir E. Carson 1643
Sir Frederick Banbury 1643
Sir John Walton 1644
Mr. Rawlinson (Cambridge University) 1645
Sir John Walton 1646
Sir E. Carson 1646

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 23 ; Noes, 224. (Dvision List No. 306.)

Sir JOHN WALTON claimed, "That the Question 'That the words of the clause to the end of page 1, line 20, stand part of the clause,' be now put."

Question put, "That the Question 'That the words of the clause to the end of page 1, line 20, stand part of the clause,' be now put."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 223 ; Noes, 26. (Division List No. 307.)

Question put accordingly.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 225 ; Noes, 24. (Division List No. 308.)

Sir Charles Dilke 1655

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Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 20, after the word 'working,' to insert the words 'and such attending shall not be held to be a nuisance.'"—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir John Walton 1656
Mr. Shackleton (*Lancashire, Clitheroe*) 1657
Mr. Atherley-Jones 1658
Mr. J. Ward (*Stoke-on-Trent*) 1658

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 122 ; Noes, 127. (Division List No. 309.)

Mr. Clavell Salter (*Hants, Basingstoke*) 1663

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 20, after the word 'working' to insert the words 'provided that nothing in this section shall make it lawful to procure the breach of any contract.'"—(*Mr. Clavell Salter*).

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir John Walton 1664
Sir E. Carson 1664

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 29 ; Noes, 231. (Division List No. 310.)

Sir JOHN WALTON claimed, "That the Question 'That Clause 2 stand part of the Bill' be now put."

Question put, "That the Question 'That the clause stand part of the Bill' be now put."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 231 ; Noes, 31. (Division List No. 311.)

Question put accordingly.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 238 ; Noes, 31. (Division List No. 312.)

Clause 3 :—

Mr. Bowles 1673
Sir John Walton 1675
Mr. Clavell Salter 1676

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 15, after the word 'dispute,' to insert the words 'between employers and workmen.'"—(*Mr. Clavell Salter.*)

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Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir John Walton 1677

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Lord R. Cecil 1677

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 25, to leave out the words 'as a tort.'"—(*Lord R. Cecil.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Sir Charles Dilke 1677

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 26, after the word 'only' to insert the words 'that it induces some other person to break a contract of employment, or'"—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Lord R. Cecil 1678
Mr. Cave (Surrey, Kingston) 1679
Mr. Lyttelton (St. George's, Hanover Square) 1679
Mr. Rufus Isaacs (Reading) 1679
Sir E. Carson 1682
Mr. Shackleton 1682
Sir John Walton 1684
Mr. Hills 1684
Sir Frederick Banbury 1684

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment—

"After the word 'induces' to insert the words 'otherwise than 'maliciously.'"—(*Sir Frederick Banbury.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the proposed Amendment."

Mr. A. J. Balfour (City of London) 1685
Sir John Walton 1685
Mr. Atherley-Jones 1686
Lord R. Cecil 1688
Mr. Markham (Notts, Mansfield) 1689
Sir John Walton 1690

Question put, "That those words be there inserted in the proposed Amendment."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 30; Noes, 257. (Division List, No. 313.)

Question put, " That the words ' that it induces some other person to break a contract of employment or ' be there inserted."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 255 ; Noes, 30. (Division List, No. 314.)

Amendment proposed—

' In page 1, line 26, to leave out from the word ' interference ' to the end of the clause, and to insert the words ' in restraint of trade.' "— (*Lord R. Cecil.*)

Question proposed, " That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Lord R. Cecil 1697
Sir John Walton 1697
Mr. Rawlinson 1698
Lord R. Cecil 1699

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That the clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

Sir Frederick Banbury 1699
Sir E. Carson 1702
Mr. Nield (Middlesex, Ealing) 1703

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 259 ; Noes, 29. (Division List, No. 315.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That Clause 4 be postponed until after new clauses."—(*Sir John Walton.*)

Mr. A. J. Balfour 1707
The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Asquith, Fifeshire, E.) 1712
Mr. Pike Pease (Darlington) 1714
Mr. F. E. Smith 1716
Mr. Hills 1720
Mr. Bowles 1723
Lord R. Cecil 1724

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 246 ; Noes, 22. (Division List, No. 316.)

Clause 5 agreed to.

New Clause :

Sir John Walton 1729

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New Clause :

"An action against a trade union, whether of workmen or masters, or against any members thereof on behalf of themselves and all other members of the trade union for the recovery of damages in respect of any tortious act alleged to have been committed by or on behalf of the trade union, shall not be entertained by any Court, provided that nothing in this section shall affect the liability of the trustees of such unions to be sued in the events provided for by the Trades Union Act, 1871, Section 9."

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

Sir E. Carson 1733
Mr. Simon (*Essex, Walthamstow*) 1738
Mr. Clavell Salter 1740
Mr. Paul (*Northampton*) 1741
Sir Gilbert Parker (*Gravesend*) 1744

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 257 ; Noes, 29. (Division List No. 317.)

Amendment proposed to the proposed new clause—

"In line 1, after the word 'union,' to insert the words 'or any branch thereof.' "—(*Mr. Clement Edwards.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir John Walton 1749
Mr. Clement Edwards 1750
Lord R. Cecil 1750

Question put, and agreed to.

Sir Charles Dilke 1750
Mr. Clement Edwards 1751

Amendment proposed to the proposed new clause—

"In line 2, after the word 'all,' to insert the words 'or any.' "—(*Mr. Clement Edwards*).

Sir E. Carson 1751
Lord R. Cecil 1751
Mr. Clement Edwards 1752

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Sir Charles Dilke 1752

Amendment proposed to the proposed new clause—

"In line 3, to leave out the words from the word 'union' to the word 'shall' in line 5."—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out, down to 'tortious,' in line 4, stand part of the clause."

Sir John Walton 1753
Mr. J. Ward 1753
Mr. Cave 1754
Mr. Atherley Jones 1755
Mr. Clement Edwards 1756
Mr. Lyttelton 1758
Mr. Rufus Isaacs 1759
Mr. Shackleton 1761
Sir Charles Dilke 1763
Mr. Asquith 1763
Mr. A. J. Balfour 1763
Mr. Brace 1765

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Lord R. Cecil 1765

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress; and ask leave to sit again."

The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Stirling Burghs) 1768
Mr. A. J. Balfour 1769
Mr. Asquith 1771
Sir E. Carson 1771
Mr. Paul (Northampton) 1773
Mr. Forster (Kent, Sevenoaks) 1774

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 31; Noes, 243. (Division List No. 318).

Mr. Clement Edwards 1775

Amendment proposed to the proposed new clause—

"In line 5, to leave out from the word 'court' to end of clause."—(*Mr. Clement Edwards*).

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Sir John Walton 1778
Mr. John Ward 1780
Mr. F. E. Smith 1781
Sir John Walton 1783
The Solicitor-General (Mr. Robson, South Shields) 1783
Mr. Rufus Isaacs 1784
Mr. Clement Edwards 1785

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Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

New clause, as amended, agreed to, and added to the Bill."

Motion made, and Question "That Clause 4 stand part of the Bill" put, and negatived.

Bill negatived; as amended, to be considered upon Tuesday, 23rd October, and to be printed. [Bill 342].

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill.—Considered in Committee, and reported without Amendment; to be read the third time To-morrow at Ten of the Clock 1785

Musical Copyright Bill.—Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to .. 1786

CENSUS OF PRODUCTION (EXPENSES).

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee).

Resolved, "That it is expedient to authorise the payment out of moneys provided by Parliament, of any expenses incurred for the purpose of the Census under any Act of the present Session to provide for taking a Census of Production."—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

Resolution to be reported To-morrow 1786

Labourers (Ireland) Bill.—Consideration of Lords Amendments.

The Chief Secretary for Ireland (*Mr. Bryce, Aberdeen, S.*) 1786

Question, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment," put, and agreed to.

LUNATICS.—Order [this day] for a Return relative thereto read, and discharged. —(*Mr. Claude Hay*) 1788

Marriage with Foreigners Bill.—Lords Amendments to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to 1788

Whereupon Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to the Order of the House of the 13th July last.

Adjourned at twelve minutes after One o'clock a.m.

HOUSE OF LORDS: SATURDAY, 4TH AUGUST, 1906.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Education (Provision of Meals) Bill (No. 205); Cabs and Omnibuses (Metropolis) (No. 206); Official Publications, &c. (No. 207).—Reports, &c., of the Select Committees of the House of Commons communicated (pursuant to message of yesterday); and to be printed 1789

Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889.—University Court Ordinance, No. XVIII. (Edinburgh, No. 7). Alteration of Ordinance No. 16 of the Commissioners (1889) (Edinburgh, No. 1). Regulations for degrees in medicine; laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 208) 1789

Business of the House.—Standing Order No. XXXIX., considered (according to Order), and suspended for this day's sitting 1789

Labourers (Ireland) Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendment made by the Lords to the Amendments made by the Commons, agreed to 1789

Musical Copyright Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to 1789

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill.—Brought from the Commons. Read 1ª; Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX., having been suspended), read 2ª (The Lord Privy Seal [M. Ripon]); Committee negatived; Bill read 3ª, and passed 1789

Commission.—The following Bills received the Royal Assent—

1. Consolidated Fund (Appropriation).
2. Extradition.
3. Alkali, &c., Works.
4. Prevention of Corruption.
5. Justices of the Peace (No. 2).
6. Bills of Exchange Act (1882) Amendment.
7. Isle of Man (Customs).
8. Post Office (Literature for the Blind).
9. Charitable Loan Societies (Ireland).
10. Revenue.
11. Deanery of Manchester.
12. Solicitors.
13. Crown Lands.
14. Open Spaces.
15. Ground Game.
16. Fatal Accidents and Sudden Deaths Inquiry (Scotland).
17. Local Authorities (Transfer of Treasury Powers).
18. Public Works (Loans).
19. Local Government (Ireland) Act (1898) Amendment.
20. Statute Law Revision (Scotland).
21. Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs.
22. Dogs.

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23. Colonial Marriages.

24. Musical Copyrigh

25. Labourers (Ireland).

26. Post Office Sites.

27. Dean Forest.

28. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8).

29. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9).

30. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10).

31. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 11).

32. Local Government Provisional Order (Housing of Working Classes).

33. London Government Schemes (London and Penge, &c.).

34. Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London, No. 1).

35. Paisley Gas and Water Provisional Order.

36. Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3)

37. Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4)

38. Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7).

39. Gas and Water Orders Confirmation.

40. Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1).

41. Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2)

42. Tramways Orders Confirmation.

43. Glasgow and South Western Railway Order Confirmation

44. Water Orders Confirmation.

45. Newburgh and North Fife Railway (Extension of Time) Order Confirmation.

46. Paisley Roads Order Confirmation.

47. Inverclyde Bequest Order Confirmation.

48. Perth Corporation Gas Order Confirmation

49. Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas).

50. Rutherglen Burgh Order Confirmation.

51. Wolstanton United Urban District Council Gas.

52. Great Northern Railway.

53. London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway.

54. Ascot District Gas (Electric Lighting).

55. Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Electric Power.

56. Portsmouth Water.

57. West Yorkshire Tramways.

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58. London County Council (General Powers).
59. London United Tramways.
60. Twickenham and Teddington Electric Supply.
61. Watford Gas.
62. Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway
63. Ritz Hotel, Limited.
64. Wirral Railway (Extension of Time).
65. Cardiff Railway.
66. Newcastle-upon-Tyne Electric Supply.
67. Baker Street and Waterloo Railway.
68. Southport and Lytham Tramroad (Extension of Time).
69. Wallasey Tramways and Improvements.
70. Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Sewerage Board.
71. Edinburgh Corporation.
72. Crediton Gas.
73. Kent Electric Power.
74. Truro Gas.
75. Havana United Railways and Regla Warehouses.
76. Rochester, Chatham, and Strood Gas.
77. Folkestone, Sandgate, and Hythe Tramways.
78. South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways.
79. Bacup Corporation.
80. Cork City Railways and Works.
81. Derby Gas.
82. Middlesex County Council (General Powers).
83. St. John's (Westminster) Improvement.
84. Todmorden Corporation.
85. Tottenham and Edmonton Gas.
86. Macclesfield and District Tramways.
87. Poole Corporation Water.
88. Corporation of London (Blackfriars and other Bridges.)
89. London County Council (Tramways and Improvements).
90. County of Durham Electric Power Supply.
91. Great Northern (Ireland) and Midland Railways.
92. Nettlebed and District Commons (Preservation).
93. Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire Electric Power.

94. Buckhaven, Methil, and Innerleven Burgh Extension.
95. London Squares and Enclosures.
96. Sutton District Water.
97. Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation.
98. Pontefract Corporation.
99. Hackney Electricity.
100. Hampstead Garden Suburb.
101. London County Council (Money)
102. North West London Railway.
103. St. Pancras Electricity.
104. South Lincolnshire Water.
105. South Wales Electrical Power Distribution Company.
106. Watford and Edgware Railway.
107. Lancashire Electric Power.
108. Bristol Corporation.
109. Lord Tredegar's Supplemental Estate.
110. Bute (English and Welsh) Estates 1789

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes past Twelve o'clock to Tuesday, the 23rd October, at a quarter past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: SATURDAY, 4TH AUGUST, 1906.

The House met at Ten of the Clock.

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.—Petitions against; From Aikton; Long Newton; Radlett; Silloth in Eskdale; and Wigton; to lie upon the Table 1793

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL (RELIGIOUS TEACHING).—Two Petitions from Frittenden, against alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table .. 1793

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS (ELECTION OF ALDERMEN BILL).—Petition from Manchester, for alteration; to lie upon the Table 1793

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT 1889 (ORDINANCE).—Copy presented, of University Court Ordinance No. XVIII. (Edinburgh, No. 7) (Alteration of Ordinance, No. 16, of the Commissioners (1889), Edinburgh, No. 1, Regulations for Degrees in Medicine) [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 324.] 1793

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FORESHORES.—Copy presented of Treasury Minute, dated 4th August, 1906, directing the application of moneys received by the Board of Trade in the year ended 31st March, 1906, in respect of the rights and interests of the Crown in the Foreshores of the United Kingdom [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

POSTMEN'S WAGES.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 1793

QUALIFICATIONS OF TELEGRAPHISTS.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 1794

POSTAL DELIVERY OF CIRCULARS.—Question, Mr. Du Cros (Hastings); Answer, Mr. Sydney Buxton 1795

IMPORTED CEMENT.—Question, Mr. John Ward (Stoke-on-Trent); Answer, Mr. Lloyd-George 1795

MEETING OF INTERMEDIATE BOARD, IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Clancy; Answer, Mr. Bryce 1796

REGULATIONS FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS.—Question, Mr. Yoxall (Nottingham, W.); Answer, Mr. Birrell 1796

ASSISTANT CLERKS.—Question, Mr. Nannetti (Dublin, College Green); Answer, Mr. McKenna 1797

INLAND REVENUE—INSPECTION.—Question, Mr. MacVeagh (Down, S.); Answer, Mr. McKenna 1797

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF THE PUNJAUB.—Question, Sir H. Cotton (Nottingham, E.); Answer, Mr. J. Morley 1798

REGISTRATION OF TITLE, COUNTY CORK.—Question, Mr. Fetherstonhaugh (Fermanagh, N.); Answer, Mr. Bryce 1798

TARBERT PROCESS SERVER.—Question, Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.); Answer, Mr. Bryce 1799

CASE OF WAR OFFICE CLERKS.—Question, Mr. Flavin; Answer, Mr. Haldane .. 1799

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

TURBINES FOR TORPEDO BOAT DESTROYERS.—Questions, Mr. Ashley (Lancashire, Blackpool); Answers, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Edmund Robertson, Dundee) 1799

RUSH COASTGUARD STATION—RIGHT OF WAY.—Question, Mr. Clancy (Dublin County, N.); Answer, Mr. Edmund Robertson 1800

THE LANCE.—Question, Mr. Ashley; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Haldane, Haddingtonshire) 1800

TILONKE'S CASE.—Question, Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald (Leicester); Answer, Mr. Churchill 1801

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GERMANY AND ABYSSINIA.—Question, Mr. Ashley; Answer, The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir Edward Grey, Northumberland, Berwick) .. 1801

INCOME TAX ON FOREIGN TRADES.—Question, Mr. Ashley; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Asquith, Fifeshire, E.) 1802

IMPORTS OF CEMENT.—Question, Mr. J. Ward (Stoke-on-Trent); Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Lloyd-George, Carnarvon Boroughs) .. 1803

LONDON WATER SUPPLY.—Question, Mr. Ashley; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. John Burns, Battersea) 1803

KINAIR RESERVOIR, DERBYSHIRE.—Question, Mr. J. Ward; Answer, Mr. John Burns 1803

Street Betting Bill [LORDS].—As amended, to be printed. [Bill 343.] .. 1804

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill.—Read the third time, and passed 1804

ADJOURNMENT (AUTUMN SITTING).

Motion made, and Question proposed: "That this House at its rising to-day do adjourn until Tuesday, October 23rd next, and that for the remainder of the session Government business have precedence at every sitting, and at the conclusion of Government business on each day Mr. Speaker do adjourn the House without question put."—(*Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman*)

Mr. Murphy (*Kerry, E.*) 1804
Mr. Sloan (*Belfast, S.*) 1806
The Attorney-General for Ireland (*Mr. Cherry, Liverpool, Exchange*) .. 1807
Mr. Mackarness 1808
Mr. Fiennes (*Oxfordshire, Banbury*) 1810
Mr. Rees (*Montgomery Boroughs*) 1812
Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald (*Leicester*) 1814
The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (*Mr. Churchill, Manchester, N.W.*) 1817
Mr. J. M. Robertson (*Northumberland, Tyneside*) 1821

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have agreed to—Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill, without Amendment.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners; the House went; and, having returned; Mr. Speaker reported the Royal Assent to a number of Acts. (See Col. 1789).

Question again proposed, "That this House at its rising to-day do adjourn until Tuesday, 23rd October next, and that for the remainder of the session Government business have precedence at every sitting, and at the conclusion of Government business on each day Mr. Speaker do adjourn the House without Question put."

Mr. J. M. Robertson 1825
Mr. Molteno (*Dumfriesshire*) 1829
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*Sir Edward Grey, Northumberland, Berwick*) 1831
Mr. Munro Fergusson (*Leith Burghs*) 1837

Mr. Morton (Sutherland) 1839
The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Gladstone, Leeds, W.) 1839
The Secretary for Scotland (Mr. Sinclair, Forfarshire) 1840
Mr. Essex (Gloucestershire, Cirencester) 1842
The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Stirling Burghs) 1842
Mr. Seddon (Lancashire, Newton) 1843
Mr. Everett (Suffolk, Woodbridge) 1844

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved, " That this House at its rising to-day do adjourn until Tuesday, 23rd October next, and that for the remainder of the session Government business have precedence at every sitting, and at the conclusion of Government business on each day Mr. Speaker do adjourn the House without Question put."

Census of Production (Expenses).—Resolution reported.

" That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys provided by Parliament, of any Expenses incurred for the purpose of the Census under any Act of the present session to provide for taking a Census of Production." 1844

Resolution agreed to.

Whereupon Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the Order of the House of the 13th July last, adjourned the House without Question put till Tuesday, 23rd October.

Adjourned at one minute before Two o'clock.

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VOLUME CLXII.

ERRATUM.

August 1. In col. 1143, after the Amendment as printed, *add* and *insert* " and no claim by the Crown for duties leviable on or with reference to death, and before the passing of this Act due and payable, and no payment, commutation, composition, discharge, or settlement of account in respect of any duties leviable on or with reference to death before the passing of this Act duly made or given, shall be prejudicially affected hereby."

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(*AUTHORISED EDITION*)

IN THE

FIRST SESSION OF THE *TWENTY-EIGHTH PARLIAMENT* OF THE UNITED
KINGDOM OF *GREAT BRITAIN* AND *IRELAND*, APPOINTED TO MEET
THE THIRTEENTH DAY OF FEBRUARY IN THE SIXTH YEAR OF THE
REIGN OF

HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.

ELEVENTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1906.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, 27*th July*, 1906.

VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH.

Petition of George Bagot, Viscount Molesworth and Baron Phillipstown, in the Peerage of Ireland, claiming a right to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland; read, and referred to the Lord Chancellor to consider and report thereupon to the House.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

St. Pancras Electricity Bill. The King's consent signified; Bill read 3^a, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Hackney Electricity Bill; London County Council (Money) Bill; South Lincolnshire Water Bill; Hampstead Garden Suburb Bill. Read 3^a, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Poole Corporation Water Bill. Read 3^a, with the Amendments; further Amendments made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

Crediton Gas Bill [H.L.]; Kent Electric Power Bill [H.L.]; Truro Gas Bill [H.L.]; Havana United Railways and Regla Warehouses Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Justices of the Peace (No. 2) Bill; Rochester, Chatham, and Strood Gas Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

Paisley Gas and Water Provisional Order Bill. Read 3^a (according to order), and passed.

Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill. Amendments reported (according to order), and Bill to be read 3^a on Monday next.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

COMMITTEE OF SELECTION.

Report from the Committee (with proceedings of the Committee and an appendix) made, and to be printed. (No. 180.)

SOUTH AFRICA.

Reports by the High Commissioner on his visits to Basutoland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate in 1906.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES.

Annual Report of the proceedings under Acts relating to sea fisheries, for the year 1905.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3681. United States (Savannah).
No. 3682. Persia (Kerman).
No. 3683. Persia (Kermanshah).

MISCELLANEOUS SERIES.

No. 653. German Ceramic industries and German trade in Ceramic products.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

POST OFFICE (STATUTORY RULES AND ORDERS, 1906).

No. 511. The Inland Post Amendment (No. 4) Warrant, 1906, dated 30th June, 1906. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

MARINE INSURANCE BILL (H.L.)

Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments to be printed. (No. 179.)

REVENUE BILL.

Brought from the Commons and read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª on Monday next (The Lord Privy Seal [*M. Ripon*]). (No. 181.)

DEAN FOREST BILL.

Read 2ª (accordingly to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

BILLS OF EXCHANGE ACT (1882) AMENDMENT BILL.

House in Committee (according to order): Bill reported without Amendment; Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3ª on Monday next.

ISLE OF MAN (CUSTOMS) BILL.

Read 2ª (according to order); Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3ª on Monday next.

SHIPBUILDING PROGRAMME.

*EARL CAWDOR: My Lords, I wish to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he proposes before the recess to make any statement in your Lordships' House with reference to the shipbuilding programme for the coming year. The statement which has been made to-day in another place emphasises in no small degree the great importance of your Lordships having an opportunity of discussing the shipbuilding programme of the Government at an early date.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord TWEEDMOUTH): My Lords, I agree that this is a question which is deserving of the closest attention of your Lordships. The only difficulty appears to me to be the way in which the time of your Lordships' House is taken up next week, at the end of which we are going to adjourn for a short recess. Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday are to be taken up by the Second Reading of the Education Bill. On Tuesday there is an important question to be raised by the Duke of Marlborough in regard to the granting of responsible Government to the Transvaal Colony. On Monday there is a Motion down by Lord Wemyss with regard to our land defences, and Lord Mayo has a Question with regard to Ireland. Lord Brassey has also a notice on the Paper to call attention to the recommendations of the Admiralty Committee on Naval Reserves. Perhaps one or both of the noble Lords who precede Lord Brassey might be willing to postpone their Questions, or, at any rate, make the discussion on them short. In that case I think it would be convenient if the Notice by Lord Brassey were taken as the text for a statement and discussion on the Shipbuilding Vote.

EARL CAWDOR: Will the First Lord make these suggestions to the noble Lords who have the Notices on the Paper?

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: They do not belong to my side of the House. Perhaps the noble Lord will give me his help.

EARL CAWDOR: I am perfectly willing to do that. But I hardly think the question of shipbuilding arises on the Notice by Lord Brassey.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: The ordinary practice of this House does not tie your Lordships very closely to the exact terms of the Notice on the Paper, and I think it is pretty certain that Lord Brassey in his speech will touch on questions affecting shipbuilding.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: Surely the Naval Reserve is not in any way connected with shipbuilding. The shipbuilding programme is in itself a very important matter, and I should like to ask whether it would not be better if Lord Brassey could be approached and asked to postpone his question. We might consider the Naval Reserve on any future occasion, but the shipbuilding programme of the Government for the coming year is a very important Vote, and your Lordships should have an early opportunity of discussing it.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: I will approach Lord Brassey on the question.

EARL CAWDOR: I understand we may take it that in some form or another, either regular or irregular, we shall be able to discuss the Shipbuilding Vote on Monday next.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: Yes.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN COUNCIL SCHOOLS.

*THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (The Earl of CREWE): My Lords, I ask your Lordships' indulgence in rising to set right a misunderstanding on a question of figures which arose during the discussion on the subject of religious education in council schools raised yesterday by the most rev. Primate. In the course of my remarks I stated that there were thirteen schools in England in which no religious instruction was given. I was, of course, referring to the Return, and my observation was limited by the amount of information which the Return conveys, which is, in fact, the whole of the information on the subject which we have at the Board of Education. What I intended to convey was that authorities had replied in the negative to the fifth question, which was put to all the local education authorities, to the extent of thirteen schools in which they stated that no religious instruction was given. The most rev. Primate corrected me and mentioned the case of Huddersfield and certain other places in which the Bible is simply read without note or comment. I think it might possibly be argued that when the Bible is read by the teacher within the hours of regular attendance it must be regarded as a form of religious instruction, but I have no wish to press that point. I merely desire to make it clear what the difference in regard to the figures was between the most rev. Primate and myself. In his speech the most rev. Primate alluded to the figures of Wales. He referred to the counties of Carmarthen and Cardigan and quoted the figures given in the Return of the number of schools in those counties in which, on their own showing, no religious instruction was given, and it was in comparison between Wales and England that I stated the figure as I did.

*THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: My Lords, I am sure the last thing the noble Earl desired was to convey a misleading impression, and I accept his explanation absolutely. Lest I should be thought to have twisted the point as to whether religious instruction is given when the Bible is simply read without note or comment, I would point out that the Huddersfield local education authority state explicitly, for I will quote their actual words, that in the council schools it is provided that "no religious teaching shall be given." The Huddersfield local authority then go on to say that for fifteen minutes there may be what they call "religious observances," which consist of the reading of some verses from the Bible, chosen by the teacher, without note or comment, and the singing of a hymn. Question 5, to which the noble Earl has referred, is, "Are any council schools in the authority's area known to give no religious instruction?" The Huddersfield local education authority replies practically—

> "We give none, but we have religious observances."

I think that when Huddersfield says it gives no religious teaching we may take Huddersfield at its word. There are seventeen board schools in Huddersfield alone. I turn almost by chance to another authority, Todmorden. There are here nine schools, and the only difference is that ten minutes instead of fifteen minutes are devoted to religious observances. The number of such cases might be largely added to from other parts of the Report.

NATIVE LABOUR IN TRANSVAAL MINES.

*LORD HARRIS rose to ask His Majesty's Government, with reference to the statement of the Secretary of State for the Colonies on June 29th, upon what information he is depending for his communications with the Portuguese authorities, and in what respects the operations of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association have caused discontent.

The noble Lord said: My Lords, a few weeks ago I put a Question to the noble Earl the Colonial Secretary on the subject of a rumoured competition to be set up with an association which is responsible for supplying Kaffir labour to the mines on the Witwatersrand; and the noble Earl, in his reply, stated that all depended on the association having at its back the force by which it was originated, and that if it were found that there were substantial interests connected with the mines of the same nature as those for which the association was formed or that some of those who took part in the formation of the association were not satisfied with the state of things as they now existed, then the position of this co-operative or voluntary society became considerably modified. It is evident, from the further statement in his reply, that the noble Earl is already, through the usual channels, of course, in communication with the Portuguese authorities, I presume upon the subject of another association for the same purpose; and the Question I have to ask him is what has caused him to take

these steps? He says that it is possible some of those who were connected with the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association are now dissatisfied. We shall be glad to know who are dissatisfied. I am informed that no complaints have been made by any members of the association, and we should like to know upon what information the noble Earl is proceeding.

In the course of the reply from which I have already quoted, the noble Earl said there was nothing whatever to conceal in this matter. In these circumstances I am sure he will be prepared to tell us the whole story as to why he is preparing to set up this competition with the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association. As I explained to your Lordships when I spoke last, the effect of competition before the war was by no means satisfactory, and I am not prepared to believe that at this moment competition would be any more satisfactory than it was then. There is no information whatever upon this subject in the Blue-book recently issued. There is a mass of information upon the subject of recruiting Chinese and employing Chinese, and of repatriating those few who are prepared to cancel their agreements and be repatriated. But there is not a word of information upon the system of recruiting Kaffirs for labour on the Witwatersrand.

I confess I do not understand why, if this subject has been under discussion between the Colonial Office and the High Commissioner, no reference is made to it in the Blue-book. Who are the persons who are dissatisfied? I have heard rumours that a certain gentleman named Wilson, who is distinguished from other gentlemen of the same name by the sobriquet of Kaffir, is very anxious to get permission to recruit in Portuguese territory; but he is not one of those to whom the noble Earl referred in his reply. He is not a person having substantial interests; neither is he one of those who took part in the formation of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association. I suppose there is some influential body behind who is urging the noble Earl to take these steps. I hope he will be able to tell us what that influential body is, and why it it so anxious to set up this competition.

Another question which I hope the noble Earl will be able to reply to is this, Is the High Commissioner in favour of the proposed competition being set up? There is nothing in the Blue-book about it; but, after what the noble Earl said the other day about trusting the man on the spot, I presume that he would not have commenced negotiations with Portugal on this subject without finding out whether the High Commissioner was satisfied that the setting up of another association was wise and likely to lead to satisfactory results. I can hardly believe that the Government is very anxious to help us as regards Kaffir labour. Nobody can be more anxious than we are to get as much Kaffir labour as possible. It would relieve us of many accusations and and of a proportionate part of the odium which is heaped on those who have to manage the mines. We should be only too glad if the noble Earl could point out to us a safe way of securing more Kaffir labour.

I can suggest to him a way in which a small number of Kaffirs could be set free. In the Blue-book which I have referred to it appears that some inquiries have been made by Government as to the possibility of substituting white labour for coloured labour, and we know from the speeches that have been made by various members of the Government that they were at one time, and possibly are still, under the impression that to a great extent white labour could be substituted for coloured labour. I observe that in this Blue-book there is some correspondence on this subject, in particular as regards the Premier Mine, the only diamond mine in the Transvaal. It was asked, why should not white labour be substituted for Kaffir labour on the Premier Mine? The Government is largely interested in the mines of the Transvaal. It takes 10 per cent. of the profit in the case of gold mines and 60 per cent. of the profit in the case of this diamond mine. One of the reasons given for not substituting white labour was that the Government would lose £240,000 a year thereby. I observe that after that there is no further discussion about substituting white labour for Kaffir labour. But if the noble Earl will give directions that such Kaffirs as they have on the Premier Mine should be set free to go to the Witwatersrand I can assure him we shall be very grateful.

There is a strong suspicion that underlying the proposal for another association to compete in the supply of Kaffir labour there is a political movement. I am perfectly certain that it is absolutely unknown to the noble Earl and that he is entirely innocent in the matter. But there is a very strong suspicion that this is purely a political movement engineered either by extremists in this country or by those in the Transvaal who are interested in diverting the loyalty of as many Europeans as possible. It would be extremely useful to certain people if it could be said that owing to this association having been set up some influential mining association or some influential mining person could now say, "Ah! thank Heaven I have got rid of this monopoly. I no longer want Chinese, for I can get enough Kaffir labour through this competitive supply." That is a suspicion which some people entertain with regard to this movement which is being assisted by the Secretary of State. I hope the noble Earl will be able to give such a complete and satisfactory reply as will entirely brush away this suspicion.

I ask, Why should there be any such hurry over this matter? On Tuesday of next week the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies will make, I suppose, one of the most momentous statements in this House that has ever fallen to the lot of any Colonial Minister to make, one upon which decades hence—seventy, eighty, or a hundred years hence—his reputation will be judged, as his relative, Lord Durham, is now judged as regards Canada. The Government have deliberately decided that so far as Chinese labour is concerned they will leave the matter to the Transvaal. Why is there this hurry to interfere as to Kaffir recruiting when what is a matter of far greater interest to this country is left to the Transvaal? Why cannot this matter of Kaffir recruiting be also left to the Transvaal? These are questions which I venture to put to the noble Earl, and I hope he will be able to give a complete reply regarding them.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (The Earl of ELGIN): My Lords, I wish in the first place, to thank my noble friend for postponing his

Question at a time when it would have been impossible for me to have answered him as completely as I can now. I think there is a little misunderstanding in the Question as the noble Earl has put it. He asks upon what information the Secretary of State is depending for his communications with the Portuguese authorities, and I noticed that in his speech he dwelt again upon communications with the Portuguese authorities. What I did say was that in these circumstances we have had to consider the necessity of communications, not only with the High Commissioner, as the noble Lord suggested, but also, possibly, with the Portuguese authorities.

The noble Lord again asks, with regards to the operations of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, in what respect they have caused discontent. That part of the Question it seems to me I answered, as far as I possibly could, on the last occasion. The noble Lord said that I then explained that we regarded the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association as a voluntary association, and that therefore any of its members had a right to say that they were not satisfied with it and wished other arrangements. His Majesty's Government have recognised that right, but they are not responsible for the reasons which those who wish to separate may have for their separation. But what they are responsible for—and I admitted it to the full on the last occasion—are the conditions under which recruitment takes place. I quoted then, and I refer again, to an answer given in another place, in which we laid down that we must be satisfied as to the status, the substance, and the responsibility of those who are given a second agency, and that that must be established to the satisfaction of the High Commissioner. It was because I was awaiting the decision of the High Commissioner on these points that I asked my noble friend to postpone his Question; and I hope he will recognise that on this point, at any rate, I have observed the authority of the man on the spot.

I am glad to say that on July 7th two telegrams, one from Downing-Street and the other from South Africa, crossed each other which were expressed in such exactly parallel lines that I do not think it was necessary to give a formal answer to either; and on July 12th the High Commissioner expressed his complete acquiescence in the policy of the establishment of the second agency which we have proposed should be set up. With regard to the matter of agreement, it is briefly this—that there shall be a second agency established, the management of which has, as I have said, been approved by the High Commissioner; that we accept the position that the establishment of this second agency is sufficient in the meantime to satisfy the requirements of those who are not prepared to continue under the management of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association; and that we shall not establish any further agency, or approve of the establishment of further agencies, until there has been such an inquiry into the whole question of recruitment as His Majesty's Government and the High Commissioner may think desirable in the circumstances.

I hope the noble Lord will admit that in those circumstances there is no justification for the suggestion, which I do not think he repeated to-day though he mentioned one particular name but which he did put forward on the last occasion, that we were going back to the policy of indiscriminate and unlimited recruitment in the interests of men who had found themselves out of an occupation which they considered profitable. I do not wish, as I said on the last occasion, to conceal anything in this matter. The application came to us from a group of mines which I believe goes by the name of the Robinson group; and that is the group, with which I believe certain others may be associated, for whom the agency is proposed to be established and of which the High Commissioner has approved. With regard to the Portuguese Government, I pointed out on the last occasion that under the agreement of 1901 it was laid down that both parties should concur in the appointment of collectors of labour. In those circumstances it is, of course, necessary that the Portuguese Government should concur in this arrangement, but as it has the assent and approval of the High Commissioner I do not anticipate that there will be any difficulty in the matter.

THE LAUNDRY INDUSTRY.

*THE EARL OF LYTTON rose to call attention to the exceptional position at present occupied by the laundry industry under the Factory Act, and to ask His Majesty's Government whether, in view of the declared policy of successive Governments, they would undertake to introduce legislation in the next session of Parliament for the effective regulation of all laundries, or whether if a Bill were introduced into this House similar to that which was passed in 1902, they would give special facilities for its passage through the other House of Parliament.

The noble Earl said: My Lords, my object in placing upon the Order Paper the Notice which stands in my name was, first of all, to draw attention to the present position of a question which, though not of very general interest, is one, nevertheless, upon which many strong opinions are felt, and which is considered of considerable importance, not only by the laundry interest as a whole, but also by a large number of people who take an interest generally in factory legislation; and secondly to try and elicit some definite statement from His Majesty's Government as to their intentions in the matter. The subject may be divided into two distinct branches. First of all there is the question of the regulation of the hours of labour in all laundries; and, secondly, there is the question of the inclusion within the law of two special classes of laundries which are at the present moment exempted.

Let me take, first of all, the case of ordinary laundries. In 1895 a Factory Act was passed by a Liberal Government which extended to ordinary commercial laundries, and certain clauses were embodied in that Act that were intended to regulate their hours of labour. The object of those clauses was to prevent excessive hours been worked in an industry which is exceptionally severe and which entails very considerable hardships on those who are engaged in it both as regards the character of the employment and the conditions under which that employment is carried on. That was the object of the clauses, but in practice they have entirely failed to carry out that object; in fact, they have proved altogether unworkable. As many as fourteen hours a day may be worked on any three days in the week, so long as the weekly total does not exceed sixty. Year after year the Factory Reports have testified to the impossibility of finding out whether or not this weekly limit has been exceeded, or of preventing veryexcessive hours being worked upon particular days.

In the Factory Report for 1905, which has just been issued, mention is made of one firm where several young women were employed for twenty eight hours, from 8 o'clock on Friday morning till 12 o'clock noon on Saturday. An interval of two and a half hours was given during the night when the girls were allowed to lie upon the floor with their coats for pillows in order to take a rest. In another firm one worker had been employed for thirty-seven consecutive hours and another for thirty-two and one-half. These hours are, of course, illegal, and the firms were prosecuted for allowing them; but these cases are mentioned in order to show how necessary it is for the hours of labour to be strictly. regulated. The Report goes on to mention that a great increase has taken place in the legal hours in laundries, owing to the fact that of recent years employers have come to find out how very elastic the law is, and what a very large margin is allowed to them. In fact, the Report shows that it is quite legal for young girls to be kept employed for sixteen hours at a stretch, provided they have had two hours in that time for meals. Mr. Ritchie, when he was Home Secretary, frankly admitted that the law had been found unworkable. Speaking in 1901, he said—

> "The law has been found practicably incapable of enforcement, for many reasons."

On another occasion he spoke of the almost complete failure as regards the working of the Act in reference to laundries.

The law, as it stands at the present moment, is not defended by any one. It is condemned by the factory inspectors. Year after year they protest against it and urge that it should be amended. Those who are engaged in the industry itself, whether as employers or employed, are equally agreed in condemning it, and it has been declared unworkable and unsatisfactory by the spokesmen of both political Parties. Not only that, but clauses have been already drafted for its amendment, which were agreed to by the

Employers' Federation of Laundry Associations, and received the unanimous approval of the Grand Committee on Trade in the House of Commons. Was ever a stronger case made out for legislative change? Yet we have still the unsatisfactory state of affairs left unchanged, and we are no nearer an amendment of the law to-day than we were in 1901, when this general agreement was arrived at. So much for ordinary laundries. I desire to ask His Majesty's Government whether they have made up their minds to take up this question, and whether they will introduce legislation making all laundries either factories or workshops.

Now for the exemptions. Under the law at present two classes of laundries are exempted from the law, namely, those which are attached to religious or charitable institutions and those in which not more than two persons are employed. I am aware that on this question there is less unanimity than there is upon the question of ordinary laundries. Some opposition still remains to the inclusion of these two classes, but even upon this point there is a greater measure of agreement than is usually found on any question of importance. Proposals for the inclusion of both these classes were submitted to your Lordships in 1902, and received the support of noble Lords opposite as well as noble Lords on this side of the House. Support was further given by the most rev. Primate, who was at the time Bishop of Winchester, and by other members of the Episcopal Bench. With regard to the smaller laundries in which only two persons are employed, I have only this to say, that the worst cases or overwork and also of insanitary and unsuitable premises are reported from this particular class. It will surely be agreed that it is most undesirable, in the interest of the community as a whole, that clothes should be allowed to be washed under the conditions which prevail in some of those places; and, moreover, no logical argument can be brought forward to sustain the position that you may employ two persons for longer hours and under worse conditions than you would be allowed to employ three persons. The distinction is both arbitrary and unjust.

The opposition to the inclusion of institution laundries is another matter. The opposition to this arises, I think, from three sources. First of all, it arises from ignorance as to what is exactly meant by inspection, and by a fear that inspection might lead to some interference with the authority of the sisters in these places. That this fear is chimerical has already been proved. During the last two or three years many of the most reasonable of these institutions—and let me say that it is not a question between Catholic and Protestant institutions, but it applies equally to institutions of all denominations—have voluntarily submitted to a system of inspection by factory inspectors. They have found in practice that whereas they have been able to receive advice as to the guarding of their machinery, as to the nature of their premises, and the hours of their workers, no attempt has been made, and no attempt is likely to be made, to interfere in any way with the authority of the sisters over their inmates; and the opposition which arises on that score is already breaking down. The second reason for oppostion arises, I think, from a consciousness of the very genuine difficulties of applying the law to these particular places owing to the character of the women who are kept there. But these difficulties it has already been shown might easily be overcome, either by special provisions in the law or else by giving to the Home Secretary a very wide discretion. The last ground of opposition comes from those who claim that there is no need for the inspection of these places; but that cannot be maintained for a moment in view of the overwhelming case which, as I shall show presently, can be made out against it. But if that opposition were ten times greater than it is I should still insist that a change in the law was necessary, first of all, in justice to the laundry interest as a whole, and, secondly, in the interests of the institutions themselves.

It is urged by those who are the supporters of these particular institutions that since their laundry business is carried on not primarily for profit but for the good of the inmates, they cannot be said, in the ordinary sense, to compete with commercial laundries. I am very anxious not to be misunderstood on this point. I was misunderstood when I spoke on the Second Reading of the Factories and Workshops Acts (Amendment) Bill in 1902, and I am anxious to use this opportunity of clearing up any misunderstanding which my words gave rise to on that occasion. For instance, I spoke of the House of Mercy at Clewer as being in competition with a commercial laundry for the washing of Eton College. I received a few days afterwards from the warden of that institution a letter pointing out that my remarks were untrue, and that they were very unjust to the institution of which he was in charge. He pointed out to me that no attempt had ever been made by their institution to take away the business of the commercial laundry; that, in fact, they themselves were the first in the field, and that as the commercial laundry had come upon the scene many years later it was unjust to say that his institution was competing with the commercial laundry. Indeed, he thought, it was rather the other way about. What I meant to imply was this, that where large profits are made, as they are made, by these institutions out of their laundry work it is impossible to urge that they do not compete with other establishments. That large profits are made I showed in 1902, but I will quote some passages from the Factory Report for 1905, which has just been issued, bearing on this particular point. On page 260 the following passage occurs—

> "Knowing as we do the great pressure which often occurs in commercial laundries, and the amount of organisation which is needed to deal with it, we feel that either a great deal more overtime is worked in commercial laundries than is needed, or that the information obtained in institution laundries is quite unreliable, for one fact we very clearly ascertained, viz., that the work in both classes of laundries is identical. We found washing being done for clubs, restaurants, hotels, private customers, ships, colleges, schools and churches, involving the difficulties which attend contract and seasonal work."

A few pages further on an appendix is inserted, in which are quoted some of the sums made by these institutions. The Report says—

> "We have been unable to obtain any evidence on this subject in any of the large and flourishing places, but we append a few notes gathered from the smaller places."

These figures, therefore, apply only to the small institutions. The first institution referred to is a Protestant rescue home. The receipts by laundry work amounted to £1,275, and the receipts from other sources to £113. In the case of another rescue home, the laundry receipts amounted to £1,207 and the receipts from other sources to £104. Next we are given the figures of a female penitentiary. The laundry receipts were £1,711 and the receipts from other sources £58. I only quote these figures to show the extent of the business carried on and that very large sums are made in this industry. It is not fair, when two laundries are engaged in doing a particular business and are in a state of competition with each other—I will use the word in a passive rather than an active sense — that you should impose on the one restrictions and limitations which necessitate the spending of considerable sums of money and the working of shorter hours, and that you should leave the other one entirely free.

It is particularly unfair when the branch of the industry which is exempted starts with the advantage of not having to pay any wages. It is perfectly true that instead of wages they provide board and lodging for their workers which is not done by the ordinary commercial laundry; but I would point out that the provision of accommodation is *qua* home and not *qua* laundry, and that the provision would be made whether the laundry was conducted as part of the institution or not. I say it is unfair, in the interest of the trade, that laundries which do such a large amount of business should be exempted. I went on to show, on the last occasion that I addressed your Lordships on this question, that an amendment of the law was required in the interests of the inmates of these institutions themselves. In 1902 we could only guess at the conditions which prevailed in many of these places. Now, in 1906, we have positive evidence on that point. As I mentioned just now, many of the institutions have lately submitted to voluntary inspection, and we have in the Report which has just been issued evidence as to the state of affairs which that inspection has revealed.

Though long extracts from Factory Reports and Blue Books are generally tedious I must ask your Lordships' indulgence if I read one or two from this Blue Book. I am sure that the facts here disclosed will be far more conclusive than any arguments I could bring forward. First of all, I am happy to find among the reports of the men inspectors a very high testimony to the excellent manner in which a good many of these places are managed. I will quote one as typical of what I mean. Mr. Shuter, of Plymouth, writing about laundries connected with religious institutions, says—

> "The buildings are admirably suited for the purpose for which they are used, being lofty, well lighted, and well ventilated. The greatest attention is paid to cleanliness, lime washing, etc., while the hours worked are very few compared with those permitted by law in other laundries. The inmates present a most comfortable appearance and, so far as I am able to judge, these laundries have nothing whatever to fear from being placed under ordinary inspection."

There are several other Reports of the same kind showing that many of these laundries are well conducted, and—and this point I ask your Lordships to notice especially—that inspection has been welcomed by the authorities of the institutions.

But, if we turn later on in the Bluebook to the Report of His Majesty's lady inspectors, we find the matter treated far more exhaustively, no less than ten pages being devoted to this one subject. Twenty-seven English institution laundries and 59 Irish institution laundries were inspected. There were examples of places well conducted, but there are many accounts in these pages of conditions which can only be described as far from satisfactory. For instance, the hours of labour are often found to be excessive, and mention is made of one Magdalen asylum, founded in 1765, where laundry work has been abandoned in favour of less trying and exhaustive work on the advice of the consulting physician, whose experience has led him strongly to disapprove of laundry processes as an occupation for these particular women. There is an interesting passage on this point, to the effect that the statement which is most generally made with reference to penitentiaries, that laundry work is beneficial for the development of the character of the inmates, is one which cannot be accepted without grave consideration. It is said to be a question whether women, many of whom are inebriates, are best employed in a kind of work which not only induces thirst but provides them with a trade in which the temptations to drink are rampant.

The Earl of Lytton.

On another page we have further testimony as to the need for inspection. I will quote the passage—

> "In another orphanage laundry reported on by Miss Deane, after three years' voluntary inspection (also English). one unfenced power-driven wringer was found being fed by a girl of 15, another by a feeble-minded girl; a girl of 16, with loose hair, was tending the dangerous uncovered hydro, with friction cones and driving belt totally unguarded. The sister-in-charge stated that she put the new-comers to feed the unguarded calendar 'in order that they might get accustomed to the heat of the ironing-room,' and added that in any case only 'the stupidest girls' tended this machine. Miss Deane reports that on being informed that this was a very unsafe arrangement, the sister was 'greatly surprised.'"

Mention is also made on another page of a laundry connected with an institution which has been built almost entirely of galvanized iron and has been planned with every defect possible except that of being underground. It is impossible, with a voluntary system of inspection, to get any reforms carried out.

There are many other passages showing the urgent need for legislation in this matter. Yet we stand in exactly the same position to-day as we did in 1902. I submit that these extracts make out an absolutely overwhelming case; that they bear evidence of a state of affairs which cries aloud for further regulation and reform, and that no Home Secretary, after having read this Report, would be justified in allowing the matter to rest where it is. My object in speaking this evening is not to convince your Lordships that there is a case made out for reform. The action which this House took in 1902, when a Bill containing provisions for reform was passed through all its stages without a single division, is sufficient to prove that your Lordships do not stand in need of conviction. My object is to induce His Majesty's Government to take up this question. Let me remind them that their predecessors for the last five years have altogether neglected their opportunities, and have failed to carry out their promises; and let me say this to the members of His Majesty's Government that, although they may find in the action of their predecessors many admirable qualities which I am sure they will be anxious to imitate, I would ask them not to choose their action in regard to this question as one for imitation.

The case was first made out by a Liberal Home Secretary and it was afterwards stated even more strongly by a Conservative Home Secretary. In the first instance the case was not dealt with because the Government had not a sufficient majority. In the second case the majority was there, but the Bill was introduced so late in the session that sufficient time was not allowed for the discussion of this somewhat contentious question. But it was on the distinct understanding that the Government would return to this measure at the earliest possible opportunity that they were able to get their Factory and Workshops Bill through in 1901. That was five years ago, and we are still waiting for that earliest opportunity. I hope that noble Lords opposite will take note of these two facts. They are pledged up to the hilt to deal with this question. They have an even larger majority than the late Government and therefore cannot plead want of support as their excuse; and I trust that if they bring forward proposals dealing with this question they will not allow them to be crowded out for want of time.

They are pledged up to the hilt to deal with this question, not only by the words of their own Home Secretary but by the remarks which were made by their responsible leaders in this House in 1902. In that year the present First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Tweedmouth, used these words—

> "If there was one trade in which the Factory Act should be applied more than another it was the laundry trade. He did not think that because a laundry was under religious or charitable management it should escape inspection. Indeed, history went to show that it was exactly in those institutions that it was desirable there should be publicity in order to secure the institutions dealt with from suggestions of abuse."

The Bill having been supported by the then Government and no guarantee given that facilities would be provided for its discussion in the other House, Earl Spencer, who at that time led the Opposition in your Lordships' House, rose and said—

> "I confess I heard with dismay the statement of Lord Belper that the Government would not give any facilities in another place for carrying this Bill into law. I have risen to enter an emphatic protest against the course which the Government propose to follow."

In view of those words I do sincerely trust that if this Bill is again introduced next session, or a Bill on similar lines, for I think the measure is now capable of some improvement, the responsible Leader of the House will not make a statement which was heard with dismay in 1902, or propose a course which at that time they themselves protested against in the most emphatic manner.

It may be asked why, if so good a case has been made out, this matter has been allowed to rest for the last five years. It is not due to any indifference or to any slackening of interest on behalf of those who care about this matter. It is simply due to the fact that in 1903 the Fiscal question came upon the scene, and from that moment held the field almost to the exclusion of any other question, and that for the last two years of its tenure of office the existence of the late Government was, to say the least of it, precarious. It was not thought desirable to ask a Government, which was in such a condition, to take the question up. But we have now a new Government—a strong Government—and I therefore take the earliest possible opportunity of reminding them of their obligations in this matter.

The questions I have to ask are perfectly explicit. They are, first, Will they undertake to introduce legislation so as to establish effective regulation of all laundries? Secondly, Will they definitely promise to undertake this legislation next session, and include it in their programme? Let me make this clear—that we who care about this question will not be satisfied with vague expressions of hope that some indefinite measure may be produced at some indefinite time. If the noble Earl who represents the Home Office has nothing more to tell me than that, I hope he will keep it to himself. We have lived upon hope for many years and are rather tired of the diet. Let me tell the noble Earl who represents the Home Office that unless he has something more satisfactory than that to give us, unless some quite definite promise is given, we, who care about this question, will return to it again and again, and that we will make use of every opportunity which the machinery of Parliament affords us for inducing the Government to take up reforms, which they themselves approve of, and which they have no excuse for neglecting any longer.

EARL BEAUCHAMP: My Lords, I do not intend to intervene at any length between your Lordships and the debates upon the Bills which are before you to-night. I shall answer the noble Earl as shortly as I can. I am sure it will not be any surprise to your Lordships, who know for how long the noble Earl has taken an interest in this question, that he should have urged the Government to take steps in this matter. This is not a question of Party controversy, though I was sorry to hear some of the words which fell from the noble Earl, which tended to make this a matter of Party difference between one side and the other. I am quite sure that members of your Lordships' House on both sides are concerned and interested in this question, and the noble Earl who then led the Opposition, Earl Spencer, spoke very strongly on this matter in the debate in 1902.

With regard to the question of the noble Earl, I may say that His Majesty's Government are not able to promise that facilities will be given to a Bill introduced by a private Member; and for this reason. They consider that this question is too important to be left to a private Member either of your Lordships' House or of the other House. The wish of His Majesty's Government is to introduce next session a Bill to amend the Factory Acts, and it is their intention when that amending Bill is introduced that the position of the laundries shall be effectively dealt with, and, they hope, dealt with in a manner which will be satisfactory to all parties.

At the same time it is obviously impossible for any member of His Majesty's Government to give, on behalf of the Home Office, the definite promise that the Factories Acts (Amendment) Bill will be introduced next year. I do not think that such a course would even be a usual one to take at this period of the session. I should like to refer the noble Earl to a speech which was made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department on March 19th, which seems to have escaped his notice. Speaking on the laundry question to a deputation from Scotland the Home Secretary said that the position of laundries under the Factory Act seemed to him to be the weak spot in the Act, and that he was in favour of progress being made. I do not know whether what I have said is sufficient to satisfy the noble Earl, but I can assure him that the objects he has at heart have the sympathy of His Majesty's Government, and that if possible they do mean next year to deal with the matter.

LORD ASHBOURNE: My Lords, my noble friend who has presented this subject to your Lordships in such a clear and interesting speech has received an answer not very dissimilar from that which he no doubt partly expected. I do not know whether my noble friend is very satisfied with it. The reply on behalf of His Majesty's Government was hopeful and sympathetic, but marked by a good deal of indefiniteness. I daresay that is all that in the circumstances could well be expected. I am quite aware that with the present distribution of business in Parliament it is practically impossible for a private Member to expect with anything like certainty to be able to pass a Bill without Government assistance; but I hope, after the speech in which the subject has been introduced and after the reply of the noble Earl who represents the Home Office, that every reasonable effort will be made to deal with this important matter at an early date.

***THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY**: My Lords, I am anxious to endorse most strongly what has been said by the noble and learned Lord who has just sat down. The noble Earl who introduced the subject said that we had lived long upon hope in regard to this matter. I trust we may think to-night that the hope may now possibly be described as expectation, in view of the emphatic though guarded terms of the reply given by the noble Earl who represents the Home Office. It is because that expectation is held out that we are content now to wait a little while in patience in the trust that that expectation will be readily fulfilled.

The difficulties are not small, but promises have been so repeatedly given that the matter shall be dealt with at the earliest possible moment that I feel it would be almost mockery if it were postponed beyond the time which has been foreshadowed, I hope I may say, in the speech of the noble Earl. The noble Earl has asked on behalf of the Government that private Members should not press this matter forward because the Government wishes it to be dealt with in a Government measure. That it must be remembered, is the position. We are asked to abstain until such time as the Government move in the matter, and I trust we shall not have to wait long. I speak in this matter, not only on behalf of charitable and religious institutions to which laundries are attached, but also on behalf of laundries elsewhere, in which grave wrong is daily being done to the workpeople by lack of additional regulations.

*THE EARL OF PLYMOUTH: My Lords, having taken great interest in this question in 1901, and having been instrumental in obtaining a promise on this subject in that year from those with whom I was generally in accord, I should like to say a word or two on the present occasion. For my part I certainly shall not introduce Party spirit into the few words I shall say, and I do not think, by the way, that my noble friend behind me (the Earl of Lytton) said anything which could be described as introducing Party feeling. Having myself afterwards become a member of the Government which gave this original promise, I certainly am very sorry that we were not able to deal with the question. I am afraid it is one, of which there are not a few presented to Parliament, where both sides agree that the subject should be dealt with, but where there is not sufficient driving power behind it in the matter of general interest to induce the Government to give up valuable time in another place at the expense of some other measures which they think of more importance. I was glad to hear the undertaking which was given by the noble Earl who represents the Home Office that it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to introduce a Bill of a larger nature in which this question will be dealt with, and I trust that at the earliest opportunity this measure will be brought before Parliament and carried into law.

LORD RIBBLESDALE: My Lords, I am sorry that we have not got something more like a promise from the noble Earl on behalf of the Government. I think the noble Earl who has just addressed us rather misunderstood what my noble friend Earl Beauchamp said, for, although he stated that it was the intention of the Government to bring in a Bill to amend the Factory Acts, of which this question would be part, he guarded himself by saying that the time next session was very much mortgaged, and the Government might not be able to introduce the Bill. Therefore we are left in a state of uncertainty as to the intentions of the Government.

The area of the question has been fully covered by the noble Earl who raised it but I should like to say one word about the small two-handed laundries. As a visitor under the King Edward VII. Fund, I was to-day visiting a large hospital, and I remarked to my co-visitor, who is a doctor, that I was obliged to get back to the House of Lords because of this debate on the laundry question. My co-visitor at once replied that the fact that no legislative action had been taken in connection with these small laundries was a hazard to the public health. We have it, on the authority of Mr. Ritchie and Mr. Asquith, that the law as it stands is incapable of enforcement, and I think that is a great slur on our legislation. I venture to think that the declarations of Mr. Asquith in the other House and of Lord Spencer in this House, constitute an obligation which the Government cannot put aside by a nebulous promise of the kind that has just been given.

VISCOUNT RIDLEY: My Lords, I cannot help expressing regret that we can get no definite undertaking from the Government on this subject. Those occupying the Ministerial bench are represented as the Party of progress; yet they are standing in exactly the same position on this question as was occupied ten years ago. I was a member of the Standing Committee of the other House which investigated the Bill of 1901, and I know well that at that time the question had reached a degree of agreement on the part of all sections which really made it a matter of general and not of party concern. We now have in power a Government which, at any rate, commands a large majority, and here is a useful measure which is demanded by all sections of the community and by noble Lords of every shade of opinion in this House. Yet we can get no definite undertaking from the Government beyond shadowy and vague words.

The noble Earl who represents the Home Office referred us to a speech made by the Home Secretary. I have taken the trouble to look up certain remarks by the Prime Minister in answer to questions in the other House. In one answer the the Prime Minister said—

> "I understand that the Home Secretary contemplates legislation next Session dealing with convent laundries."

After that definite statement by the Prime Minister further questions were put, and the Prime Minister was asked what he meant by his statement. He replied that a Bill would be introduced—

> "If it is found to be within the competence and the necessities of the Government to introduce it."

That is a phrase which means everything or nothing. I do not think we on this side would place the competence of the Government highly, but I suppose they are the best judges of their own necessities. What we have heard to-day, however, amounts to no undertaking of any kind whatever. I sincerely hope that my noble friend who has raised this question will not relinquish his efforts until some more definite undertaking on the subject has been given by His Majesty's Government.

LORD BURGHCLERE: My Lords, it is unfortunate that the noble Viscount who has just sat down should have introduced into this discussion an element of Party discord. The whole of his speech was an attack on the Government of the day. The subject was introduced in an excellent and exhaustive speech by the noble Earl opposite, and I think it would have been better if the tone of the debate had been kept to that standard. It is perfectly true that the noble Earl who represents the Home Office did not give a definite promise on the part of the Government, but he certainly led us to believe—and the most rev. Primate so interpreted his statement—that if private Members would not press upon Parliament their own measures there would be every chance of the Government taking up the matter in the future. The object we have at heart is supported by both sides of the House, and has been supported in Opposition both by Mr. Asquith and by the noble earl Lord Spencer, whose absence from this House we all regret. Although it is perfectly true that the noble Earl who replied to-day on behalf of the Government did not give us any definite promise on the subject, we may hope that the Government will give it their anxious consideration and that next session they will bring in a measure dealing with it.

FERTILISERS AND FEEDING STUFFS BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES (Earl CARRINGTON): My Lords, this is a Bill which I believe will meet with very little opposition at the hands of your Lordships. Its object is to amend the law with respect to the sale of agricultural fertilisers and feeding stuffs, and it simply carries out the unanimous recommendations of a Departmental Committee on the Act passed in 1893. That Committee was presided over with great ability by my noble friend Lord Burghclere, to whom the entire credit for this measure is due.

The provisions of the Bill are somewhat technical, but are absolutely necessary. The initiative in putting the Bill into operation is to be on the local authorities. The Bill cheapens and simplifies the procedure for taking analyses and samples, and it compels the seller to give a warranty as to the quality of the article sold. The Earl of Durham expressed to me some alarm with regard to one of the provisions—Clause 6, Subsection 3—which gives powers, under certain circumstances, to the Board over which I have the houour to preside. Clause 6 enacts that if any person who sells any article for use as a fertiliser of the soil or as food for cattle or poultry commits any of the offences set forth in the clause, he shall, without prejudice to any civil liability, be liable, on summary conviction for a first offence to a fine not exceeding £20, and for any subsequent offence to a fine not exceeding £50. As this is a criminal prosecution the offender would, of course, be brought up before the magistrate and be placed in the dock. Traders feel that there would be hardship about this, and that some prosecution might be brought forward which was not quite fair, and, though the dealer would be acquitted with flying colours, it would always be possible for his enemies to say that he had been brought before the magistrates, and this would be a slur on his character.

Many of the dealers in these fertilisers and feeding stuffs are men of great reputation and honour, and they somewhat object to the possibility—I admit the small possibility—of such a thing as I have referred to happening. It is therefore provided in the Bill that a prosecution for an offence under this section shall not be instituted except with the consent of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries. I firmly believe that this is an adequate safeguard, and one of which, under the exceptional circumstances, your Lordships will approve. I am convinced that the Bill will be a protection of agricultural interests, and as it is introduced by one who is the grandson of the first man connected with commerce and trade who had the honour of a seat in your Lordships' House I hope that the traders in this great industry will believe that the Bill is not altogether unfair to themselves.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª"—(*Earl Carrington*).

Lord BURGHCLERE: My Lords, as I had the honour of being the author of the Act of 1893, which I piloted through the House of Commons, and as I was also president of the Committee on whose recommendations this Bill is founded, I think I should be wanting in respect to your Lordships' House if I did not address a few words to you upon it. The Act of 1893 was founded on the recommendations of a Committee appointed by my predecessor, Mr. Chaplin. That Committee did not produce a unanimous Report, and we founded our Bill of 1893 on those recommendations which were thought best suited to the purpose we had in view. The Act of 1893 was of considerable benefit to farmers and agriculturists generally; but, as happens to the best of legislation as time goes by, it has been found that some alteration in it is decidedly necessary. My noble friend Lord Onslow appointed a Committee of which, as I have said, I was chairman, and, unlike the Committee of 1892, we unanimously recommended certain distinct provisions, and when I tell your Lordships that that Committee had upon it both producers and consumers, both traders and farmers, I think you will agree that a unanimous decision from such a body is deserving of consideration.

The measure contains the recommendations which that Committee made, and as I may claim to be not only the father but perhaps the grandfather of this particular measure I have nothing but words of praise for it. With regard to the point which Lord Durham brought to the notice of my noble friend the President of the Board of Agriculture, I entirely agree to the condition that prosecutions should only be instituted with the consent of the Board of Agriculture, and I think this is sufficient safeguard to the traders concerned. We had on the Committee of whom I was chairman very distinguished representatives of the trade in question. They were delighted that this provision was put in, and I am certain I am speaking in their name when I say they are perfectly satisfied that such a provision will safeguard them from any frivolous prosecution. There may be one or two points to which I shall draw your Lordships' attention in Committee. For the present, I congratulate the noble Earl on having introduced the Bill, and I believe it will be of considerable service to that great industry of agriculture which we find it extremely difficult to help except by legislation of this kind. I hope that in the circumstances your Lordships will give the Bill a Second Reading.

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

OPEN SPACES BILL.

[Second Reading.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Earl CARRINGTON: My Lords, this is simply a measure to consolidate the existing enactments relating to open spaces. The Acts which it consolidates are simply permissive. The Bill is strongly supported by Lord Meath and the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association, and the Commons Preservation Society have also expressed themselves in its favour. It has passed through all its stages without the slightest difficulty in the House of Commons, and it is the same Bill as that which passed your

Lordships' House last year. In these circumstances I hope your Lordships will again this year give the Bill a Second Reading.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª" (*Earl Carrington*).

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITEES (The Earl of ONSLOW): Do I gather from the noble Earl that this is absolutely a Consolidation Bill, and that no new provisions are introduced ?

EARL CARRINGTON: I can give that absolute assurance to the House. It is merely a Bill to consolidate the existing Acts on the subject, which are in a very confused condition.

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

GROUND GAME BILL.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

LORD BURGHCLERE: My Lords, in moving the Third Reading of this Bill I hope I am not too optimistic in expressing the hope that it will pass into law, but as the Bill has been amended by your Lordships it will have to go back to the other House for their consent to those Amendments before it can become law. I do not know whether your Lordships' Amendments obtain a hearing in another place without any special provision being made for that purpose by the Government, but if it is not so, I do trust that the Government will give the trifling facilities necessary for the passing of this Bill. It would be a matter of deep disappointment and regret to many of the tenant farmers and the small sheep farmers of Scotland if, through the action of the present Government, who are the political descendants of those who passed with great difficulty and great courage the original Ground Game Act, they were deprived of the benefits they hope to secure from this small measure.

Moved "That the Bill be now read 3ª"—(*Lord Burghclere.*)

On Question, Bill read 3ª with the Amendments.

Earl Carrington.

LORD HAMILTON OF DALZELL moved to amend Clause 2, which extends the right of occupiers of moorlands, etc., to kill ground game between September 1 and December 10, by the addition of words providing that this should be without prejudice to the occupiers' existing rights under the Ground Game Act, 1880. The noble Lord said: My Lords, the Amendment standing in my name on the Paper is a purely drafting one. Its object is to make clear that the additional period of three months during which farmers on moorlands are allowed to kill ground game is really in addition to, and not in substitution for, the period during which they already exercise that right. The necessity for these words was pointed out by the noble and learned Lord James of Hereford, and I understand the Amendment has the full approval of the noble Lord in charge of the Bill and also of Lord Saltoun.

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, line 11, after the word 'shall' to insert the words 'without prejudice to his existing rights under that Act.'"—(*Lord Hamilton of Dalzell.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Moved, "That the Bill do pass."—(*Lord Burghclere.*)

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY: Before the Bill passes I should like to be assured that this Amendment does not increase the penalty on the landlord, as would appear from the drafting, or interfere with the right of free contract. If that is thoroughly understood I think the House might pass the Bill, although at the same time I have no doubt that it will do great injury to grouse moors in Scotland.

LORD BURGHCLERE: I can assure the noble Lord who has just sat down that the Amendment which has been inserted on the motion of the noble lord who represents the Scottish Office is purely of a drafting character and has been inserted on the initiative of my noble and learned friend Lord James of Hereford. Personally I do not think it is necessary, but at the same time it can do no harm. It merely ensures that the provisions of the Bill, which have been accepted by the whole House, shall be carried out.

On Question, Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD DENMAN: My Lords, in rising to move the Second Reading of this Bill I shall be obliged to trespass for a few moments on the attention of your Lordships, in the first place because this Bill was one of those mentioned in the gracious Speech from the Throne; and, secondly, because it is the most important Bill dealing with Ireland that will be laid before Parliament during the present year. It came to your Lordships' House in a somewhat unique position, as it passed through another place without opposition from any Party or any section. It received the commendation of all parties and the blessing of Gentlemen so widely apart in politics as the late Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Walter Long, Mr. Redmond, Colonel Saunderson, Mr. Dillon, and many other right hon. and hon. Gentlemen who are not usually unanimous in giving praise to any particular measure. With regard to its introduction here, I may say that it has made its appearance rather suddenly in this House owing to its unexpectedly rapid passage through another place, and I have to thank the noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition and certain other noble Lords who take a keen interest in Irish affairs, for assenting that this measure should not be unduly delayed, if, indeed, it may not be accelerated, in its passage through this House.

I had intended to say a few words regarding the defects of former Labourers Acts, and how it was hoped the present measure would remedy those defects; but I think I shall be better consulting the convenience of the House if I pass at once to what are, after all, the most important proposals under this Bill—namely, the financial proposals. This Bill proposes to sanction the building of 25,000 cottages in Ireland at a cost of some £4,250,000 sterling. The Chief Secretary has estimated for the purpose of the Bill that these cottages will cost on an average £170—that is to say, £130 for the building and £40 for the plot of land up to an acre which goes with it; but it has been represented to him that the probable cost of the cottages will be rather less, and that he has if anything over-estimated the expenditure under this heading. It is therefore to be hoped that more than the 25,000 cottages named in the Bill—possibly nearer 30,000—may be erected for the £4,250,000 which the Bill provides. To meet interest and sinking fund an annuity at the rate of 3¼ per cent. is to be provided for. This will amount to about £138,000, which will be an annual charge that will have to be met. It is proposed to meet this charge in the following way. A certain sum is realised by the reduction in certain judicial appointments. One judgeship is to be suspended, which gives us £3,500 a year; another has already been suspended, and the salary of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland has been reduced from £8,000 to £6,000.

LORD ASHBOURNE: Not yet.

LORD DENMAN: Well, it is proposed that it should be reduced.

LORD ASHBOURNE: It has been proposed for the last 20 years.

LORD DENMAN: It is proposed under this Bill that it should be reduced from £8,000 to £6,000.

LORD ASHBOURNE: It is not done under this Bill; it is referred to as an expectation.

LORD DENMAN: I have no doubt the noble and learned Lord is correct. At all events there is an expectation that the reduction will take place. It is hoped that under the heading to which I have just referred £9,000 a year may be realised. Then it is proposed to take from the Petty Sessional Clerks' Fund in Ireland, which at present stands at something like £170,000, the sum of £150,000, and to invest it and use the interest in the part payment of this annual charge. It is also proposed to take a sum of £70,000 from the Irish Development Grant after the end of March of next year. Up till that time I understand the money is required under the provisions of the Land Purchase Act. These two sums together amount to £220,000 and they will furnish some £7,000 a year. It is then proposed to take £6,000 a year from the grant from the Treasury to Irish County councils, which is for the purpose of building cottages. These three sums together give us a total of £22,000 a year from Irish sources. Then it is proposed that £28,000 a year should be paid from the Treasury into the Irish Development Grant Fund and should be taken from that fund for the purpose of this Bill. That gives us £50,000 a year, and leaves £88,000 to be found.

The task of levying the rent will be left to the rural district councils in Ireland. They will fix the amount of the rent, but the Chief Secretary has calculated that on an average the rent of these cottages will be at the rate of 1s. a week. No doubt in some localities the rent will be considerably more, and possibly in some it will be less; but, taking this as an average rent, it will give a sum of £65,000 a year which we can devote to the part payment of the annual charge. A sum of £23,000 is therefore left to be provided, and the Chief Secretary hopes to get this by throwing it as a charge on the rates. If we compare this charge of £23,000 on the rates with the charges which previous Labourers Acts in Ireland have imposed upon the same source it will be seen that it compares very favourably. Under previous Acts 17,400 cottages have been built and have thrown a charge upon the rates of about £60,000 a year. Under this Bill it is proposed to provide 25,000 cottages at a cost, not of £60,000 but of £23,000. That, I think your Lordships will agree, is a very considerable improvement. Your Lordships will, perhaps, notice that the most striking of these financial proposals is the grant of £28,000 from the Treasury. It was, I believe, foretold by the late Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Wyndham, that no Chancellor of the Exchequer would ever agree to contribute such a sum from the Treasury. Well, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer is contributing this sum, and I hope your Lordships will argee that a grant of money could not be employed for a better purpose than for ameliorating the lot of this poor and hardly-pressed class of the community. That is a brief outline of the financial proposals of this Bill.

I will now touch briefly upon one or two other matters which, though they are not of such magnitude in themselves, are nevertheless points of considerable importance. I will first of all take the question of appeal. This is a question which has received the very earnest and careful consideration of the Chief Secretary. Under the existing law an appeal can be made from the Local Government Board to the Privy Council, but it is considered essential to abolish this appeal so far as this Act is concerned on account of the delay and expense, which would be entirely out of proportion to the small sums and the comparatively small area of property dealt with. His Majesty's Government have very carefully considered the matter, and have come to the conclusion that the most reasonable course to pursue is to follow the precedent of the English Local Government Act of 1894, where, in the case of Orders conferring power to acquire land compulsorily for the purpose of the Allotment Acts and other local purposes, the decision of the Local Government Board is final. It is proposed to follow a similar procedure with regard to the present Bill.

It may possibly interest noble Lords if I state what the exact procedure under this Bill will be. An inspector of the Local Government Board will hold a preliminary inquiry and will consider all objections made by persons interested. He will then make a Provisional Order confirming the scheme, but, if an appeal is lodged, the Local Government Board will consider a full report of the evidence taken at the original inquiry and they may make such further local inquiry as they think necessary, and may then confirm or disallow the Order of the inspector. It is hoped that by this means a decision may be come to by an impartial authority, which will have the advantage of speed and economy, as compared with the costly and somewhat lengthy procedure of the old system of appeal to the Privy Council. As in these cases the question will be one of fact rather than of law, it is obviously unnecessary that the authority of such a high judicial tribunal as the Privy Council should be invoked for this purpose.

Amongst other reforms contemplated in this Bill, I might mention the simplification of title to land under Clause 11, which it is hoped will considerably reduce legal procedure, and the expenses attendant upon the building of cottages, by the furnishing of model schemes from the Local Government Board to rural district councils. I think I need not dwell at any length at this stage of the Bill upon these particular points. I may mention, in passing, that it is proposed that the Act should become law on November 1st of this year. Among other provisoes in the Bill is one which it is hoped will effect a great improvement—namely, that which provides for the compulsory registration of all land taken by the district council for the purpose of the Labourers Acts. These, I think, are the chief points in the Bill.

I will only say, in conclusion, that if this Bill, when it becomes law, succeeds in realising the hopes which have been founded upon it in Ireland, it will do much. It will substitute decent dwellings where hitherto frequently only hovels have existed; it will introduce new methods of sanitation; it will help to check the spread of disease, and it will contribute, to what degree of course it is impossible at present to forecast, but to some degree at all events, to the general well-being and prosperity of Ireland. And if it is possible for it to achieve so much, I think that in doing so it may achieve even more. It may tend to stem the tide of emigration, which has been ebbing steadily from the shores of Ireland to other countries for more than forty years. It may serve as some inducement to this class of Irishmen to live their lives in the land they love instead of leaving it, and it is in the earnest hope that in its passage through this House the Bill, far from being weakened, may rather be strengthened to meet the purposes for which it was framed, that I now beg to move the Second Reading.

Moved, "That the Bill be read 2ª."—(*Lord Denman.*)

LORD ASHBOURNE: My Lords, your Lordships will have gathered from the clear statement which has just been made by the noble Lord what are the main provisions and intentions of this Bill. I am sure there is no one in this House who does not entirely concur in the aspiration that the passing of the measure will achieve such good results, for I do not think there is in any part of the House the slightest difference of opinion as to the propriety of passing any measure who will tend to the improvement of the condition of Irish labourers and give to them better and more sanitary homes. I know, from a very wide experience in Ireland of administering such legislation, that there is a very urgent need, in the interests of the health and general well being of our population, for providing better dwellings.

Your Lordships will, of course, consider, if your attention is invited to them, the different clauses of the Bill. I am not sure how far it may be competent for your Lordships to review the financial proposals that were so clearly stated by the noble Lord, but a good deal of money is required to carry the Bill out. Whether 25,000 houses with an acre of land attached can be provided at the moderate figure suggested I do not know. I only hope that the money mentioned will be adequate. I do not propose to discuss any of the financial proposals now, although I believe extreme dissatisfaction has been expressed in Ulster on the ground that the Bill will remove from that province and send to other parts of Ireland money deliberately appropriated to certain portions of that province.

It is necessary to bear in mind, in considering this question, that you have not only to provide the money for the erection of the cottages and the acquisition of the plots to go with them, but you have to consider how you are to get the land. So long as it is a matter of agreement there will be no difficulty; but it is a different thing when it comes to the taking of land compulsorily. That is a matter which will have to be very closely watched in the interests of those whose property may be affected. It may be, and often is, necessary in the public interest—before which everyone must bow, but bow under just, fair, and reasonable conditions—that land should be acquired compulsorily for certain purposes. But this is a matter which should be adequately safeguarded. The question is of importance to every one of your Lordships, even to those who have not the privilege of coming from Ireland, because a prominent member of His Majesty's Government has recently stated in the House of Commons that he contemplated the extension of the provisions of this Bill to England at an early date. That may possibly induce a wider and closer attention to the observations and criticisms that may be made with regard to the compulsory taking of land.

The Irish Labourers Code is not a Code of yesterday; it is a very old one —it started in 1883. I well remember its introduction. Mr. Gladstone was at that time Prime Minister, and so jealous was Parliament about taking away a man's land compulsorily against his will that the full machinery of Provisional Orders that had to be laid before Parliament and passed as Acts of Parliament was invoked as a safeguard. It was thought, and I assented at the time, that that was too long and too expensive a machinery to be applied in the case of land that might be required for purposes of erecting labourers cottages, and another mechanism was substituted to meet the case. A hearing before the Privy Council was substituted where an owner was dissatisfied with his land being taken compulsorily. I have had the honour of sitting at the hearing of 19 out of 20 of those appeals, because the president of that tribunal is the Lord Chancellor of Ireland assisted by Judges of the High Court. That is the tribunal now in existence. I admit that it is too strong for the purpose of this Bill, but I contend that there must be a judicial tribunal to consider under what conditions the compulsory taking of land should be sanctioned.

The points to be decided here are not points which can be dealt with off hand. The Code comprises a great many Acts of Parliament. It is not legal to put a cottage where it would interfere with the amenity of residence, and it is not legal to erect one in a demesne or home farm or on lands usually enjoyed with them. There are other legal points to be considered, and there are also facts as to the site. A site might be selected owing to the unpopularity of a certain person or for other indirect motives. Sites have been selected in the past in some cases in a way which did not commend themselves to impartial persons. Therefore there will be many points to be considered by the appellate authority. Originally Parliament decided these points. At present the tribunal in Ireland is the Privy Council. For that it is now proposed to substitute an inspector of the Local Government Board, who shall have power to make a Provisional Order. The like of it was never known before in any legislation.

At present this is in the jurisdiction of the highest legal tribunal in Ireland. Under this Bill it is proposed to substitute an inspector of the Local Government Board, from whose decision there is to be an appeal to his own Board. I have every respect for the Local Government Board—I have the honour of knowing all its members—but it is not stated in the Bill that there is to be an appeal to them. As I understand an appeal, the tribunal should hear the parties and see the witnesses. The Local Government Board will not see either of the parties or hear any of the witnesses. They will be given for perusal a copy of the evidence and the report of the inspector. But is that an appeal? If they do not like what they read they can send down an inspector to make another report; they may have a cartload of reports, but they will not see either of the parties or hear any of the witnesses. In no sense of the term can that be called an appeal. I wish to be perfectly frank upon this question, and I must say it is impossible to regard any appeal as satisfactory which does not give the parties the option of getting at a judicial mind, of going before some persons accustomed to weigh and balance evidence. I do not now take any absolute stand as to the form the tribunal should take, but I shall not be satisfied if an opportunity is not given to the parties of submitting their case to some judicial mind.

*LORD CLONBROCK: My Lords, I fully concur in what has fallen from my noble and learned friend as to the excellent objects of this Bill. I am sure every one would desire to see the labourers of Ireland living in proper sanitary houses instead of the miserable hovels in which in some places they are still condemned to live. But it sometimes happens that a measure of this kind, which may have originated with the best intentions, is diverted from its ordinary course and made to assume one which was never anticipated and which the originators would most strongly deprecate.

The previous Labourers Acts have undoubtedly done great good, but proceedings under them have been taken from unworthy motives. My noble and learned friend has had great experience, having presided at the meetings of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and he has pointed out that what he described as indirect motives have very often actuated the promoters of schemes for labourers cottages. I have had the honour of sitting once or twice on the Judicial Committee, and it is in my recollection that cases have come before us where sites for cottages have been chosen from purposes of spite, owing to the farmer or the owner having become unpopular in the neighbourhood, possibly through not adhering to the policy of the United Irish League or something of that kind. I remember great surprise being expressed on one occasion that such a scheme had been sanctioned by the Local Government Board. It is therefore most necessary that there should be some court of appeal where such matters would be thoroughly scrutinised, and were all the legal aspects of the case would be considered, so as to prevent the chance of a measure intended for the benefit of one class of the population being turned into a sort of engine of oppression on other classes.

Apart from motives such as I have described, it often happens that unreasonable representations are made for cottages, and increased facilities will now be given for making these representations. In the original Act the representation that came before the board of guardians, the body whch then had the conduct of these matters, had to be signed by 12 persons. By the Purchase Act of 1903 that number was reduced to six, and now it is, by this Bill, to be reduced to three. The greater the facilities given for these representations the greater will be their number, and the more unreasonable it may be anticipated will be some of the demands. As it is, the Act has not been always worked in the most reasonable manner and mistakes have been made. I have heard of cases where labourers cottages are now standing vacant owing to difficulty in finding occupants. I have heard of a cottage being occupied by a fiddler, and of a case where it was attempted to give a cottage to a coachman on the ground that he might be considered an agricultural labourer because his wife had planted a crop of potatoes. I must, however, add that in the latter case I do not believe that the application was attended with success. But it shows how carefully all such matters should be scrutinised.

My noble and learned friend the late Lord Chancellor of Ireland alluded to the provision respecting the taking of land by compulsion. There is a very remarkable sub-section in the Bill which prohibits the question of compulsion being taken into account in fixing the price of the land. It has always been the custom, in taking land compulsorily for any purpose, to make allowance for the fact of its being so taken. Whether or not the fact of compulsion ought to be taken into account in every case, it certainly seems to me to be a very strong measure to fetter the hands of the arbitrator and prevent him taking this course where he thinks it necessary.

It may be said that these are small plots of land and that the difference in the amount awarded by the arbitrator, whether he took compulsion into account or not, would not be material. But it is a most dangerous precedent in view of future legislation; and I commend this to the attention of all noble Lords, whether they come from Ireland or not, because we are told on high authority, as my noble and learned friend reminded the House, that a measure drawn on the lines of this one is to be introduced at an early date for England. I would impress upon the House the danger of laying down that no allowance shall ever be made in respect of the purchase being compulsory. There are several other points in regard to which Amendments will be proposed. But these Amendments will not affect the structure of the Bill, and will, I hope, have a favourable reception at the hands of His Majesty's Government. If they are adopted the result may be a Bill which will confer great benefit on the class concerned without inflicting injustice on any other class.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN: My Lords, I think it is a matter for congratulation that even at this late period of the session a first-class Government Bill has at last come up to this House, and a Bill which in its character is likely to commend itself generally to noble Lords on both sides of the House. Speaking personally, as an Irish ex-landlord, or a limited occupying owner—I am not quite sure exactly what I am—but speaking as an Irishman, I would like to express my personal satisfaction that a Bill has come up to your Lordships' House which, if passed, will, I am sure, be capable of adding materially to the prosperity of Ireland.

It has been mentioned both by my noble and learned friend Lord Ashbourne and by the noble Lord who has just sat down that legislation of a similar character will probably be undertaken as affecting Great Britain, and that being so it is quite proper that your Lordships should look at the provisions of this Bill rather with a view to the effect that similar legislation may have in this country. But I would ask your Lordships at the same time to remember that the circumstances of Ireland in every respect, financial, social, and economical, are quite peculiar, and that this Bill is only applicable to that portion of the United Kingdom. I hope, therefore, that the Bill will be considered by your Lordships on its merits, and with a view to seeing how its provisions will meet the peculiar requirements of that portion of the United Kingdom to which it applied.

I have said that circumstances in Ireland are pecular. They are peculiar in this respect, as affecting this Bill, that it is absolutely impossible to draw a distinct line, as can be done in England, between the labouring class and the farming class. The two classes merge quite imperceptibly one in the other, and it has always been felt that legislation interfering in any way with the relations of landlord and tenant of necessity required remedial legislation also affecting the other class interested in land—the labouring class, otherwise injustice would be done. I think, therefore, that your Lordships should look upon this Bill as not only a Bill designed for the benefit of the labourers of Ireland, but also a measure which is really a necessary complement of the Act of 1903—a Bill necessary to round off the corners of that Act and complete it. I think that has been generally recognised.

Parliament has occupied itself with this question for the last twenty or twenty-five years. There have been six or seven Acts passed and one Bill dropped dealing with this subject, and not one of those passed has been anything like a complete success for the simple reason that the procedure was too costly, too cumbersome, and too dilatory, and that the financial support given to the Bill was not sufficient. I think all these defects will be remedied under the measure which is now before your Lordships. The financial arrangements, I imagine, will be ample, but there are one or two points which I should be glad if some member of His Majesty's Government would explain a little more fully. After all, the financial part is the most important of any Bill of this sort. The noble Lord who introduced the Bill mentioned the Development Grant. That grant crops up continually in the Bill, and I should like to ask whether the Development Grant is capable of bearing the additional strain that will be put upon it under this Bill. I think there is a lump sum of £70,000 or £80,000 to come out of it, and then there is an annual sum of £28,000 to be drawn from it. The noble Lord who introduced the Bill said, I think, that £28,000 would be placed to the credit of the Development Grant by the Treasury, and that this £28,000 would be drawn from the Development Grant for the purposes of the Act. But it is the other way about. The £28,000 may be drawn from the Development Grant and afterwards the money will be refunded by Parliament. It may be six months afterwards, and in the meantime the Development Grant Fund may not be able to find the money. It must be remembered that the Development Grant, which was intended for educational purposes, is applied to every conceivable purpose under heaven except education. It is already hypothecated to meet losses on floating loans to finance the Land Purchase Act; and the losses made on flotation have been heavier than they ought to have been. There are other large demands in this Bill on the Development Grant, and I should like to know whether there is any security that the Development Grant will be able to bear this extra strain without becoming exhausted.

Then there is a capital sum of £150,000 to be paid from the Petty Sessional Clerks' Fund, the interest on which is to be used for the purposes of this Bill, but I understand that this money is already granted to the local authorities for another purpose. If so, it is obvious that it is not in the nature of a grant to the local authorities. It is merely taking the money out of the one pocket and putting it into the other. I imagine that nothing of the kind will take place as regards the lump sum of 4¼ millions that may be provided out of the Land Purchase Fund. I assume that the operations of Land Purchase will not be in any way impeded on that account; that is to say, that sufficient money will be found from time to time, as required, to finance, not only the Land Purchase Act, but this Act; because, however desirable it is that the just claims of the labourers should be satisfied, that would be dearly purchased if it caused any additional impediment to the working of the Land Purchase Act, and added to the disappointment and vexation which already exist owing to the long delay which takes place in completing sales That is all I have to say on the subject of finance.

But there are one or two other questions I should like to refer to at this stage of the Bill. The Bill, as your Lordships know, is not retrospective. In my humble opinion it ought to have been made retrospective, but that is a matter which this House cannot concern itself with. It is not retrospective, and the consequence is that the district councils who have done their duty and availed themselves of the existing Labourers Acts and built cottages will be placed at a great disadvantage as compared with those district councils which have not done their duty in this matter. In the first case the district councils will be paying interest of 4½ or 5 per cent. and providing a sinking fund, probably 6 or 6½ per cent. in all; whereas, in the second case, the district councils will obtain money at 3¼ per cent. It is very hard lines upon those councils which have done their duty that they should be placed at this disadvantage, and it is a very bad example to set to the country. Of course that cannot be remedied by this House. I would only express a hope that at some future time His Majesty's Government will consider the whole question of loans, with a view to seeing if they cannot put them upon some uniform basis. At present the whole of what I may call the internal finance of Ireland is in a confused and complicated condition. There is a clause in the Bill which I imagine to be designed as a relief to this injustice. I refer to Clause 18. Under that clause I take it that the residue of the Exchequer Grants which remain unexpended in certain counties will be divided among other counties according to the proportion in which cottages have been built. That seems to me an exceedingly fair arrangement. Where these residues have accumulated to a large extent they have accumulated in the counties in which the district councils have refused to build cottages. It seems to be reasonable that in such cases this unexpended balance should be given in relief to the counties where the district councils have done their duty in the matter. I should like to ask His Majesty's Government to what extent that is likely to give relief. Of course it is impossible for me, or for any private member of your Lordships' House, to judge how far those sums will assist the district councils who have raised loans in liquidating those loans. I take it for granted that councils which have raised loans for the purposes of former Acts will continue to have to pay the interest of those loans even after the passing of this Act. Therefore it is important, I think, to know how far they will get any relief under Clause 18.

This Bill deals with two quite distinct subjects. It aims at assisting the district councils to provide decent houses and decent accommodation for the labouring population, and it has a provision whereby certain meritorious and selected labourers can be allowed to obtain conveyances for the purchase of holdings. That is quite a different thing. To the principle I have not the slightest objection to raise. On the contrary, I think it is a very legitimate and good thing to hold out a sort of premium to the labourer to be thrifty and industrious in the hope of becoming the owner of a holding. But I think the way in which that is administered ought to be most carefully considered.

Parliament has been occupying itself, not with any very great measure of success, for a long time in trying to solve what is commonly called the Western problem—the existence of a great number of utterly uneconomic holdings, principally in the West of Ireland. The Congested Districts Board are labouring at it; the Estates Commissioners are labouring at it; and a Royal Commission has been appointed to inquire into the subject. The only remedy is to endeavour to turn these uneconomic holdings into economic holdings, and if the State is to assist in doing that on the one hand it surely would be the height of folly were it on the other hand to create other equally uneconomic holdings. I do not think myself that that clause will have a very large area of operation, because the country is not big enough; but at any rate the labourer must be safeguarded against becoming the possessor of a small and uneconomic holding. The labourer lives practically by his labour hired out. It is quite a proper thing that he should have a plot of land on which to occupy himself when he is not working and at odd hours. But as soon as you give him beyond one acre of land I am perfectly certain that in Ireland the man will cease to be a labourer, and will consider himself a small farmer.

I do not know whether the provisions in the Bill for simplifying the proving of title, conveyance, and so on, are sufficient or not. Your Lordships must remember that the district councils will have to deal with a most peculiar state of [things in Ireland. There are, and there will be, absolute owners, limited owners who have not sold, tenants who have bought and tenants who have not bought, and there will be an immense number of landlords and tenants in process of selling and buying, and with all these different classes of people the district councils will have to deal. It therefore seems to me essential that there should be some simple and efficacious means of proving title and conveying land. I wish to impress on the House the great importance of this, because it would be a thousand pities if this Bill were to be in any way marred by delays through difficulties in connection with the proving of title or legal matters of that kind. It would be very regrettable if anything occurred to destroy the value of the Bill, because it is a good Bill, a very good Bill.

This is a Bill which I believe is capable of effecting an immense improvement in Ireland. It deals, to my mind satisfactorily, with the very just claims of the labouring population, and there is no portion of the population in Ireland who are more deserving than the labourers of the consideration of the State. There is no class in Ireland, either, more capable of availing themselves and making the most of any assistance that the State will give them. Taking them as a whole the labouring population of Ireland are sober, industrious, and intelligent men. Anyone who knows Ireland at all will bear me out in saying that where cottages have been provided for the labourers they have been well kept. In that the labourers have set a very good example to many of those who are above them in the social scale. There is, I repeat, no class more deserving than the labouring class, and I believe this Bill will be of great assistance to them, and, working together with the Act of 1903, will add greatly to the prosperity and contentment of Ireland.

THE EARL OF ARRAN: My Lords, coming from the extreme west of Ireland I should like to state the views which are held in that part of the country with regard to this Bill. The Bill when it first appeared in another place was greeted as any Bill which tends to ameliorate the condition of any class of Irishmen must be, with entire approval. So far as one can see, this Bill aims at, and will succeed in many ways in bringing about, this amelioration, though in some details it may not quite meet with the approval of every class in Ireland. The land-owning class in three parts of Ireland are practically unrepresented in another place, and it is only when a measure reaches your Lordships' House that the views of the land-owning class can be fully heard and due weight given to their opinions, which I venture to urge are worth listening to. Any measure which, however indirectly or in however small a way, affects the question of landownership, as undoubtedly this Bill does, must receive the very gravest attention. There are two points as to which I would venture to endorse the opinions of Lord Ashbourne and Lord Cronbrock. First of all, there is the alteration in the Court of Appeal. I will not enter into detail upon that, but

I venture to support most earnestly what was said with regard to it by Lord Ashbourne. I venture to think that amongst the landowning and what is called the loyalist class in Ireland the Local Government Board as a Court of Appeal is not looked upon with universal approval. As a Court of Appeal we would urge the appointment of either a county court Judge or a Judge of assize.

The second point is as to the question of compensation for compulsory sale. Although the question of compensation for the compulsory taking of land under this Act must be very small, a very dangerous precedent is involved. I venture to hope your Lordships will alter this clause or even omit it, so that a dangerous precedent in regard to future legislation may not be set up without the point being fully considered upon its merits. The Bill as it stands requires some alterations, but when they are made I believe it will serve the object for which it is intended and ameliorate the condition of the labouring classes of Ireland.

THE EARL OF MAYO: My Lords, I desire at the outset to congratulate the noble Lord in charge of the Bill upon the very lucid manner in which he explained the first Irish measure he has had the pleasure of expounding to this House. We admit that this is a necessary Bill, and, as my noble friend Lord Dunraven said, it follows on the Act of 1903. He will remember that the Land Conference on which we both sat expressed the opinion that the labourers question should be dealt with.

As regards the finance of the Bill, I do not consider it very satisfactory. There are rumours that one of the judgeships is to be done away with, and there are certain parties who do not wish that course to be taken. With regard to the proposed reduction in the salary of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, an endeavour in this direction has been made for twenty years without success. There is, however, one point in the Bill which I consider rather satisfactory. We are to get £28,000 from the British Exchequer. As one who feels that Ireland is excessively overtaxed, that part of the Bill appeals to me very much. This is the cheapest form of Labourers Bill that we have had yet.

As to the question of appeal, it must be quite clear to His Majesty's Government, after the speeches to which they have listened, that we are not satisfied with appeal from the Local Government Board inspector to the Local Government Board. It is not a judicial appeal; indeed, it is no appeal at all. It is an appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober, and we are not likely to see the Local Government Board upset the Provisional Order which their inspector has allowed under this Bill. With regard to the compulsory taking of land, the Government must realise that we shall offer an Amendment to that clause. In no other case where land is compulsorily taken is the arbitrator precluded from taking into consideration the fact of compulsory purchase. We do not, therefore, consider the provision in this Bill at all satisfactory.

My noble friend Lord Dunraven mentioned the matter of the purchase of other plots of land for labourers, but there is a safeguard in the Bill with regard to that, inasmuch as the labourer cannot get the new plot without vacating his cottage. I am rather glad that that provision is in the Bill. We know that when there is an opportunity of acquiring land the Nationalists take good care to acquire all they can, and it is therefore our duty, as representing the landowners, to look after the interests of those belonging to that class. For that reason we shall put forward Amendments when the Committee stage of the Bill is taken, and I hope His Majesty's Government will see their way to accept our proposals. They will not affect the principle of the Bill in any way, but on the contrary, will render its working more easy.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: My Lords, I think my noble friend behind me has every reason to congratulate himself on the reception which this Bill has had at the hands of your Lordships. Its career in another place was also very pleasant, and quite the opposite of stormy, and I hope, although certain Amendments are hinted at by noble Lords opposite, its career here will not be of a very eventful kind. I most thoroughly endorse what fell from my noble friend Lord Dunraven as to the admirable character of the people whom this Bill is intended to benefit. They are a most frugal and hardworking class, and I venture to think that they have no superior among the labouring class in the whole of the British Isles.

This Bill is designed to do three distinct things. In the first place, it is designed to simplify all procedure connected with the acquisition of labourers houses, to reduce charges of all kinds, legal and other, and to simplify matters of title. My noble friend Lord Dunraven, without going deeply into the question of title, expressed the hope that that simplification was carried as far as was necessary to make the Bill work. I am no authority on these matters, but I am inclined to think that the hair of an ordinary solicitor would stand on end at the manner in which titles are dealt with in this Bill, and I think my right hon. friend has gone certainly as far as he is likely to go in that direction. The second object of the Bill is to place pressure upon district councils who in the general opinion have not done their duty in this respect; and the third object is the provision of cheap money to carry out the measure.

My noble friend Lord Clonbrock stated that sometimes in the past action had been taken under former Labourers Acts for the purpose of annoyance. That may have happened in some instances, but I hope that it belongs to a state of things which has really passed away in Ireland, and that there is no danger of anything like a general repetition of conduct of that sort. No duobt, too, mistakes have been made, but that is inevitable when minor local authorities are entrusted with duties of this kind. Two special objections, I think, were taken by noble Lords to the provisions of this Bill. The first was in relation to compulsory purchase, that no extra payment was to be made in respect of that compulsion.

THE EARL OF MAYO: That it was not to be taken into consideration by the arbitrator.

THE EARL OF CREWE: That the arbitrator was not to make an additional allowance in respect of the compulsory purchase. That was dwelt on by noble Lords not so much on the ground of the actual effect it would have as of the danger of creating a precedent of this kind in respect to larger transaction. I do not know that the danger is a very serious one, but if it is serious I am afraid it exists already, because in the Local Government Act for England, 1894, a precisely similar provision is added to to the section enabling parish councils and other bodies to acquire allotments.

The other point to which special exception was taken was the question of appeal in cases of land being taken. I am certain that the only objects which my right hon. friend had in introducing that provision into the Bill were simplicity and saving of time. He had certainly no intention of destroying any safeguard which might be really necessary. At the same time there is a similar precedent in the very same Act to which I have just alluded, the English Local Government Act, 1894. In the case where land is compulsorily acquired for allotments in this country there is an appeal to the Local Government Board, but it goes no further. However, I can assure noble Lords that their representations will be carefully considered by the Chief Secretary before the question arises on any Amendment which they may wish to move.

The noble Lord at the Table (Lord Dunraven) asked one or two Questions with regard to finance. I am told that as regards the Development Grant it has to be borne in mind that this money will not be required all at once. The operations of the Act will take some time before they are in full play, and there is no fear whatever in the minds of those who have conducted the finance of this Bill but that the Development Grant will be perfectly able to bear the strain which is placed upon it. As regards the Petty Sessional Clerks' Fund, it is no doubt the fact that a sum of something like £5,000 a year is lost to the local bodies in Ireland, taken as a whole, under the rather complicated scheme of finance in this Bill. But, however, spread over the whole country it forms such a very small fraction that, although noble Lords from Ireland mentioned the fact, I do not think it can tend seriously to interfere with the financial scheme of the Bill. It is, of course, most clearly to be understood that the Land Purchase Fund cannot and must not be allowed in any way to suffer owing to any operations under this Bill. It would be the worst possible policy in regard to Ireland to allow it to be supposed that what we hope will be the valuable operations of this measure should interfere with the equally valuable operations of another

LORD ASHBOURNE: It is only intended to be an advance?

*THE EARL OF CREWE: Precisely. The Land Purchase Fund is treated as a bank to be drawn on for this particular purpose, and the money will be paid back, I suppose by fresh borrowing. A word of caution has been uttered by the noble Earl, Lord Dunraven, as to the danger of creating a small class of uneconomic holdings. This is a matter on which I find myself in general agreement with him in so far that it is necessary it should be carefully watched. The distinction between a farmer and a labourer in Ireland is very vague. You see a man described in newspapers as a farmer who would be described in this country as a labourer. It is important that the danger referred to should not be allowed to arise.

Then the noble Earl complained, rather after the parable of the vineyard, that those counties which had done well in the past and borne the heat of the day were not getting the same consideration as those which were coming in at the eleventh hour. It is hardly necessary to attempt to argue here the question of the possibility of making the Act retrospective. It would not fall to us to do so if it were possible; but I must remind the noble Lord that he himself in his following sentence suggested what is the real set-off to that—namely, that the counties which have done the greater part of the building in the past, and have therefore in this matter presumably deserved the best of the community, will get a much larger share of the Exchequer contribution than the counties which only come in now. I am sorry to say I have not the figures which would enable me to reply to the noble Earl's Question as to the amount of relief which particular counties receive, but I understand that it will be very considerable in some cases, and therefore it must, I think, be taken as a set-off to the complaint which the noble Earl made that these counties were not receiving any special consideration. I think I have dealt with all the points raised by noble Lords opposite, and I can assure them that we shall give the fullest consideration to the Amendments they bring forward on Monday, with every desire to meet them if possible without destroying in any way the structure of the Bill.

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

DOGS BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

EARL CARRINGTON: My Lords, this Bill is entirely uncontroversial, and noble Lords opposite have shown their approval of it in their endeavours during the last ten years in every Session of Parliament to put it on the Statute Book. The Bill provides protection for live stock from injury by dogs. The worse injury was inflicted in Scotland and in Wales, but in 1904 as many as 308 sheep were worried in one English county. One farmer lost 50 lambs in one single night. We have received resolutions from all parts of the country in favour of the Bill. It consolidates and amends the law. It assimilates the law in England, Scotland, and Wales, and makes owners liable for injury done without proving that the dog was mischievous. Under it magistrates can order the destruction of of dogs or order them to be kept under control, under a penalty of 20s., and the Board of Agriculture can make orders requiring collars to be used except in the case of hounds and sporting dogs. There are also provisions to prevent dogs straying.

This Bill is not designed to act against shepherds or crofters or in any way in the interest of game preservers. It is supported by nearly all the farmers clubs and most of the chambers of commerce. I may mention that in one year, in Cheshire, there were 2,230 dogs seized by the police, out of which only 196 were claimed; in Liverpool 3,000 were seized, and only 111 were claimed. Under this Bill the police can notify to the owner the seizure of a stray dog, if it has an owner, and if it is not claimed within seven days it can be destroyed. There are, of course, exemptions in the Bill, and crofters are protected. No objection has been offered to the Bill from any source, and therefore

I confidently hope your Lordships will give it a Second Reading.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

THE EARL OF ONSLOW: My Lords, I must congratulate the noble Earl on having induced those who think with him and who are in the majority in the other House to give their sanction to this Bill. It is a measure which in substance has been placed before Parliament by his predecessors in office, including myself; and in the year 1904 I thought that a measure, not perhaps quite so ambitious as this one, might have been got through the House of Commons without any controversy, but an accident happened to it and it did not pass into law that session. The noble Earl has been able to persuade his friends in the House of Commons to pass legislation from his Department which I regret to say I found it impossible to get passed when I had the honour of being at the head of the Board of Agriculture.

This Bill will be productive of great advantage in all rural districts. It has been said that it is a measure for ringing the curfew on the dogs and that they are to be confined after certain hours on the premises of their masters. But I do not think that is a provision of which anyone can complain. The regulations will be in the hands of the Board of Agriculture, and I think they may safely be entrusted to deal with the matter fairly. With regard to the clause which deals with exemption from licences, I venture to think that there is a very grave scandal indeed in the enormous number of dogs which are kept without licences on grounds wholly insufficient, and I am glad that the noble Earl proposes to minimise that scandal by making the conditions under which exemption can be obtained more stringent than at present.

I should like to know what is the object of Clause 7 which provides that until the first day of January, 1912, the Bill shall not apply to Scotland. I should have thought that it was precisely in the mountainous districts of Scotland and Wales where the great majority of exemptions from licences existed, and that the provisions of the Act should be enforced there without delay. I have no doubt that when we reach the Committee stage the noble Earl will explain the reasons why Scotland is specially favoured and is to have this five years exemption. There are one or two clauses here which were not in the Bill as introduced into the House of Commons when I had the honour of being President of the Board of Agriculture. One is that a register is to be kept of all dogs received in any home—a provision which is a distinct improvement. The second is that farmers and landowners are to be required to bury carcases of animals that die on their farms to which dogs gain access. I do not quite know whether there are any words which will require the burying of the carcases within a certain time, but I observe in the Bill that it is provided that any person who shall "knowingly and without reasonable excuse" permit the carcase to remain unburied shall be liable, etc. I take it that the intention is that if it is done within reasonable time the penalty will not fall upon the offender. On the whole, I congratulate the noble Earl on having got this Bill through the other House of Parliament, and I hope your Lordships will give it your sanction and that it will pass into law.

THE EARL OF MAYO: My Lords, I am very glad that this Bill has been brought in and that it applies to Ireland. The provision with regard to the wearing of collars is that the Board of Agriculture may make an order requiring this. I think it would be better if it were made absolutely mandatory that all dogs should have collars. If the noble Earl would consider that suggestion I should be very much obliged. Although you suffer in England from stray dogs you have no idea what it is in Ireland. It is something fearful; they go about the country killing sheep in all directions. Poison is laid down wholesale, and I have known of nine or ten dogs belonging to farmers and others being killed by these poisons when taken out for walks by their owners. I hope the noble Earl in charge of the Bill will endeavour to make what I will call the collaring order a little stronger.

On Question, Bill read 2ª and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Eight o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 27*th July*, 1906.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Bacup Corporation Bill; Cork City Railways and Works Bill; Derby Gas Bill; Middlesex County Council (General Powers) Bill; St. John's (Westminster) Improvement Bill; Todmorden Corporation Bill; Tottenham and Edmonton Gas Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Folkestone, Sandgate, and Hythe Tramways Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Nettlebed and District Commons (Preservation) Bill [Lords]; Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire Electric Power Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways Bill [Lords] (by Order). Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Buckhaven, Methil, and Innerleven Burgh Extension Bill [Lords]. Ordered, That, in the case of the Buckhaven, Methil, and Innerleven Burgh Extension Bill [Lords], Standing Orders 82, 211, 236, and 237 be suspended, and that the Committee on the Bill have leave to sit and proceed on Monday next.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

London Squares and Enclosures Bill [Lords]. Ordered, That, in the case of the London Squares and Enclosures Bill [Lords], Standing Orders 82, 211, 236, and 237 be suspended, and that the Committee on the Bill have leave to sit and proceed on Monday next.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

Local Government Provisional Order (Housing of Working Classes) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Newburgh and North Fife Railway (Extension of Time) Order Confirmation Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Paisley Roads Order Confirmation Bill. Considered; to be read the third time upon Monday next.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next.

Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next.

Tramways Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next.

Metropolitan Electric Supply Bill. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Bute (English and Welsh) Estates Bill [Lords]. Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Bill to be read the third time.

Great Yarmouth Waterworks and Lowestoft Water and Gas Bill [Lords]. Reported [Preamble not proved]; Report to lie upon the Table.

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP I).

Mr. TOULMIN reported from the Committee on Group I of Private Bills; That, for the convenience of parties, the Committee had adjourned till Monday next, at Twelve of the clock.

Report to lie upon the Table.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill; St. Pancras Electricity Bill; Hackney Electricity Bill; London County Council (Money) Bill; South Lincolnshire Water Bill; Hampstead Garden Suburb Bill; Poole Corporation Water Bill, with Amendments.

Amendments to—Prevention of Corruption Bill [Lords]; Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Sewerage Board Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill. Lords Amendments to be considered upon Monday next.

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Petitions against; From Barrow on Trent; Kensworth; Lyonsdown; Upper Norwood; and, West Hallam; to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL (RELIGIOUS TEACHING).

Petitions against alteration of Law; From City of London; Ennerdale (two); Holmebridge; Monyash; and, St. Erth; to lie upon the Table.

LAND VALUES TAXATION, ETC., (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from St. Andrews, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES ACT, 1890.

Return [presented July 26th] to be printed. [No. 285.]

POST OFFICE (INLAND POST).

Copy presented, of the Inland Post Amendment (No. 4) Warrant, 1906, dated June 30th [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

TELEGRAPHS (FOREIGN WRITTEN TELEGRAMS).

Copy presented, of the Telegraph (Foreign Written Telegram) Regulations, 1906, dated July 16th, 1906 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Copy presented, of Reports by the High Commissioner on his visits to Basutoland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate in 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3681 to 3683 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).

Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Report, Miscellaneous Series, No. 653 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered July 23rd; *Sir Frederick Banbury*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 286.]

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL.

Copy ordered, "of Statement of Particulars of Loans of which the Balances outstanding are proposed to be remitted or written off (in whole or in part) from the Assets of the Local Loans Fund."—(*Mr. McKenna.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 287.]

CIVIL SERVANTS (RETIREMENT AT THE AGE OF SIXTY-FIVE).

Copy ordered, "of Treasury Minute, dated the 26th day of July, 1906, stating the circumstances under which certain Civil Servants have been retained in the Service after they have attained the age of Sixty-five; and of the Return therein referred to."—(*Mr. McKenna.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Admiralty Accountant-General's Department.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Prime Minister whether he is aware that the late Government, shortly before their resignation, sanctioned a reorganisation of the Accountant-General's Department of the Admiralty, under which fifty-eight clerks who obtained their appointments by open competitive examination are displaced, and the appointment of 151 clerks without examination has become vested in the Accountant-General of the Navy; and, seeing that this form of patronage has been strongly condemned by successive Governments, and constitutes a contravention of the Order in Council of June, 1870, under which open competitive examination was laid down as the mode of access to the public service, will he consider the expediency of arranging for schemes of reorganisation of public departments to be laid upon the Table of the House before being put into effect, so that they may come under the scrutiny of Members especially when, as in the present case, they embody important alterations in the formation of the staff.

(*Answered by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.*) I can add very little to the Answer given by my hon. friend the Secretary to the Admiralty on May 21st. The figures of my hon. friend are, I believe, substantially correct. The scheme of reorganisation does not, as I understand it, involve any contravention of the Order in Council, which expressly makes provision for such appointments. It would be contrary to precedent and impracticable to lay draft schemes of departmental organisation upon the Table of the House. Every opportunity, of course, is afforded to Members for discussion on the Estimates.

Telegraphists and Supervisory Duties in Central Telegraph Office, London.

MR. J. BETHELL (Essex, Romford): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that a number of senior telegraphists in the London Central Office who have passed the necessary examination in practical and theoretical telegraphy for the post of assistant superintendent, and have been assisting for some time in the work of supervision, have now been removed from these duties and placed upon ordinary telegraph work, while officers junior to them who have not passed the technical examination have been placed on supervising duties; and if he will state the reason for this action.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The facts are as stated. The object of the arrangement is merely to test the qualifications of the various officers so as to select more certainly those best qualified for promotion. The absence of superior officers on leave during the summer affords convenient opportunity for the application of such tests. No injustice is done to the seniors by giving their juniors occasional opportunities of proving their capacities. The claims and qualifications of all will be carefully considered when vacancies occur, and any officers who have not yet passed the technical examination will be required to do so before promotion.

Glasgow Post Office—Medical Officers.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General if he has yet appointed the medical officers for the Glasgow post office; and, if so, to whom the appointments have been given.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) I have not yet made the appointments, but I hope to do so very shortly. The number of applicants is extremely large.

English Contractor for Wicklow Harbour Improvements.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Wicklow Harbour Board recently invited tenders in connection with Wicklow

Harbour and foreshore works; that notwithstanding the fact that the lowest tender came from the only Irish firm who competed for the work, the Commissioners decided to have the work done by an English firm at the higher price; and if he can explain why this work had to be executed outside Ireland.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Irish Government has no responsibility as regards the contract for the works referred to, the matter being entirely one for the Harbour Board. If the hon. Member desires information upon the subject he should seek it from the Harbour Commissioners.

Vaccination Exemption Certificate—Case of Mr. Howard Farrow.

MR. SEAVERNS (Lambeth, Brixton): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the fact that on July 23rd Mr. Howard Farrow applied to Mr. Francis, at the Lambeth Police Court, for a certificate of exemption from vaccination for his child, and stated that he had a conscientious objection to vaccination, and the magistrate declined to grant such certificate; whether he is aware that Mr. Farrow had previously been fined at the same court for refusing to allow another child to be vaccinated; and what action the Home Secretary proposes to take in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) I am informed that Mr. Farrow stated that he conscientiously objected to vaccination, but refused to give the grounds upon which he founded his objection. The certificate was refused because the applicant failed to satisfy the magistrate, as required by the Act, that he conscientiously believed that vaccination would be prejudicial to the health of the child in question. As I have said in reply to previous Questions on the same subject, I have no authority to take action in the matter.

Refusal of Camp Leave to Volunteers in Glasgow Post Office.

MR. ARTHUR LEE (Hampshire, Fareham): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that the postmaster of Glasgow refused leave on July 10th, for camp training, to six Volunteer signalmen of the Clyde Division, R.N.V.R.; and whether he is prepared to make good the loss of the efficiency grant to which the commanding officer of the division would have been entitled by the special training of these men.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The postmaster was obliged to refuse leave in the cases to which the hon. Member refers, because it could not be granted without detriment to the work of the office, which at this season of the year is very heavy. I cannot accept any responsibility for the effect of their absence from camp on the grant earned by the division.

Luncheon Accommodation for Postal Staff at Kingsbridge Station.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he can now say what is the result of the communication which he made to the Great Southern and Western Railway Company with reference to luncheon accommodation for the staff employed at Kingsbridge station.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) I have now received a reply from the Great Southern and Western Railway Company which will make it possible for me to restore to the post office staff employed at Kingsbridge railway station the privileges in regard to luncheon accommodation which the company withdrew last year.

Clerks to Surveyors of Taxes.

MR. SLOAN: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, in view of the fact that the Board of Inland Revenue consulted the chief inspector of taxes on the subject of the memorial of the surveyors of taxes last year, he will explain if the present chief inspector of taxes is opposed to the establishment of the surveyors' clerks; whether he is aware that the present chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue recommended a scheme of establishment to the Treasury in 1899; whether he will state why the Treasury would not sanction such scheme; and whether, seeing that the Inland Revenue officials are in favour of establishment of these clerks, and that such clerks would have been established in 1899 only for the Treasury officials objection, he will, under these circumstances, direct an inquiry to be held at which the surveyors and their clerks could be represented.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) I have already fully stated the reasons by which the Treasury were guided in their decision, for which they assume the whole responsibility; and, while I do not admit the accuracy of all the statements of the hon. Member, I consider it undesirable in the public interests that inter-departmental correspondence, which is of a confidential character, should be discussed by Question and Answer.

Names of British Battleships—The Admiral Class.

MR. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the attention of the First Lord of the Admiralty has been drawn to the absence of the name of Nelson and of his birth-county, Norfolk, from the names of ships in the Royal Navy; and whether he can see his way, now that the Admiral Class are to be removed from the list of fighting ships, to call a new class of battleships by the names of great admirals.

(*Answered by Mr. Edmund Robertson.*) The Admiralty requires no reminders as to the desirability of keeping up the historical traditions of the Navy when new ships are named. A first-class battleship is to be launched on the Tyne early in September and to be christened the "Lord Nelson."

Orange Disturbance at Keady, County Armagh.

MR. McKILLOP (Armagh, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on July 11th a body of Orangemen, with drums and revolvers, created a serious disturbance in the main street, Keady, county Armagh, by breaking windows, throwing stones, and firing numerous revolver shots without the slightest provocation; and whether, seeing that only two or three policemen were on duty in the locality at the time, he will see that proper steps will in future be taken to prevent a recurrence of such disorders.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I am informed by the police authorities that the facts are substantially as stated in the first part of the Question. An Orange drumming party appears to have suddenly invaded a Nationalist quarter, from which a shot was then fired. The drumming party retaliated by firing shots and throwing stones, four panes of glass being broken. A force of thirty extra police was in the town for duty in respect of the celebrations on the following day. Portion of this force was at once turned out, and the disturbance was quelled in a few minutes. A prosecution is pending against one man for throwing stones. The police were unable to detect those who fired shots on the occasion.

Irish Tenders for Cast-off Clothing of Royal Irish Constabulary.

MR. SLOAN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the cast-off clothing, etc., belonging to the Royal Irish Constabulary force is annually sold to a London firm, and that no opportunity of tendering is given to Irish traders; and if he will consider the advisability of causing such goods to be sold by public competition.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The cast-off clothing of the Royal Irish Constabulary is disposed of by contract as the result of tenders obtained in the open market. Advertisements for tenders are inserted in Irish newspapers, and Irish firms, therefore, have full opportunity to tender. No tender, however, has been received from any Irish trader.

EDUCATION (PROVISION OF MEALS) BILL.

Consolidated from the Education (Provision of Meals) Bill and the Education (Provision of Meals) (Scotland) Bill. Reported, with Minutes of Evidence, from the Select Committee, with Amendments, and with an Amended Title.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 288.]

Bill, as amended, re-committed to a Committee of the whole House for Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 331.]

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (SUPPLY).

Ordered, That on this day, notwithstanding anything in Standing Order No. 15, business other than Business of Supply may be taken before Eleven of the Clock.—(*Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.*)

SUPPLY [11TH ALLOTTED DAY, 2ND PART.]

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. EMMOTT (Oldham) in the Chair.]

NAVY ESTIMATES, 1906-7.

1. £2,407,600, Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, etc.—*Personnel.*

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON, Dundee) said: I believe I am taking a somewhat unusual course in asking the Committee to listen to a short statement before the discussion of this Vote begins. But I would remind the Committee that the circumstances are unusual. We had to take over the whole of these Estimates from our predecessors, but in March I was careful to say that as to the shipbuilding vote we reserved our liberty in certain respects. I said the building of the four large vessels in the new programme would not commence till a late period, and that as to these vessels we did not propose to ask the Committee to tie its hand at present. It has been the regular practice for many years past to postpone the consideration of Vote 8 to a comparatively late period of the session, and in respect of that portion of the Estimates, therefore, I claimed a certain amount of freedom. I must begin by reminding the Committee that Vote 8, with which we are now concerned, is the most important vote in the Estimates, the aggregate of its three sections amounts to little less than £14,000,000—a sum, I may say, almost equal to the whole of the Naval Estimates when I first had the honour of becoming connected with the Admiralty. Vote 8 is the dominant vote, and all other votes depend upon it, and the kernel of this vote is the provision for new construction. The provision for new construction, taken roughly, is nine millions and a quarter for the present year, and by new construction, I ought to explain, we mean the building of ships that are not yet complete, no matter when they may have been begun—one, two, or three years ago, or they may not be begun yet. So long as they are new, not finished, the money devoted to their building is the provision for new construction. But the new programme of the year is a different thing altogether, it is part of the new construction, but a peculiar part, and I call it the inner core of Vote 8. The new programme means those ships that under these Estimates are to be laid down for the first time.

I have given the amount of new construction in the shipbuilding not yet complete as nine millions and a quarter. The sum taken for the new programme of the present year is £645,000 only—by far the most important and significant part of the vote. Vote 8 as a whole must go on, the new construction on the whole must proceed, ships in need of repair must be repaired, ships begun must be finished; but as to the new programme the Committee has the freedom I claimed for it, the freedom which I also claimed for myself and the Admiralty. The new programme might be called a mouldable and plastic thing. I have in my possession a record of the Estimates of recent years, showing how the new programme, originally set forth in official papers, has been modified either by increase or diminution in the course of the session in which it was submitted to Parliament. It is a plastic thing which the House has full control over, and that is the main reason why this part of the Estimates is kept back so late in the session as it is usually. The Estimates as a whole are prepared in November; they are considered beforehand, so that probably in most cases the new programme will be a year old before it is presented. These Estimates were framed in November, and published shortly afterwards. We took them over from our predecessors. They knew, and we knew, that the programme of November might have to be modified, as in many cases they have had to be modified, before the present period of the session. It is to give Parliamentary Government a free hand on this part of the Estimates that the wise practice of recent years keeps back this Vote till the present period of the session. This year we have had an exceptional advantage. Usually, if I am not mistaken, we have had to discuss Vote 8 without having before us the Return annually moved for by my right hon. friend the Member for the Forest of Dean. This year I have taken care that the Return should be expedited, and it has been in the hands of Members many weeks, and it is the best text-book I can take in considering the proposals I have now to mention.

I come to the main statement I have to make at this point—namely, the new programme set forth in the memorandum accompanying the Estimates signed by my noble friend the First Lord. What does the new programme of the last Admiralty and the last Government consist of? We proposed, according to the official paper referred to, to begin building this year four classes of new ships. Four of these ships, much the most important part of the whole programme, we described as being armoured vessels. I think it is the undoubted fact that these four armoured vessels should be of the "Dreadnought" type.

MR. ARTHUR LEE (Hampshire, Fareham) was understood to assent to the proposition.

*MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: Secondly, five ocean-going destroyers; thirdly, twelve coastal destroyers; and, fourthly, twelve submarines. The Board of Admiralty has given this new programme the most anxious consideration during the period of five months which has elasped since we laid the Estimates as a whole before the Committee. I have now to say what they propose to do after this reconsideration and review. It is the unanimous opinion of the Board of Admiralty that the new programme I have detailed should be reduced in the following particulars. Instead of four "Dreadnoughts" we propose to lay down only three. Instead of five ocean-going destroyers we propose to lay down only two. We leave the coastal destroyers at twelve, but we propose to reduce the number of submarines from twelve to eight. Let me state as clearly as I can the financial effect of what we propose. The old new programme, if I may so call it—the original new programme only calls for the trifling expenditure of £645,000 in this year's Estimates. The burden was to fall on future years. I propose now to state to the House the amount of liability involved in the original new programme. The amount of expenditure to which it would have committed the country and the House, the total liability on the original new programme, according to Lord Cawdor's Memorandum and our own Estimates, was on Vote 8 £8,132,000 in rough figures, and if we add to that the correlative expenditure on Vote 9 for armaments, which is really part of the programme—a sum of £1,210,000—we have a total committal by the original new programme from beginning to end of about £9,340,000.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (City of London): Spread over a period of years.

*MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: Yes. In the case of the "Dreadnoughts" it would take two years, so that the heavy liability would be in the second year. I will now state what is the corresponding liability in the revised new programme which I submit on behalf of the Admiralty. Our new programme, revised as I have stated, involves a total liability of £5,900,000 in Vote 8 alone, or, if we add armaments, a total liability of £6,800,000. In other words, we reduce the total committal of the new programme from £9,300,000 to £6,800,000, or a reduction of £2,500,000. I proceed to take the financial effect of our proposed reductions, first on the current Estimates, and secondly on the Estimates for the next year. I do not think I will venture further than that. The financial result on this year's Estimates will be that about a quarter of £645,000 will not be spent on the new programme. But there are contingent necessities, such as the salvage of the "Montagu," which must be provided for, so that the total of this year's Estimates will not benefit very much by the reduction. It is on next year's that the first and main effect of our proposals will appear.

Although we are reducing the sum to be paid under this year's Estimates I do not think that the full financial effect of our proposals will be felt till next year. The financial effect on next year's Estimates 1907–8 will be that there will be a lightening of those Estimates to the following extent. Vote 8 will be lightened by the sum of £1,305,308 If

I throw in the corresponding part of Vote 9 the net result is that next year's Estimates will be lightened to the extent of £1,488,680, or roughly speaking £1,500,000. I should give notice now, though it is not relevant to the Vote, that in connection with the reduction of the number of destroyers, it will be necessary to lay down, early in the next financial year, what is called a mother ship or a parent ship for torpedo boat destroyers. Usually ships are laid down late in the year, but it is thought that this particular parent ship should be laid down early in the year, although it will not form part of this year's Estimates. Now as to the types. The three armoured vessels which will take the place of the four armoured vessels of the original programme will be "Dreadnoughts" with a displacement of 600 tons in excess of that of the first vessel of this class. Of these three vessels one will be given out to private contractors and two will be built in Government dockyards, one at Portsmouth and the other at Devonport. As to the mother ship for destroyers, I believe I am right in saying that it will probably go to Pembroke. Ocean going and coastal destroyers have always hitherto gone and will now go to private firms who have made a speciality of them, but there is to be a new departure in regard to submarines, which have always been built by private contract. This year the Admiralty propose to build some themselves, and these will go to Chatham.

I have now stated the revision which we propose in the new programme which we inherited from our predecessors, but my story is not yet complete. The Committee knows that a great international conference is soon to meet at The Hague having for one of its many objects an international movement in favour of the reduction of armaments. The Committee knows the attitude taken up by my right hon. friend the Foreign Secretary in regard to that proposal. The Committee is aware of its own Resolution unanimously passed calling upon the Government to further that movement in every way. All these things have been present in the minds of the Government and of the Admiralty, and I have now to ask the indulgence of the Committee for trespassing beyond the strict limit of the Estimates of this year and lifting the veil to some extent in regard to the Estimates of next year. Instead of the four armoured vessels which it was originally intended to lay down in 1907–8 we propose to make provision for two armoured vessels only, but with the proviso to be stated in the Estimates that a third armoured vessel is to be laid down if the proposals in regard to the reduction of armaments laid before The Hague Conference prove to be abortive. Further, the amount to be taken for new vessels to be laid down in 1907–8 is to be limited to a small sum, and they will not be commenced till a late period of the year, and this emphasises to The Hague Conference the good faith of the British Government in its desire to bring about a reduction of armaments. One further little digression may be allowed me. I do not want the Committee to come to the conclusion that what I have said exhausts the list of possible economies. I must say once more that the Board of Admiralty are unanimously satisfied that whilst these reductions may be made we shall nevertheless be maintaining the strength required to secure the naval supremacy of this country.

I should like, if I may, to anticipate possible criticisms of our economies. I hope I may not have to fight both sides of the House. I am well aware that there may be and probably will be two entirely different schools of critics each of which may be dissatisfied with our proposals. Some may ask "Why have you reduced so much," and others "Why have you reduced so little." I can hardly hope to satisfy both, but there are one or two considerations which I would ask them to bear in mind in their criticisms. First of all as to those who may object to our reductions, whom I think I may identify as supporters of the old Board of Admiralty which arranged the new programme we are reducing. Nevertheless I am forced to say that so many statements has been made about this question; there have been so many stories of dissension and resignations that I am compelled to do that which is generally recognised as an unwise thing and that is to define the responsibility of our naval colleagues for the proposals which we are now making. I would remind my hon. friends opposite that the naval advisers of the First Lord are the same gallant and distinguished officers who filled similar positions under Lord Cawdor and before that under Lord Selbourne. Moreover, they are the authors of the original programme, but they have recently revised it. We have the authority of the authors of the original programme for saying that. It is unwise, I think, to separate our responsibility, and I think our solidarity should be maintained. I object, therefore, to separate the functions of the Naval Lords from those of their colleagues, but so much has been said about dissensions and resignations that I think it is right to say that they themselves have recommended us who are their colleagues to revise the new programme which we submit to the Committee. I do not think it would be prudent on my part to give reasons for the course we are taking. They are confidential reasons and I could not give them, but I may indulge in a general survey of the naval position. The Sea Lords think that the balance of sea power will not be imperilled by the introduction of the changes we have recommended.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Does that include next year?

*MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: The whole thing. They are convinced that the strength of the Navy at the present moment is overwhelming, and that is the best justification for the attitude we have taken up. I do not want to say anything about foreign Navies, but I must say with all caution and reserve that there is reason to believe that there has not been that progress and advancement which was anticipated when the Estimates were framed. I believe that is the opinion of the naval experts, and I believe it to be well founded.

I do not know how far I have carried conviction to the minds of those who seem to object to the cutting down of the programme, but may I now address myself for a few moments, mainly to those on this side of the House, who do not think we have cut down enough. I would remind my hon. friends in the first place that in naval expenditure it is much easier to build up than to destroy. It is very easy, for example, to create moral and vested interests, but it is hard, indeed, to cut them down; and I hope my hon. friends who take what I may call an extreme view of the case will not press me over-much from that point of view. I have seen some ingenious calculations to the effect that the Navy Estimates should be reduced at once to the level at which they stood in 1898 or 1899, or some other year. My own opinion is that no courageous stroke of the pen will bring back the Estimates to that level in the compass of a single year. That is all I will say on that point. I would remind my hon. friends further of what I am sure they will never forget, what the Admiralty, at all events, must always remember—how vast are the Imperial responsibilities of this country and how entirely they depend upon the active strength of the British Navy. I am not speaking of the protection of the Colonies alone. Great Britain has sentimental interests, over and above her connection with the Colonies, all over the world. These must always be kept in mind in considering what possible reductions may be made in naval expenditure. Again, do not let us forget that under the present state of international law—whether it is right or wrong I say nothing—we, with our enormous commerce, stand in a peculiar danger on account of the liability of our private ships to be captured and destroyed by the enemy. It must also be remembered that so long as we have a Navy at all there must be a certain amount of annual replacement going on. And, finally, I must ask my hon. friends to bear in mind the skilled opinion as to the importance of the new type of battleship that has been emerging in recent years. We may be responsible for its emergence at this time, but the effect of the possible growth in other navies of a number of these enormous battleships has to be kept in mind by the British Admiralty. I hope my hon. friends will also bear in mind that unhappily the big battleship grows bigger and more expensive every year. It is a formidable problem. I think about twenty years ago or a little more a ship now doomed, the "Collingwood," a great ship of her time, was laid down and launched at an expenditure of something like £700,000. The "Dreadnought" to-day costs from start to finish £1,800,000, and the new cruisers of the "Invincible" class cost very nearly as much. These growths are abnormal, and they impose enormous burdens on the people, but it is a fact that these things are going on and they are not to be forgotten. I ventured on the last occasion, in dealing with this subject, to read a memorable sentence uttered by my right hon. friend the Prime Minister at the Albert Hall, and I am going, in conclusion, to read a sentence or two from it again—

> "I hold that the growth of armaments is a great danger to the peace of the world. The policy of large armaments keeps alive and stimulates the idea that force is the best if not the only solution of international difficulties. It is a policy which tends to inflame old sores and to open new ones. I submit to you that as the principle of peaceful arbitration gains ground it becomes one of the highest duties of Government to adjust those armaments to the newer and happier conditions of things."

I submit that the proposals I have made to-day are in strict keeping with the spirit and letter of that memorable decarlation.

*Mr. ARTHUR LEE confessed that he had listened to what the right hon. Gentleman had called the main kernel of the Government's proposals with deep regret, because he liked to think that the Navy should always be treated as a non-Party question in this House, and because it had been his privilege this session invariably to support the Government in the proposals they had brought forward with regard to the Navy. He was afraid he could not do so on the present occasion, and, judging from the sounds which came from other portions of the Committee, he gathered that the right hon. Gentleman was justified in his apprehension that he would have to face the fire from both broadsides on this occasion. The House of Commons was entitled to ask what justification the Government had for departing in July from their programme of March. What new facts had emerged since the Cawdor Memorandum was issued? There was no change for the better in international relationships or in the strategic problems which the Empire might be called upon to face: There had certainly been no reduction in the foreign shipbuilding programmes; on the contrary, there had been large increases since the beginning of the year. Only one change had occurred, so far as he knew, and that was that a new Government had come into power which was desirous of effecting great economies; and apparently they thought that the simplest way of doing so was to take money from the two great spending departments, the Army and the Navy. It was also probably more optimistic in the pursuit of international disarmament than its predecessors. The right hon. Gentleman had trenched upon exceedingly delicate ground when he proceeded to shelter himself behind the Sea Lords, and wished the Committee to accept the theory that because these proposals had not resulted in the resignation of the Sea Lords therefore it was above criticism.

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON: make no such suggestion. I have been asked by the Sea Lords to say that they recommend these reductions, as they recommended the corresponding reductions last year to their colleagues.

*Mr. ARTHUR LEE pointed out that the Sea Lords were not only technical but constitutional advisers, bound, like all other officials, to recognise political exigencies, and to adapt their advice accordingly, unless the changes proposed were in their opinion so disastrous that the only effective protest they could take was to resign office. Because that had not occurred the Government must not consider themselves exempt from serious criticism—at any rate, from those responsible for the programme which had now been abandoned. The right hon. Gentleman did not tell them when the three "Dreadnoughts" were to be laid down, or if there was to be any delay.

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON: They will be laid down at the time contemplated.

*Mr. ARTHUR LEE said he was glad to hear that. The reduction in battleships, however, amounted to 25 per cent., in ocean-going destroyers to 60 per cent., and in submarines to 33 per cent. of the whole programme. That could not be done without weakening the Navy of the future. ["No."] Certainly; he thought the right hon. Gentleman might be entitled to the applause of those who were in favour of a weaker Navy, but he was not entitled to the applause of those who believed that the maintenance of the two-Power standard, especially in ships of the newest and latest type, was absolutely essential to the existence of the Empire. The right hon. Gentleman had enlightened them a little as to what was at the bottom of the Government's action in this matter. He had explained that the Government believed in a vague theory of international disarmament, but there were no visible signs at present on the part of our foreign rivals that they intended to give practical expression to this dream. A certain amount of suspicion had even been displayed with regard to the motives of the British Government in the matter, and it had been suggested in more than one influential quarter that the action of the Government was partly the result of a desire of a world-wide Empire to restrict the legitimate growth of its rivals. But even if the principle of limitation of armaments were universally accepted by the Great Powers, how was a practical plan to be arrived at? What tribunal was to decide the relative strength of armies and navies for the Great Powers, and after the decision was arrived at, how was it to be enforced? It would be rather difficult outside this country to believe in the *bona fides* of the Government in this matter when the House heard only a few days ago the Secretary for War announcing that he was going to "give the lead" to foreign Powers in international disarmament and then, almost in the same breath, pointing out that he was providing a larger striking force for service over seas than this country had ever possessed before. That was not an argument that would carry conviction to the minds of our foreign rivals or enlarge their present belief in the sincerity of the Government in respect of this question. There was no one who would not genuinely welcome any rational scheme of reducing international armaments, but as had been well pointed out by Lord Lansdowne, who had done more practical work in the cause of international peace than any other man living, the question was not so susceptible of easy solution as was popularly supposed. If the Prime Minister could get The Hague Conference to guarantee that other Powers would reduce their naval programmes in response to the bait that he had thrown out this year, he was sure that the result would be acclaimed by both sides of the House. But let us have that decision first. We were the only country in the world that depended for its very existence on the maintenance of its sea power, and surely it was not for us to set the pace in the reduction of our naval supremacy, though we should be glad to follow others in making it. The right hon. Gentleman had said that we could afford to wait in view of our overwhelming superiority in first-class ships, basing his argument on the so-called Dilke Return laid before the House a few days ago, which, however convincing to the uninitiated, was one of the most misleading documents annually presented to a trusting Parliament. In this list of "first-class" battleships there were eleven quite obsolete and eight more obsolescent, and the Return suggested that Great Britain had sixty-one first-class battleships, built or building, as compared with fifty-eighty of the next two strongest Powers combined. That was a misleading statement.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Are none of the ships of the other Powers obsolescent?

MR. ARTHUR LEE said nothing like the same number as was put in this list. In *Brassey's Naval Annual* the number of first-class battleships of Great Britain, excluding the "Montagu" and the "Renown," was forty-nine as compared with fifty-one of the next two strongest Powers combined. This showed that we were not quite up to the two-Power standard even in ships of the ordinary type. The situation, however, had been completely changed as a result of the war in the Far East, and by the arrival of the "Dreadnought," which had discredited all existing types of first-class battleships. According to the facts published by the Admiralty the "Dreadnought" had more than twice the gun-power of any existing battleship, and sufficient speed and coal endurance to overhaul or out-manœuvre any battleship afloat. It was, however, most important to realise that the ships of the new type could not be mixed advantageously with the older types of battleships, and to attempt such a thing would deprive the new type of its peculiar and overwhelming advantages. To get the value of this new type there must be homogeneous squadrons. The first country that completed a fleet of "Dreadnoughts" would, *ipso facto*, secure the undisputed command of the sea. It could not be too strongly emphasised that the two-Power standard was not intended as a strategical rejoinder to any particular menace, but merely as a convenient margin readily adaptable to the changing conditions of naval power, and with the additional merits of being simply expressed and easily understood. Did the right hon. Gentleman still stand by the two-Power standard on that theory? If not, the change altered the whole basis on which our naval programmes in past years had proceeded. He also pointed out that practically the whole of the money spent in shipbuilding went back into the pockets of the people. There were few classes of employment which gave better wages to large numbsrs of our working classes. It was therefore surely inconsistent on the part of the Government, by one courageous stroke of the pen, to take away the equivalent of between £300,000 and £400,000 of wages from the working classes and on the other hand to give a dole of £200,000 to the unemployed for work which was bound to be absolutely unproductive. We were bound, if we intended to retain our naval supremacy, to retain a supremacy in ships of the new type. In the immediate future we would only have seven ships of the new type laid down as against six by France, three by Germany, and three by the United States. In the new type, therefore, we would fall far below the two-Power standard. We could not count on maintaining our superiority in building-speed. As to ships of the new type, our position seemed to be one not only of gravity, but of urgency. If money must be saved, let the Government pursue the policy of discarding more obsolescent ships and of keeping fewer first-class ships in commission. But let them not destroy the line-of-battle fleet of the future by starving the building programme now. The inevitable result would be a panic in a few years, followed by an avalanche of extravagant expenditure. To accompany a reduction of the Army by a reduction in the Navy was to risk a national catastrophe in the pursuit of a showy Budget. The country did not desire great economies in the Navy Estimates, and would not tolerate any weakening in our naval strength. He gave the Government credit for proclaiming to the world their desire to promote the era of universal peace. But we owed the last fifty years of uninterrupted naval peace to the recognised invincibility of the British Navy; and once the belief in that invincibility were destroyed, the era of peace would be doomed.

MR. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil) said the fact that the Government were reducing their naval expenditure was a proof to foreign nations of the sincerity of their purpose. It was an insult to foreign nations for the hon. Member for Fareham to say that even although The Hague Conference recommended a reduction in armaments there was no guarantee that they would carry out the decision come to. He welcomed, so far as it went, the statement of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the proposed reductions. £2,500,000 was a small reduction, but it marked the turn of the tide. The expenditure upon preparations for war, naval and military, was admitted to be excessive. The great conference which came to a conclusion the other day had proved that there was a desire on all hands for a reduction in the cost of armaments. The announcement made by the Secretary to the Admiralty following upon the announcement of the Secretary for War would be welcomed by the friends of peace and arbitration all over the world as a genuine step towards a more sensible policy in the settlement of international disputes. He welcomed the policy of economy indicated by the right hon. Gentleman, because it showed that at last the idea of maintaining bulk under the impression that we were maintaining efficiency had been exploded. No greater falsehood could find currency than that mere bulk implied either strength or efficiency. Economy did not imply inefficiency. It simply implied that the necessary resources would be of the most efficient kind and that the best value possible would be obtained. He hoped the beginning which had been made that day of a more economical policy would be continued, and that the example would be followed, until the time came when nations would be ashamed to waste money on war and preparations for war while social reforms and humanitarian reforms were being starved.

MR. LAMBTON (Durham, S.E.) said that anyone would have supposed from the speech of the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil that international disputes were settled by peaceful persuasion and that it was his view that it was not necessary to have any fighting force. But where should we be if we had not our Army and Navy at our back to carry out peaceful persuasions? He did not think we should be the victors in the dispute. The most important part of the speech of the Secretary to the Admiralty was that in which he alluded to what he called his new departure, when he took the dangerous step of introducing the names of the naval advisers of the Crown into discussions in this House. Vote 8, he had told the Committee, was a plastic sort of Vote and it seemed in the hands of the Government to be very plastic. The right hon. Gentleman had said a good deal on this Vote about its financial effects, but he did not say a word about its military effect; in fact, the whole tone of his speech was an apology to his own suporters for our having a Navy at all. He seemed, like the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil, to rely upon The Hague Conference. It seemed a dangerous policy to introduce the names of the naval advisers in this House, because what were the responsibilities of those naval advisers. He presumed they recommended programmes to the Government upon the absolute necessities of the case. In fact, that was apparent from the Report of Earl Cawdor, presented in November, 1905, which showed the view of the Admiralty in that year. Now the same gentlemen were prepared to come forward apparently and say that they approved of the reduction of £2,500,000 whereas in 1905 they said the expediture then advocated was absolutely necessary. The Secretary to the Admiralty had said he would not mention much about foreign navies, but there was an Intelligence Department in the Government. Were they not aware in 1905 and in February, 1906, when Lord Tweedmouth issued his Report, of the reasons put forward to-day for reducing the Estimates? Were they not then aware of the condition of foreign navies? How was it that the same naval advisers who declared last year that a large increase was necessary now authorised the Secretary to the Admiralty that it would be quite safe to spend £2,500,000 less on ships? That did not give him much confidence in their naval advisers, and he was afraid that political reasons had induced them to depart from military and naval considerations. Naval warfare was an almost unknown quantity. When they found the Secretary for War coming down to the House and adopting the blue-water theory surely it must entail upon them the necessity of keeping up an adequate Fleet instead of knocking off £2,500,000. He hoped some more intelligible reason would be given for these reductions.

MR. BEAUCHAMP (Suffolk, Lowestoft) said that unlike the hon. Member for Durham he was content to accept the unanimous opinion of the naval advisers, that the shipbuilding programme which was being put forward was sufficient to maintain what they certainly all desired, namely, the supremacy of the British Navy. He was glad that the ships to be built were battleships, and he hoped that the result of The Hague Conference next year would be that they would be able to reduce their programme from three battleships to two. He was not, however, particularly sanguine about the result of The Hague Conference, considering what they did in 1899. The Secretary to the Admiralty had drawn attention to what happened then, and had said that that conference was called primarily to endeavour to reduce the naval expenditure of the various countries of the world, because they were getting alarmed at the growth of the Naval expenditure in this country which had risen by £20,000,000 between 1894 and 1906. During the same period the expenditure upon the navies of Europe and the United States had increased from £68,500,000 to £101,500,000. Therefore they could not be particularly hopeful that other nations would reduce their naval expenditure unless we gave them some evidence of our earnest desire to reduce our shipbuilding programme. He wished to call attention to one particular part of that subject which he thought must cause them all very considerable doubt and grave anxiety, and that was the continued and ever increasing growth of the cost of individual ships. The latest type of battleship—the "Dreadnought"—cost £1,800,000, and the "Invincible" class of cruisers cost only about £60,000 less than the latest battleship. If the cost of individual ships was to go on increasing in this way it must result in increasing our naval expenditure, or reducing the number of the vessels we had. He thought numbers were of very great importance. With our extremely wide and responsible area, with the interests we had in every quarter of the globe, with our huge mercantile marine and oversea commerce and the dependency of this country upon food from outside sources it was extremely important that we should not fall below the standard in point of numbers. There had always been a tendency to equality of vessels in the various navies of the world. That had always been so in the past, it was so now, and there was every reason to believe that it would be so in the future. We laid down a ship and the news went abroad that this country had laid down the most powerful and swiftest battleship in existence, and immediately other nations followed our views and laid down similar vessels and if possible a little superior. He wished to know if the Secretary to the Admiralty could confirm the information that Germany was going to lay down vessels of equal displacement to the "Dreadnought." He believed that France was going to do the same. It might be said that foreign Powers would build that type of ship whether we did or not, but he hardly thought that would be so, because it must necessitate on the part of Germany and France a large increase in harbour and dock accommodation. He thought this country was to blame in this matter for building so many large vessels, because it was only increasing the cost to all other countries. He did not know that there was such a large balance of advantage in favour of the larger battleships. He was aware that experts differed upon this subject. We were going to lay down more of these big battleships although it was notorious that expert opinion was divided on the question of their relative advantage, and as to whether the advantage of speed and gun power which they possessed were commensurate with the increased cost. There were many naval officers who considered that big vessels could not be as easily manœuvred as the smaller class. There were, on the other hand, a large number of naval officers who did not hold that view. Of course, we were naturally bound by financial conditions which must limit the numbers, and it was a moot point whether we were wise in putting too many eggs into one basket. He spoke with all humility on this question, because he saw from the latest Memorandum that these large, powerful, and costly vessels were thought to be practically invincible. Up to the present, experience had shown that these large and costly vessels were just as vulnerable to the mine as smaller vessels. He was glad that no more costly armoured cruisers were to be laid down at present. One thing which was not previously known had been demonstrated by the war between Russia and Japan, and that was the supremacy of the battleship. Would it not be better under these circumstances to suspend the building of armed cruisers, and, if necessary, to some extent, expend the money in building battleships which would be able to perform the duties and functions of cruisers? He admitted that when other nations were building—and especially one nation—a large number of armed cruisers with the determination of destroying our commerce in the event of their being at war with us, it was necessary for us to build corresponding vessels. But when the other nations were now coming to the conclusion that these vessels were not suitable or necessary for the destruction of commerce he thought we might suspend the building of costly armed cruisers until we saw whether other nations were going to continue them. Of course, questions of time, speed, and other matters, were of a technical nature, and could not be thrashed out in the House of Commons. They could be ventilated here, but ultimately they must be left to the naval advisers, in whom, he thought, the House might have the fullest confidence. He thought these advisers did not give quite sufficient attention to the financial side of the question. It was admitted that the numbers could not be maintained unless we increased our expenditure, and we could not indefinitely expand the expenditure.

*CAPTAIN HERVEY (Bury St. Edmonds) said he was afraid that this reduction in the Navy was symptomatic of what they had heard from the Secretary to the Admiralty on the subject on previous occasions. There was, as they all knew, a Party in this House who claimed to be specially anxious about economy. They were all anxious about economy, but they all wished to see the Navy kept up at the same time. There was a Party on the opposite side of the House who held that our Navy was stronger now than it ought to be, and who conceived that the present was a suitable time to retrench in our shipbuilding policy. The arguments used in support of this theory were, in the first place, that the recent Russian naval defeat had left us in an excessively strong position; secondly, that our present foreign relations with France, the next greatest naval power, did not necessitate such special precautions as had hitherto been considered advisable; thirdly, that even if we accepted the two-Power standard our expenditure should not be more than the sum of the expenditures of the next two strongest naval Powers. He desired to dissociate himself from those who held these views and to make a few remarks on the considerations that should govern our shipbuilding policy for the immediate future, and he suggested that the considerations that should govern us should be dependent solely on the maintenance of our own strong right arm and the righteousness of our cause. We should never forget that wise saying of old—

> "When a strong man armed keepeth his palace his goods are in peace, but when a stronger than he shall come upon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him all his armour wherein he trusted and divideth his spoil."

He would deal in the first place with our position due to the Russian naval defeat. Russia certainly could not be now deemed our "most likely potential enemy." The Russian menace was always principally a military menace, but the danger of that menace was heightened by the strength of her fleet when taken in conjunction with her ally France. The Russian military danger had been counterbalanced by our alliance with Japan, but our bargain with Japan was that we should keep up our present naval strength notwithstanding Russia's naval overthrow. In spite, then, of Russia's defeat our naval strength was still measured by the phrase the "two-Power standard" although the Powers might be different. This standard was not a mathematically exact one, but it gave a good working basis as to what we should aim at independently of *ententes* and the like, which had no guarantee in themselves that peace of a lasting character would be maintained. Our sole guarantee was our strength in battleships. For the reasons just given we need not so much consider why our next naval competitors were increasing their naval armaments, as how they were increasing them and what effect their action must have on our building policy. Germany had now taken the place of Russia as the next leading European naval Power and had shewn unmistakeably her intention of progressively increasing her fleet. What was the essence of the two-Power standard? Surely it was that we should have a fleet of such a strength as to give us a reasonable prospect of victory against a combination of the two next strongest Powers; and these Powers were now France and Germany. What was the the aim of the two-Power standard? It was that in the event of our going to war with any other two owers that we should have a fleet of battleships of such strength that we should have practically a certainty of victory if we came into collision with their combined fleets. But we should not have an absolute certainty of victory if we were only equal in strength to the fleets of the two Powers. It was obvious that if our fleet were only ship for ship equal to those of the next two strongest Powers, we should not have a reasonable prospect—other things being equal—of victory. It would be a toss up who would win. We had no right to assume a monopoly of pluck or fighting capacity. Included, then, in the phrase the "two-Power standard" was the assumption that we should have 10 per cent. more battleships then those possessed by our rivals. This 10 per cent. would make allowance at the beginning of a war for battleships on foreign stations, as well as preponderance in numbers to ensure a reasonable prospect of victory. They all knew the advantage Japan got in their last war by getting in the first blow. A sufficient battleship squadron on the spot at the commencement of hostilities was obviously essential to our safety. He submitted therefore that in battleships we should have 10 per cent. more than any two combined Powers. He did not include cruisers in his calculation, because that class of ships was used for a perfectly different purpose, viz., for scouting and for the protection of our mercantile marine, which was the largest mercantile marine in the world. How did the standard of new construction laid down by the Admiralty in the statement of policy set forth by the Secretary to the Admiralty compare with that of France and Germany, taking into consideration their actual and projected expenditure, in the immediate future? In 1904 he understood that France and Germany combined had an expenditure on new construction of £10,300,000 compared with our expenditure of £12,500,000, so that we were more than £2,000,000 ahead of France and Germany combined. In 1909, if they accepted the statements made on the Continent, France and Germany would expend £12,900,000 on new construction as compared with our expenditure of £10,100,000. That was to say that under the programme submitted to Parliament before it was proposed to reduce it as now, we should be expending £2,800,000 on new construction less than France and Germany combined. Hon. Gentlemen would see that if we were to keep up the supremacy of our Navy in the future we must not only go on with the original programme of new construction, but in order to keep up with the two-Power standard in the future we might have to increase it. Could it be truly said that we were leading the pace in augmenting armaments? On the contrary, it was obvious that if France and Germany proceeded with their programme, as of course, they would, whatever preponderance we might now have would soon have vanished, and that instead of decreasing our programme, if we were to maintain our supremacy we might very likely before long have to increase our expenditure, unless we were content to lose our own guarantee for peace and safety. Turning from the question of expenditure to the actual number of armoured ships—battleships and cruisers—how did we stand, and how should we stand in the near future if we continued the policy laid down by the Government at the beginning of the year in the memorandum issued by the First Lord of the Admiralty of building four armoured ships annually? He had before in this House expressed the view, which he believed was held by our best admirals, that the useful efficient life of a battleship might be put at fifteen years. Taking into consideration this question of obsolete ships, our position at the beginning of 1906 was that we had forty-seven battleships less than fifteen years old against twenty-nine held by France and Germany. And as regarded armoured cruisers we had twenty-four as against twenty-two held by those two Powers. He wished to call attention to the curious fact that, in spite of our having twenty-four armoured cruisers against twenty-two possessed by France and Germany, it had been thought necessary to increase our superiority in battleships by three. Not only the Sea Lords, but the Civil Lords had agreed to that policy after the experience of the war between Japan and Russia. Admitting that we were numerically superior to other countries at present, we ought to look a little ahead. Taking the standard as before, and not taking into consideration the abominable reductions which had just been announced—[Cries of "Oh, Oh?"]—he used the only words he could to express the feelings of a man who had served in the Navy—what would be the position in 1910? He was in a little bit of a difficulty with regard to the figures as they would stand at the end of 1910, since he did not know whether the armoured ships our Admiralty were to lay down were to be armoured cruisers or battleships. So they had to consider the total number of armoured cruisers and battleships against the total armoured cruisers and battleships of France and Germany at that date. He thought, however, that the correct figures would be that Great Britain would have had under the programme of February last, if it had been carried out, eighty-three, while France and Germany would have had sixty-seven. That would seem a very satisfactory position, but he would like to test it in the light of the experience gained in the war between Japan and Russia and the alterations in shipbuilding consequent thereupon. What had been proved beyond doubt and what he believed the right hon. Gentleman had agreed to was that many protected cruisers which we had had in the past, and of which we had laid 150 upon the scrap heap were practically useless for war. That had been agreed to as good policy and he saw no attempt to bring these cruisers back into the service. But there were still a large number of protected cruisers in the Fleet which were of very little use for war, such as the "Terrible" and the "Powerful" We should not forget the services they rendered in connection with the South African War, but it was not the ships that fought but the men. The ships never fought and never came in actual collision with the enemy. and for his part he was glad that they did not, because they were comparatively useless ships. He would ask hon. Gentlemen to consider whether, when after the termination of their present Commissions these ships came in the ordinary course into dockyard hands, it would be worth the Admiralty's while to spend the large sum necessary to make them efficient or whether it would not be better to scrapheap them for the same reasons that had led them to scrapheap the 150 others. The ships which would have to be put into the place of the "Powerful" and the "Terrible" and such like monsters should be the armoured cruisers which the Admiralty did not pretend that they were going to lay down this year at all. He did not find fault with the fact that the Government were proposing to build three battleships, but he thought that on the figures they ought to build armoured cruisers also. He did not think the Sea Lords would, if left to their own free will, have advised the Government to reduce the shipbuilding programme. This programme was put before the House in February when they said what they thought it was right to do, and they would never, if left to themselves, have cut it down in July. But hon. Gentlemen must look a little further ahead, because the programmes of shipbuilding laid down by foreign countries went further than even the year 1910. Supposing they went a little further and calculated what the result of the shipbuilding programmes would be twelve years hence. Taking fifteen years as the life of a battleship and considering battleships and armoured cruisers, he believed the statement was correct that if we went on on the basis before this reduction was proposed then our position in 1919 would be this: Great Britain would have sixty-three to France and Germany's sixty-eight, that was to say that instead of our being in a position of supremacy under the two-Power standard we should be five ships behind. He chose some date far ahead because, first, that date was the one that marked the completion of the present foreign programmes, and, secondly, because, he did not wish to see a small bit of shipbuilding this year, a big bit of shipbuilding another year and a bigger bit the year after. What he wanted was continuity of policy. If the Secretary to the Admiralty would get up and say that he would continue to build three ships every year until we reached the twoP-ower standard that would be the sort of continuity of policy which he asked for. He said, however, that we ought to build four ships every year until we attained the two-Power standard and then to maintain it at that standard. This, he believed, the country wished for, and this they would sooner or later make the Government carry out. As to the size of battleships it had been said that it was bad to build big ships because they cost so much, but he never knew anything which if you wanted to get the best did not cost a large sum of money. He had always acted upon that principle in his private affairs and had found it pay, and in his judgment the best things to buy were big battleships. It was said in the last days of wooden ships that a two-decker was better than a three-decker. That might be so in those times, because there was a limit to the size of vessels built of wood beyond which they could not go. Conditions were different now that iron had replaced wood and steel had replaced iron. No limit had yet been reached as to the size of the ship we could build. Increased armaments, speed, and coal capacity could here be obtained without sacrificing other essential features. The new ships should not be cruisers, but battleships. What we needed were the biggest battle-ships with the biggest armaments in order that this country might wipe the floor with any nation which had the temerity unnecessarily to come into collision with it.

*Mr. BRAMSDON (Portsmouth) expressed his gratitude to the Secretary to the Admiralty for the extremely clear way in which he had put this Vote before the country. Never had he heard a Vote put in a better or clearer way. The statement was unanswerable. The Admiralty had as their advisers the most experienced professional men that the world had ever seen. Especially was that the case at the present time. He did not think anybody would deny that they were equal to the best in British history. Those advisers were perfectly satisfied with the scheme propounded this afternoon. If they had been at sixes and sevens with the First Lord and with those who had associated themselves with him he could have understood a big debate taking place in the House, but as it was he suggested that they might accept the statement of the Secretary to the Admiralty and feel satisfied that our Naval interests were properly looked after. He believed in a strong Navy, and in the two-Power standard, and he would reject anything which would endanger the stability of the Navy. He reminded the Committee that the gross steam tonnage of the British Empire was already 16,000,000, the next highest being Germany with 3,000,000. If these figures were looked at the Committee would understand what was necessary for the defence of our Empire. While he believed in having a strong Navy he felt sure that the nation was safe in the Admiralty's hands, as he had implicit confidence in those who were now in power. Considering the enormous size of the British mercantile marine as compared with that of all the other nations of the world, a very great responsibility rested on the Admiralty, but he believed they could place implicit confidence in the Government. He rather resented the insinuation that the responsible professional advisers were not quite honest in the advice which they gave.

*Captain HERVEY: I did not impute any dishonest motive to the Sea Lords, I only intended to suggest that they did not deal with the Estimates for this year only. They had to bear in mind the policy of future years, and if they cut the expenditure down now, they knew they must increase the amount in the future, and that point had not been brought out by the Secretary to the Admiralty.

*Mr. BRAMSDON: I understood the hon. and gallant Member to say that if the Sea Lords had been left alone they would not have given the same advice.

*Captain HERVEY: Certainly.

*Mr. BRAMSDON said that in his opinion that was not so. To say that the distinguished gentlemen at the head of the Admiralty gave their advice subject to the views of those who came to them for advice was preposterous. They ought to place unbounded confidence in the professional advisers of the Admiralty.

Mr. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield) agreed with those who declared that they must keep up the two-Power standard, and believed that practically the Government proposal did that. At any rate that was the intention of the Government. Let them remember that in recent years we had got considerably ahead of that standard, and we possessed a very large margin over it at the present moment. No doubt the ships of the "Dreadnought" class would be a very valuable addition to the Navy, for they would be able while attacking an enemy effectively to keep out of the range of their opponents' fire. They would indeed constitute the real fighting strength of the Navy. As to the reduction in the number of cruisers he thought there was some justification for that, and he was strengthened in his opinion by the fact that France had discontinued building vessels of this class. What he wanted to know, however, was whether the ocean-going destroyers would be able to take the place of the cruisers in the future; whether they would be able to undertake all their duties? He did not think they were justified in reducing the number of destroyers if they were to take the place of the cruisers, which had constituted a class of enormous importance to this country, seeing that it had in the past been mainly charged with the protection of our mercantile marine and with the safeguarding of our food supplies in time of war. These matters would require careful consideration by the Board of Admiralty, which should ask the Secretary if a reduction in the number of destroyers to be built would not be dangerous seeing that they were to replace the cruisers.

*MR. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis) congratulated the Secretary to the Admiralty on the clear and lucid statement he had made, and said that so far as this year's programme was concerned he was thoroughly satisfied with three battleships; the real fight would of course take place on the programme of next year, with which they were not concerned on the present occasion. As far as the Sea Lords were concerned they had not a leg to stand upon—not a sea leg at any rate. They issued one statement last year, and all the changes which had occurred since made, he submitted, for increased armaments. Yet now they had authorised the First Lord to make a totally different statement! What changes had occurred? There were the increased armaments on the part of France and Germany, the loss of the "Montagu," and the somewhat ill-advised resolution of the Admiralty not to work overtime in the dockyards, the result of which would be that our ships would not be built so quickly as hitherto. Then the effect of the destruction of the Russian fleet had been to enable Germany to concentrate the whole of her ships in the North Sea, as well as the torpedo flotilla, which was a threat against our battleships. There was also the new policy of the Government in respect of the Army. Defence now rested entirely with the Navy. All these and other changes, he contended, made for increase of responsibility, and, therefore, increase of armaments. No doubt the "Dreadnought" would possess immense firing superiority over other ships, and we were bound to maintain that superiority. There was a gain in speed at least of five knots, the big guns were 2½ times as numerous, each one firing twice as quickly, and the penetrating power was 50 per cent. better than that of the "Majestic" class. The outlined future programme of next year was a reduction of a reduction. In 1901 there were thirty-nine ships of over 5,000 tons under construction; there were now only seventeen, and the programme provided that in 1908 there would be only five under construction. That was an enormous reduction, and in face of that they saw the most stupendous exertions being made by Germany, which had always increased her programme since 1898. The reductions which the Admiralty had achieved—he was not including the new reductions—since 1904 amounted to £5,000,000 sterling on Naval Estimates and £5,000,000 sterling on works, apart from Rosyth, which he personally hoped would not be proceeded with. The relative increase in the Navy estimates of Germany by 1909 would be just under £10,000,000, as compared with the Navy Estimates of Great Britain since 1904. Allowing for our savings on Works Bills and that which Germany was going to spend for naval purposes, there would be a relative increase in Germany of £27,000,000. That was apart from the deductions which the Secretary to the Admiralty had foreshadowed. and it allowed for £10,000,000 to be spent on the Kiel Ship Canal to accommodate the new battleships. Several speakers on the Ministerial side, rather in the form of interruptions, talked of our being up to a three-Power standard. He knew they were honest in thinking we could safely reduce our ship-building, but he had never been able to discover that, taking ships building and projected as we ought, we were more than up to a two-Power standard as regarded France and Germany. *Brassey's Annual* gave France and Germany as having thirty-two second and third class battleships to our three excluding the "Llama" class, or ships which the Powers did not think it worth while to maintain. Putting these out of consideration and confining attention to first class battleships, they would find *Brassey's Annual* gave us fifty-one battleships, deducting the "Montagu," built and building, to forty-one of France and Germany. The moment they took in the projected programmes they found a different state of affairs. In four years we should have fifty-four to fifty-one of Germany and France. But if they allowed the contention, which he believed to be true, that the "Dreadnought" was equal to three "Majestics," then in four years we should have sixty-one units as compared with seventy-one units of Germany and France. Between the years 1778 to 1850 we were always twice as strong as France in battleships, and generally much more than twice as strong in frigates. If the Government were only to build one "Dreadnought" in a year and one armoured cruiser, all he could say was that by 1919 all our ships prior to 1900 would be obsolete and Germany would be superior in battleships, while our cruiser strength would be absurdly inadequate; in fact, Germany would have a total of forty first-class battleships by 1919 if she continued her policy of building two battleships a year as compared with twenty-nine or twenty-eight in this country if for the future we were to have a cut down programme of only one battleship. He thought the minimum programme we could possibly pursue must be two to three battleships a year, and to this had to be added a suitable number of cruisers. With regard to the question of cruisers, the Return of Fleets gave us thirty-eight armoured cruisers as compared with thirty-two in France and Germany. That was not a very marked superiority, and taking all cruisers, excluding the "Llama" class, we had 111 to exactly 100 of France and Germany. It might be said that we had an individual superiority of type. So we had in many cruisers, but no strategy would provide that a cruiser could be in two places at one time. In the last prize essay of the United Service Institution it was said that we wanted seventy-four cruisers for scouting. Lord Spencer, one of the best First Lords this country had ever had, said last year—

> "I have always maintained that we must have a much larger number of cruisers than any two other Powers."

That larger number certainly did not exist. Sir Phipps Hornby had said that we wanted 236, and Sir Cyprian Bridge, before the Food Supply Commission, stated that we required a numerical advantage of 50 per cent. in cruisers as compared with hostile cruisers attacking our commerce. The policy of the Government as outlined by the Secretary to the Admiralty was practically to build no cruisers at all. Certainly none were to be laid down this year. In 1903 we had 162 cruisers; to-day, we had 102. There was not the slightest doubt that by 1909 eleven "Pandoras," two "Barhams," two "Blakes," and nine "Edgars" would have to be scrapped, and we should then have seventy-eight as compared with 162 in 1903.

*MR. BOWLES (Lambeth, Norwood) said that nobody who had had the advantage of serving in His Majesty's Navy for however short a time could fail to have been impressed, at any rate, with the extreme importance of the statement which had been made by the right hon. Gentleman. There could be no question that of all the matters connected with the Navy none was more important than proposals solemnly made upon the responsibility of the Admiralty to effect a real and substantial reduction in our naval strength. It was incumbent upon the Committee to very carefully consider whether or not under all the circumstances such a reduction ought to be made. The hon. Member for King's Lynn began his speech with what he understood to be an expression of gratitude to the Secretary to the Admiralty for having been able to announce this reduction. He did not glean from the remainder of the hon. Gentleman's speech any reasons for that gratitude, or, indeed, anything but a somewhat crude attack upon the Admiralty for the line they had taken. As he understood, the Secretary to the Admiralty based his case for this reduction upon two considerations. He said in the first place that there was a spirit abroad among the nations tending towards universal peace and the settlement of national disputes by arbitration, and that that as it stood was sufficient reason or, at any rate, was a very strong contributory reason why they were justified in making reductions in what, after all, was our only, certainly our first, line of defence. For his part, he thought nothing of that argument at all. He did not desire to say anything against the principle of the settlement of disputes by arbitration, but he believed that at present it was, and must be, recognised by reasonable men to be a mere dream—a dream which all desired to see realised, but which it was dangerous in the highest degree to put forward as a real reason why we should reduce the force upon which the existence of everyone in these islands directly depended. But the right hon. Gentleman had another and far more weighty reason, namely, that the considered opinion of the expert advisers of the Admiralty was that this was an economy which could be effected absolutely consistently with the complete maintenance of our naval supremacy. The question for the Committee was whether or not it was really the fact that that supremacy could be maintained if this reduction were carried out. He agreed with hon. Gentlemen who said there was considerable difficulty in arriving at what the facts really were in this matter. The Dilke Return had been referred to as a misleading statement. He strongly agreed with that remark. It was not possible to arrive at the real facts from a study of that Return, and the more one tried to find out what our naval strength was compared with that of other Powers the more one was beset by apparently insuperable difficulties. In a letter to *The Times* that morning Lord Brassey said that, so far as our present existing balance of power was concerned, there was no question whatever that we were well above the two-Power standard. It was true that Lord Brassey based his figures upon the Dilke Return to some extent, but after all one could not altogether neglect that Return. But what Lord Brassey said was that in ships ready for service we were equal to any three European Powers combined. He did not know that he accepted that in its entirety, but he did accept it as showing that we were at this moment well above the two-Power standard in effect. Therefore the only question was as to the future. The real difficulty of comparison was that our figures did not include any considerable proportion of ships that could be called inefficient or at any rate obsolete. There was no similar security with regard to the lists of foreign ships. All comparisons in the Dilke Return and *Brassey's Annual* assumed that every ship of every foreign Power was absolutely as up-to-date as ours. He did not believe it, and if comparisons were to be made merely upon the figures then greater weight, if anything, ought to be given to our figures than to those of foreign Powers. There was, he thought, one consideration which governed and dominated the whole of our shipbuilding constructive policy, and that was that this country was able to build the ships she required much more quickly than any other Power in the world. Let them take the case of the "Dreadnought." He was informed, and he did not believe it would be contradicted, that that battleship, which was the largest, the most complex, and the most powerful ship that had ever been built for war purposes, would be finished within two years from the time that it was first decided at the Admiralty that such a ship should be built. He understood that if Germany laid down a "Dreadnought" to-day she would not be ready for three and a half years, so that to keep pace we should not have to begin to build such a vessel for eighteen months. That being so, what was the position in which any reasonable Board of Admiralty found itself? Surely the constructive policy of this country was dictated by that fact. Surely it was not only wise but imperative in the interests of the taxpayer to keep our money in our pockets for that eighteen months and take advantage of the interest on our money and all the advances in naval science during that time. At the end of the eighteen months, if it were deemed fit to answer the German "Dreadnought," we could lay down our "Dreadnought," and both ships would be launched at the same time. The Alpha and Omega of our naval policy might be summed up in two words—quick building and quick hitting. We had got quick building and we were getting quick hitting. He for his part could not shut his eyes to the enormous advantages which we got from quick-building, and it was for the right hon. Gentleman and his officials to do all they could to get every advantage which this country enjoyed from the enormous saving in time by quick building. That being the general attitude of mind in which he approached this question he had not much difficulty in coming to a conclusion. He did not suppose there was an hon. Gentleman in the House who did not desire to maintain the two-Power standard with all that it meant. He did not understand that it was contended in any quarter of the House that this reduction involved any departure from that standard, at any rate for some considerable time. The year 1919 had been suggested. He regarded that year with the most profound equanimity. He took the view that many things might happen before 1919, and he refused for his part to be greatly disturbed by gloomy prognostications as to things that could only happen in that distant year. The hon. Gentleman for King's Lynn, he understood, although deeply grateful to the right hon. Gentleman for having made this reduction, was under some doubts as to the meaning of it. The hon. Gentleman spoke on naval matters with all the ability which naturally belonged to a sailor and a naval officer. He had not the slightest doubt that if the hon. Gentleman were put in to a boat at the foot of th Terrace he would get across to Lambeth without any serious mishap. He was sometimes inclined to think that the air of King's Lynn had been somewhat too strong for the Liberalism of the hon. Gentleman, and he could not resist taking this opportunity of complimenting him upon the stout Toryism with which the air of that borough appeared to have inoculated him. He did not agree with the hon. Member, and he was content to believe that the Sea Lords of the Admiralty knew their business. He refused to be drawn into a miserable chorus of detraction of gallant officers unable to reply for themselves, who were doing their duty to their country in the best way they could according to their lights. When the Secretary to the Admiralty told them that he had the definite and personal authority of the Sea Lords to assure this House that they recommended this reduction he was content to rely upon that assurance.

Mr. Bowles.

MR. BRIGHT (Oldham) said the idea of economy was one which very naturally occurred to the minds of all Members sitting on the Liberal side after the country had witnessed for so long a time the extravagance of the late Government. The country was as much stirred by the idea of economy as by any other subject that was brought before it at the recent general election. Members of the Opposition side had expressed their sorrow at the proposals put forward in the naval statement. Of course they were sorry, but their sorrow was the joy of Ministerialists. Hon. Members had said that in a few years there would be a panic and that the country would have then to go in for large expenditure for a great number of new ships. But panics were the sort of thing hon. Gentlemen opposite dealt in. Jingoes naturally went in for panics, and there was no more timid and shrinking person than an Imperialist Jingo. He saw a robber in every bush and looked with suspicion on all the world—everybody was going to hurt him. Liberals had not that feeling of timidity. They had a very great asset at present—they had got rid of the "new diplomacy." They should apply no more bluff to foreign Powers, at any rate until they were able to back it up. The late Government took the greatest possible Army and the greatest possible time to subdue the smallest possible enemy. He did not believe that any Power wished to attack this country. We were friendly with every Power in Europe as far as we knew. He was very glad that the Secretary to the Admiralty had announced economies. This was most valuable in view of the forthcoming meeting at The Hague, for it showed our *bona fides.* It showed that we were willing to take the lead, if not in reducing, at least in limiting armaments, and he hoped we should be followed by other Powers in this respect. He came to the House to promote economy, to promote peace, and to promote free trade. These subjects very greatly interested his constituency—a very large and very intelligent constituency.

MR. CROOKS (Woolwich): And very well represented.

MR. BRIGHT: It was very greatly moved on this question of economy and the result had been that it had returned two Liberal Members. He congratulated the Government on their proposals and he was sure they would lead to a great strengthening of the desire for peace all over Europe.

MR. O. C. PHILIPPS (Pembroke and Haverfordwest) said that, speaking as a shipowner, he was a strong supporter of a powerful Navy. At the present time our mercantile marine was about three times as large as that of two of our most powerful competitors, and, therefore, a two-Power Navy was a very small standard for Great Britain. He would have been pleased if the Government had seen their way to provide four ironclads, for he believed it was possible to have economy in the Navy and yet maintain a large building programme. The true policy of this country was to maintain a large building programme and to look for that economy in the Navy by discarding obsolete and semi-obsolete vessels that were now on the list of the Navy and tended very largely to increase the annual cost. He said that as a practical ship owner. He believed that the policy adopted more recently of scrapping old vessels and selling them for what they would fetch might be very considerably extended, and it would be possible to use the money so saved in building more powerful vessels and keeping the Navy to the height at which it ought to be kept. Great Britain had enormous advantage over her competitors from the fact that she was a free trade country. The money which we expended produced a very much better result than an equal amount spent by other Powers. We got a larger amount of tonnage for the same amount of money than any foreign country. He would like to say one word to the Committee with reference to the question of building. When they came to build the vessels he hoped the Government would yet see their way to employ fully all the dockyards before giving out work to be done by contract. No private employer would think of giving out work to private contract so long as he had any of his own men unemployed, and it was a sound Liberal principle that they should keep their own men employed, and, not as had been done in the past, discharge large numbers of their own employees whilst distributing work elsewhere. In the case of Pembroke Dockyard, there had been no less than 700 men discharged during last year, and this in the case of a town which had been entirely built since the Government some hundred years ago instituted a dockyard at that place. Previously there was not a single house there. It had been stated that Pembroke Dockyard was not a place in which to build the largest class of vessels, but as a practical shipowner he defied any expert who had visited the place to declare that Pembroke Dockyard was unable to build "Dreadnoughts," or vessels very much larger, as economically, as quickly, and as well as any other dockyard in the Kingdom. They would be told that it was not reasonable for the Government to give all the work to the national dockyards, but he reminded the Committee that in the case of work given to the national dockyards out fo every £1,000,000 expended £800,000 was given to private contractors for the supply of armour plates, material, and engines; therefore, even if the whole of the work of the country was given to the national dockyards, which was a thing that no one proposed in times when there was a large building programme, it would still mean that four-fifths of the money would be distributed among private firms. It was no use building fine vessels like the "Dreadnought" unless they provided ample dry dock accommodation around the coasts for them. In the case of war they might have to repair these vessels, and, if so, plenty of graving docks would be wanted. He urged the Government to consider this question of increasing the number of graving docks and dry docks round the coasts. He hoped they would also consider the desirability of having a large graving dock in Milford Haven, which had just been used for the great scheme recently carried out by the Admiralty. In conclusion, he pointed out that in Wales they had only one large national establishment, namely, the dockyard at Pembroke. He hoped the Government would do their utmost to give that establishment a reasonable measure of support, so as to keep the men engaged there fully employed.

Sir ALFRED THOMAS (Glamorganshire, E.) congratulated the Government on their new programme. What he was sorry for was that they did not proceed farther in the direction in which they were going. They had heard a great deal about the two-Power standard, but the question was not how to rival other Powers, but to ascertain what Navy we required ourselves. Nelson said—

> "Thank God the Spaniards cannot build men."

But we in England could build both men and ships to-day, and he thought hon. Gentlemen opposite should take heart of grace and not be so panic-stricken, for we had got men who could fight and we had got a few ships too. He also congratulated the late Government, represented on the Front Bench opposite by the hon. Member for the Fareham division, on their action in scrapping so many ships that could neither fight nor run away. It was a criminal act to put men into ships when neither the guns could be fought nor the ships run away. He trusted that the Government would take a heroic view of this question and be governed, if necessary. not even by the Sea Lords, but by common sense and a little pluck. He wished to support the remarks of the hon. Member for Pembroke in regard to Pembroke Dockyard. There was not a better dockyard in England. On behalf of Wales, he asked the Secretary to the Admiralty to see that that country had justice done to it.

Mr. MADDISON (Burnley) deprecated the lively and not very healthy competition between dockyard Members for orders. [Cries of "Oh, oh!" and "Withdraw."] He had yet to learn that getting an order was a dishonourable thing. [Cries of "Withdraw."] He had nothing to withdraw. He meant what he said. During the course of this debate hon. Members opposite and one or two on the Ministerial side of the House had spoken as though the proposals of the Government were going to destroy the Navy and threaten the safety of the Empire. It was perfectly well known that this statement was to be made, but there were not more than half-a-dozen Members on the benches opposite when it came to be made. He should have thought that the representatives of the great Imperialist Party would have been present in their full strength to defend the Empire, and to maintain the present situation. He recommended hon. Members opposite to have a little more courage; they should understand that risk was a part of the naval profession. Nelson had been quoted; but he would remind hon. Members that Nelson never said, as it had been said in this debate, that our Navy would certainly be defeated if we had not as many ships as the enemy. He would ask the hon. Member who said that to get a little more tonic.

Mr. BELLAIRS said that Nelson was always asking for reinforcements.

Mr. MADDISON said that Nelson asked for reinforcements on the quarter-deck and not in this House. [Opposition cries of "Oh, oh."] He thought that the quarter-deck was better training ground than the floor of the House. The hon. Member for Norwood, who had made an admirable answer to the hon. Member for King's Lynn, referred to the fact that we could not rely for any length of time on a particular type of ship. No doubt the scrapping policy was a very good one in some respects, but it might become a very bad one if we based our faith on a particular type of ship. None of the service Members had shown that the Sea Lords were wrong in recommending this reduction; and as those who supported retrenchment had the Sea Lords on their side, they meant to make the most of it. He would be interested to hear how the Leader of the Opposition would deal with this question. He had had three years' experience of the right hon. Gentleman, and he wished that he had not such a command of choice and charming language, for, although he was convinced that the right hon. Gentleman was generally wrong in his conclusions, while he was speaking the right hon. Gentleman for the moment sometimes upset him. There was one flaw in the speech of the hon. Member for Norwood, and that was an attempt to belittle The Hague Conference. After all, we had some interest in humanity; and how long were the people of the world going to treat an era of peace as a dream? If our religion was worth anything at all, peace ought to be one of the elementary things of every-day life. We had learned to settle our differences in private life without the duel.

MR. CROOKS said that a good many people had been shooting at him, and he would like to hit back.

MR. MADDISON said he wanted to enter his protest against the idea that the proposal to reduce armaments was within the domain of dreams. He ventured to say that the Prime Minister had proved himself a statesman in the highest and best sense of the word when at the Albert Hall, and at the Inter-Parliamentary Conference, he said that the arrest of armaments, far from being a dream, was the immediate task not only of English but of international statesmen, and that we owed it to humanity to see whether such a thing could not be brought about. He wished to ask the Admiralty and the Government whether they were going to The Hague Conference to give it an earnest of their sincerity. The policy of the Government in going to The Hague Conference ought to be to say—

> "Here is England, not in her weakness but in her glory and her strength; and she is so strong as to be able to take the lead in a cause which is well within the domain of human reason."

He believed that such a policy would not jeopardise the Empire, but would leave it intact and relieve our industries of a great part of the incubus which weighed so heavily upon them through the waste of money on armaments. An hon. Member had said that if reductions were to be made on new construction for the Navy there would be a loss of wages. But he was sure that the Labour Members, with all their shortcomings, would never believe that they would increase wages, or the quality and amount of their employment, by spending money in the building of warships. It was true that the building of warships engaged a certain amount of labour, but did anybody believe that £1,000,000 spent in building a warship gave as large an amount of efficient labour with as £1,000,000 spent in the ordinary industries of the country? He endorsed the Government policy with all his heart, and did not believe that there was one of their supporters who would not back them up in it. At the proper time they would expect the Government to go further.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (City of London): The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down expressed many excellent philanthropic sentiments with which I find myself in agreement; but I must contest his general argument; and, whether or not I shall again give him another of those half-hours of doubtful pleasure which I seem to have afforded him on other occasions, I hope to offer him at least some suggestions which may induce him to alter somewhat his attitude of congratulation towards the naval policy of the Government. It must be evident from the tenor of the speeches that have been delivered that there are two distinct currents of thought animating or influencing the views of hon. Gentlemen opposite. There is, first, the question whether we do or do not require a larger Navy than the Navy which the Government propose to give us. That is what I might call a scientific question. Its answer depends on the duties which we throw upon the Navy. The other question is how far we can inspire the nations of the world through The Hague Conference, or by other means, to dispense with the vast armaments, the burden of which now weighs so heavily upon their finances. I shall have something to say about each of these questions and of their relation to each other.

As to the first, the adequacy of the Fleet for the purposes for which it is required, I do not think that anyone who listened to the speech of the Secretary to the Admiralty will venture to say that he gave us any reasoned account of the grounds which had induced the Government to depart from the provisional naval policy which they announced in March last. I do not quarrel with the Government for having departed from that policy. They had, of course, the right to change it if they thought fit. But I do quarrel with them for having given us so short a notice of the change, and so brief an opportunity of discussing what every one admits is a very momentous decision. Of course, the Government cannot be rigidly bound to its Estimates. As I have said, some liberty of change is necessary; and I do not make that by itself a reproach. The ground of my criticism is that a change which without question does profoundly modify the relative strength of the British and foreign navies should be made without some adequate justification. Will anyone contend that the Admiralty have advanced a single argument upon that subject except that it had been made upon the authority of the Sea Lords? I think that when the Naval Lords are brought into the forefront of this controversy, as they have been brought by the Government this afternoon, we are treading on very dangerous ground; and, indeed, the Government themselves were aware that they were treading on very dangerous ground. From what fell from the Secretary to the Admiralty it is clear that he knew that it has never been the practice, and ought not to be the practice, in this House for a Government to shelter themselves in the complete manner in which the present Government have done behind the Naval Lords. The Government have gone to the length of telling us that, not merely have the Naval Lords assented to the policy for which the Government are responsible, but that the Naval Lords pressed this policy on the Government.

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON: What I said was that the Naval Lords were the authors of the original new programme, and that they recommended the revision of that new programme to us.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman says that this policy was pressed upon them by the Naval Lords. [Ministerial cries of "Recommended."] I cannot see the particular distinction between recommending a policy and pressing a policy; but I am content to say that this policy was recommended to the Government by the Naval Lords. I confess I do not much like this method of using the authority of the experts of the great spending departments. It may be necessary, but I think the Government themselves shrank a little from it.

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I said so.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, but you did it all the same. We have not the advantage of cross-examining the Naval Lords. I wish we had. Remember that the Naval Lords who have recommended this new policy to the Government are, by admission, precisely the same Naval Lords who were in office when the original plan of the Government was put forward which involved twenty-five per cent. of increase in the expenditure on battleships and an even greater increase in other types of ships of war. They are the same men who were in office in March last when the Government announced their provisional naval programme. In the circumstances, I think that if their authority is to be quoted, and if we are not to have the opportunity of cross-examining them, at least we should be told the grounds on which they have changed their opinions. The Secretary to the Admiralty gave not the smallest hint or indication what changes in the circumstances of this country, in the building programmes of foreign countries, in the magnitude of the interests we have to defend, and in our facilities for defending them, justify so great a change in the policy of the Naval Department. It was said in the course of the debate that we need not consider what other people are doing. That is a *dictum* which, I think, we all hold. But it must be remembered that our Fleet is essentially a defensive force; and, accordingly, its strength must depend upon the force that may be brought against it. Is there any indication that the force which may be brought against us is less now than it was in March last or in November last? If there is no such indication, then on what do the Naval Lords base their change of view? Of course, if the Government come down to this House and say that all their naval experts are of one mind in this matter, I admit that it is very difficult for us to hold another view. I quite acknowledge that. But I think, at the same time, that we should be told why the experts hold those opinions. The reductions in the expenditure on the Fleet recommended by the late Government did not militate in any sense against the efficiency of the Fleet. Indeed, we believed they left the Fleet stronger than it was before. But that is not the case with respect to the new policy of the present Government. That policy will leave the Fleet weaker. There is all the difference in the world between economies which leave the Fleet stronger and economies which leave the Fleet weaker; and there is as great a difference between expert advice given in one case for reasons which were stated to the world, and expert advice given in the present case of which we are kept in complete ignorance. Let me say a word now on the humanitarian question, with which, need I say, I have the profoundest sympathy? Has not the House noticed that the Government in their declarations as regards both the Army and the Navy make two different kinds of speeches according to the different class of opinion they wish to conciliate? When they are talking to those members on the other side of the House who are deeply interested in the efficiency of the Army and Navy they declare that the Army will be 50 per cent. stronger after their reforms are carried out, and that the Navy, according to their expert advisers, is quite adequate for every purpose of defence which can be asked of it. Then they turn to another section of their followers, who are more interested in the diminution of expenditure than in the efficiency of the services, and who entertain the most sanguine hopes and expectations both of what can be done by The Hague Conference and what we can do to influence The Hague Conference. What is the language they hold to these gentlemen? They say that we must set an example, and to show that we have confidence in the pacific intentions of our neighbours, we must diminish expenditure upon our defensive armaments. But you cannot have it both ways. The hon. Gentleman opposite welcomes the policy of the Government as a proof of good faith. He welcomes it because it would enable the Government to go to The Hague Conference and say, "Look at Great Britain; we no longer intend or desire to keep these great armaments." Yes, Sir, but I do not know whether The Hague Conference will be much influenced by that argument if they read all the speeches or the whole of any speech delivered by the Government. How do you prove your good faith by saying, "See, we have diminished Army expenditure, but our striking force is 50 per cent. stronger than before?" How will you produce this feeling of implicit belief in the pacific intentions of England when you say, "We have cut down the Navy Estimates, but the Naval Lords tell us we are fully equal to any two of you, even after the reductions?" The truth is, that if, which I hope is not the case, it be necessary for us to persuade foreign nations of our *bona fides*, and the simple benevolence of our attitude towards all mankind, you could not go to work in a worse manner than you are doing now. I know right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite are perfectly honest and sincere, and that it is simply this unhappy habit of platform oratory which requires these double and perfectly inconsistent appeals. I hope I do not indulge in it. I am not aware of any case that can be adduced against me. It is sufficient for me to say that the idea that these innocent, naif, unsuspecting statesmen who are going to join in The Hague Conference will be taken in by this noble appeal, is really absurd, [" Oh," and " Bad form "] What is bad form ?

Mr. J. M. ROBERTSON (Northumberland, Tyneside) : I did not say " bad form ; " but I consider the expression " taken in " extremely objectionable.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR : Then I withdraw it. But the gentlemen at The Hague Conference will undoubtedly know quite as much about your public declarations as anybody else. They will look at them in a more critical spirit than perhaps they ought to be looked at, and will say, " Here is the British Government talking about setting us a good example. They are making eloquent appeals to universal disarmament. They are saying they are in the very forefront of disarmament while they are assuring their countrymen in the same speeches, through the mouths of the same statesmen, that their Army is 50 per cent. stronger and their Fleet, even after the reductions, is equal to the two-Power standard." I do not see how these two kinds of appeal can be made, and I do not believe they will be, effective. In truth, I think this whole method of approaching the question is wrong. Our forces are defensive forces ; our policy is a defensive policy. I do not think this country will ever indulge in a war of aggression, and therefore we have one duty, and one duty only, which is to make our naval and military forces as strong as, but no stronger than, are required to defend all our interests at home and abroad. That is the real scientific basis, or ought to be, of our armaments ; and I cannot see that the Government have in the least degree tried, in the first place, to find out what those defensive necessities were, and then to square our defensive forces with the needs they have scientifically analysed. They have shown us no indication that they have carried out the policy of the two-Power standard, though they still profess it. I do not know what answer the Admiralty are going to give to the criticism of my hon. friend near me, who pointed out that this new type of battleship really changes the character of the two-Power standard. While at first sight you might be inclined to say that the fact that we were the first to design and build them gives us a great advantage in one sense, I am afraid it may entail upon us an expenditure which otherwise you might have avoided. And for this reason. If the new type carries out the full expectations of its designers, a squadron of four of those battleships are almost invulnerable by any existing naval combination. Therefore, if we are really to keep pace with other nations as regards battleships, we shall have to build this new type at an equal rate to any two Powers. I am afraid if you look at what foreign nations are doing in the way of building these enormous ships, you will find that we are falling behind the two-Power standard in respect of ships of the " Dreadnought " type. And if these ships be what they conceive them to be, then you are endangering in a very serious degree, at this moment, by the inventive genius shown in designing those ships, the two-Power standard. My hon. friend the Member for Norwood took comfort from the fact that we are able to build much faster than foreign nations ; but have you any security that this greater rapidity of building is an inherent and perpetual advantage which this country is always going to have ? I take it that it is a matter of organisation. I take it we have no advantage in material, no striking advantage in *personnel*, and that our machinery is in no sense in advance of the machinery to be found in the great dockyards of Germany or France, certainly of Germany. I do not believe—I wish I could—that we have this perpetual advantage in the matter of rapidity of building. There may have been a time when we had better material, when our dockyards were better equipped. That time is passed. No human being will pretend that our manufactories for great guns to-day are superior to the Krupp manufactory ; that we can turn out great guns or armour quicker than they can. If the Germans think it worth their while, I do not think we can count upon building battleships quicker than they can. As soon as they see that it is economical and advantageous to build quickly, I think it will be found that they will build as quickly as we can.

I have laid before the Committee the doubts that I am compelled to feel in regard to the policy of the Government. I do not believe for an instant that the course they are pursuing is a course which will conduce to peace. I believe that peace is secured by making those countries that are in the nature of things defensive countries as strong as possible. We do not desire to interfere with the rights of other people, but I hope we are determined that our rights shall not be interfered with. Let any man look around the world at the present time and say whether all the symptoms point to a reign of universal peace. If anyone imagines that in Asia, Africa, and Europe all the symptoms may be read in a favourable light and sanguine spirit, I confess that I am unable to agree. One policy, and one policy alone, will ensure peace as far as this country is concerned—namely, the conviction entertained by every foreign statesman that it is dangerous to attack us. So long as that is the belief entertained on the Continent, so long as the policy of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is a policy consistent with the dignity and honour of the country, so long will he be able to maintain a European peace which in every respect is consistent with the interests of this country. But if once you allow, either on philanthropic or other grounds, your defensive forces to fall to such a point as that you are thought to be a possible prey to some ambitious nation, then I say that you are shaking the foundations of the peace of the world; and it is in the interests of peace I urge His Majesty's Government to put no pressure on their naval advisers to modify opinions at which they have deliberately arrived. I earnestly request them, whatever be the changes which they desire to introduce either in the Army or the Navy, not to make changes of a kind which will weaken the forces which undoubtedly in the past have conduced to peace and which will perform the same beneficent function, if properly used, in the future. I am therefore obliged to declare that, after the explanations of the Government as regards the new programme, so far it is wholly inadequate, and that the suspicions with which it has been naturally regarded have in no way been dissipated by the representative of the Admiralty.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I assure the right hon. Gentleman, and I think he will believe it, that we on this side of the House, and those who share our views in this matter, had no idea that we should shake the foundations of peace—peace on the one hand, and the British Empire on the other—by the dropping of a first-class ironclad out of the programme of the year. If it had that effect, we should not drop the first-class ironclad. The right hon. Gentleman divided the subject, very naturally and conveniently, into two parts. First of all, there was the question of the naval policy of the year and the relations of the naval advisers of the Government to the policy; and, in the second place, there was the larger and wider question of the prospect of a general gradual disarmament, and therefore of some improvement in the prospects of peace and goodwill among the nations. As to the relations of the Government to the technical advisers of the Board of Admiralty, I am glad to reassure the right hon. Gentleman entirely. It is not the first time that the programme of the year which has been approved by the technical naval advisers of a Government has been afterwards altered by that same Government. That is no extraordinary thing. Two years ago the Government of which the right hon. Gentleman was the head dropped out of their programme one of four armoured cruisers and thirteen destroyers, and last year there was also an armoured cruiser dropped—that is to say, it was not ordered—and the right hon. Gentleman and his colleagues on that occasion forgot or omitted even to inform the House of the change. The right hon. Gentleman says that we proposed a certain shipbuilding policy to the House in March. No, sir, we guarded ourselves against doing so. We came into power after the naval policy of this year had been nominally fixed by our predecessors. We have never quite ascertained what was the reason of that extraordinary departure from ordinary procedure when the naval programme was furnished before the change of Government in December or before the general election. When, at all events, we came into office it was our duty then to take a calm and deliberate survey of the situation, and for the purposes of the Estimates of this year we adopted the proposals of our predecessors. But my right hon. friend in introducing the Estimates said that we should review this question of the shipbuilding programme; and later in the session that we should say what our mind was on that subject. If anything has been upset it is not our proposals of building great ships, but the proposals of our predecessors born out of time.

Then what about the course taken in this matter by the Sea Lords? The Sea Lords have had no pressure put upon them in this matter. On the contrary, taking a further survey of the situation as it now presents itself to them, they have advised us that what we now propose is sufficient to maintain all the strength and preserve all the power that is required for the British Navy. Not only so, but they recommended this to us, and they have expressly asked that the House of Commons should be informed that it was their recommendation, in order I suppose, that they might get the credit for it. Now we hear put forward an extraordinary theory. When the Government is supposed to be going to reduce the Navy Estimates the Party newspapers are full of events that never occurred. The Sea Lords are on the point of resigning, or they have resigned; the First Lord of the Admiralty has tendered his resignation; every allusion that is made to the subject is couched in that tone; and then we are told that it is very improper to bring in the Naval Lords at all. But if they are to be brought in for the purposes of attack, surely it is perfectly right to bring them in for the purposes of defence? I think with my right hon. friend that the present situation is entirely abnormal and exceptional, because it has happened that the same Board is making different recommendations than were presumably made to the Government of last year. No one knows what pressure may have been brought on the Sea Lords last year. It may be, for all we know, that they are now able to find a happy way of escape out of the duress in which they were placed last year. Except in a case like this, where there is a change in the opinion of the same technical advisers, I am not in favour of adducing the authority of professional advisers either in this or in any other case. It puts them in a false position. It leads to this very line of thought of which I have been speaking, where people try to discriminate between the political heads of a department and the more permanent and professional heads; and these are great mischiefs in the administration of the country. I think it ought not to be done except in abnormal cases, but this was an exceptional case, and I do not think that my right hon. friend would be justified in refusing to make public the statement which the Naval Lords wished him to make. Our opinion is that the Naval Lords are right, and when you talk of the two-Power standard, after all you cannot quite keep out of your mind who the two Powers are. When we have elaborate calculations made as to what France and Germany are building, is it really a very likely combination that France and Germany should be allied and should go to war with us? I do not object to the two-Power standard as a rough guide, but this is a two-Power standard of almost a preposterous kind. When we come to examine the details of that two-Power standard, we find that the figures of that combination do not justify any extraordinary capacity and speed in shipbuilding in this country. But we admit that there ought to be some progress made with these huge ships of our invention, and accordingly we propose that there should be three ships laid down. What will they accomplish for us Until 1909 we shall be the only Power that has one of the great "Dreadnought" class, said to be almost incapable of defeat. Until 1909 we shall have one and no other Power will have any; while in 1909 we shall have four, and other Powers will only have two. The right hon. Gentleman controverts the idea that we have any advantage in speedy building.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: No necessary advantage.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: We only deal with things as we find them. What Germany or France or Scandinavia or any other country may do in the way of rapid building in the next twenty years we cannot tell. We make our programmes in accordance with what we know; and as we know these countries, neither France nor Germany, nor any other country can equal us in rate or cheapness of shipbuilding. And cheapness after all does come in, because it enables a larger number of these great vessels to be built for the same burden on the people. I do not know that I need say anything more regarding the action of the Naval Lords. We think it to be a most patriotic action. We think it most sensible and plucky of them to admit that they had rather over-estimated the necessities a few months ago, and they are content with a reduced programme. The right hon. Gentleman says that we are weakening the Fleet. How are we weakening the Fleet? That is the old idea that by piling one strength upon another strength you get a greater result. The man who has had an ample dinner, as much as he can digest, does not make himself stronger by going on eating dinners in order to dazzle other people. After all, this is one of the most vital elements of this branch of the question—the rivalry of grandeur in naval and military expenditure. It is not only the actual strength but, if I may use the word, it is the swagger as to having the largest, strongest, and most numerous fleet, or the biggest and most powerful army in the world. We dislike that sort of rivalry. The right hon. Gentleman said a thing which is very true. He said that possibly we made a mistake in laying down this one great "Dreadnought," because it has undoubtedly set the pace for other nations. By that action we deliberately encouraged other nations to go on in this unceasing rivalry. I daresay that the right hon. Gentleman was right in saying that we might have been better off in relative strength to-day if we had not built this vessel. But that is done. We take it as we find it; and we wish to maintain the strength that the naval men consider adequate for the discharge of all the duties that fall upon the Navy.

We have in our mind's eye, also, the question of general disarmament. I do not think the right hon. Gentleman was very encouraging to The Hague Conference. It may be difficult to realise all the things that are attempted or thought of. But I would rather be one of those who try to realise them than one of those who run them down and point out nothing but difficulties. Who imagines that the Powers going to The Hague Conference to deal with disarmament are to disarm themselves entirely and present themselves without defence among their neighbours? It is not so. We desire to stop this rivalry, and to set an example in stopping it—we who can do it, in regard to the Navy, with greater ease than any other Power—in order that we may relieve to some extent the burden that presses upon the people of all countries. The right hon. Gentleman rather implied that we should wait for other people to set the example; and the late Civil Lord of the Admiralty said that we should call upon other nations to take the first step. It is to be an inverted Pool of Siloam. Instead of all the people rushing to be the first in the water, they are all to linger on the brink and urge their neighbours to go in. In my judgment we are the country above all others upon whom it is incumbent to show a willingness to check the pace with which these great armaments have been mounting up of late years, with respect to the Navy especially. No man here wishes the Navy to be weak for all the manifold duties which it has to perform, duties which do not fall upon any other country in the world. We are all as keen as anyone can be to maintain the efficiency of the Navy, but extravagance never procures efficiency. You get efficiency only when expenditure is kept within reasonable bounds. But on these grounds we hope that the Government, having the opportunity, will have the support of the House of Commons in setting a very reasonable and moderate example—but still a very obvious, decided, and considerable example—in the direction in which, we think, all the nations suffering from this burden of armaments would do well to follow. We shall not be intimidated by any fear of unpopularity. As a matter of fact, I believe it to be a popular policy; but, if it were not, I should follow it all the same. I am not one who ever talks of mandates. I never use the word, and I do not believe very much in the thing. But we made no secret of our desire to reduce military expenditure; we went to the country; and here we are. If we had not taken the steps that we have done, in regard both to the Army and the Navy, and endeavoured to the best of our belief to show to the countries that we do not believe in reckless expenditure in this matter, but that at the same time we are anxious to maintain the necessary forces to defend our interests—if we had not done that, and if we did not now declare our intention of following that policy out, we should not be worthy to sit on this Bench.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said that the time was too short for him to make a statement as to the dockyard administration; but he proposed to print as a Parliamentary Paper the substance of what he had to say and have it circulated amongst members immediately.

MR. JENKINS (Chatham) asked whether hon. Members would have an opportunity later on of saying something in regard to the proposal to build one of the battleships by private contract.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said the only opportunity, he believed, would be on the Appropriation Act.

SIR J. BAKER (Portsmouth): Will the right hon. Gentleman give Members representing dockyard towns the opportunity of an interview at the Admiralty on the statement made?

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: Yes.

Vote agreed to.

2. £2,827,200, Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, etc.—*Matériel.*

3. £8,588,400, Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, etc.—Contract Work.

4. £2,986,000, Naval Armaments.

5. £351,500, Admiralty Office.

Resolutions to be reported.

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS (SUPPLEMENTARY) ESTIMATES, 1906–7.

CLASS IV.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £200,000, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Grants towards Expenditure on Public Elementary Schools in England and Wales."

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.

Whereupon Motion made, and Question' "That the Chairman do report Progress; and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Whiteley*)—put, and agreed to.

Resolutions to be reported upon Monday next; Committee also report Progress; to sit again upon Monday next.

TRADE DISPUTES BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[MR. EMMOTT (Oldham) in the Chair.]

Clause 1.

*MR. BOWLES, in moving to omit the words "contemplation or," said the purport of the Amendment was sufficiently clear in itself; its object was to narrow the scope of the clause. It would hardly be possible to consider the effect of this Amendment unless one considered the whole of the clause itself. The clause removed every remedy for certain classes of damage committed during trade disputes if they were done "in contemplation or furtherance" of a trade dispute. That being so, hon. Members would see that it was necessary to consider with some care the exact nature of the damage which was proposed to be left without remedy. This question involved directly the whole question of the law of conspiracy as applied to trade disputes, and that was a question which could only be properly dealt with by lawyers. Although at one time he committed the youthful indiscretion of being called to the Bar, he was not, and he hoped he never would be, in any real sense a lawyer. He believed he was right in saying that the law upon this matter at the present time was that for ordinary persons and in ordinary circumstances the law recognised that an act which was perfectly harmless if done by one person, became altogether altered in its character and might be extremely formidable, in fact so formidable as to inflict provable legal damage if committed by many persons. The law provided for that kind of damage two remedies, the criminal action for conspiracy and the civil action. Until the year 1871 no difference was made by the legislature between a trade dispute and any other dispute. A man who suffered damage as the result of a conspiracy during a trade dispute had his remedy just the same as a man who suffered similar damage in any other kind of dispute. In the year 1871 an Act was passed which was amplified in 1875, the result of which was to take away criminal remedies for acts committed during trade disputes, so long as they would not have been indictable if committed by one person. Ever since the year 1875, trade disputes had been differentiated by the law from all other disputes, inasmuch as criminal action for conspiracy was then taken away. But the civil remedy remained, and it was that civil remedy and that right of civil action which it was now proposed by the clause before them to take away. The clause took away that right from any person who suffered damage done by an act in pursuance of an agreement or combination during or in contemplation of a trade dispute. It also took away from that person all remedy whatever in respect of the agreement or conspiracy. That was the proposal of this clause. What he desired to do was to narrow the scope of the clause to what seemed to him to be its proper function. He asked the Committee to consider the nature of the acts for which no remedy at all under any circumstances was to be allowed under this astonishing new arrangement. They were acts which by hypothesis were harmless if committed by one person, but nobody would deny that, although harmless when committed by one person, they might be harmful in the highest degree, and produce intolerable wrong and injustice, if committed by many persons. And yet it was the essence of this clause that the act to be covered by the clause did produce legal and provable damage. It was the essence therefore of this proposal that a man who had suffered legal undeniable damage which he could prove in a Court of Justice was to be left entirely without remedy. That was a very large demand, which, in view of all the traditions of the country, the House ought to view with considerable care, and he did think that it was important that they should consider whether the words which he moved to leave out did not extend the operation of the clause to an extent to which the House might not altogether be prepared to go. Now what was the kind of act for which this clause left no remedy? One might draw upon one's imagination, but there was no need to do so, because many cases existed similar to those which were contemplated by this clause. He would cite a fairly recent case decided in 1901, with which hon. Gentlemen were no doubt perfectly familiar. The case he alluded to was that of "Quinn *v.* Leathem." There lived just outside Belfast in the year 1895 a certain grazing butcher, named Leathem. [AN HON MEMBER: That is ancient history.] He employed a foreman and a certain number of assistants, who were non-union men. His business was to raise stock and sell it to his customers in Belfast and the most important of his customers was a butcher named Munce, who employed union men in the town of Belfast. There was no dispute between Mr. Leathem and his men, or between Leathem and Munce. Everything was being carried on to the complete satisfaction of everybody concerned, and one would have thought that those two businesses might have been left to rest in peace. But it was quite obvious that if businesses were allowed to be conducted quietly, the more militant form of trade unionism came to an end. These two butchers, Mr. Leathem and Mr. Munce, conducted their business to the satisfaction of everybody concerned. Their workmen were satisfied and the general public were satisfied. But the representatives of the local trade union were not satisfied, and they put their heads together to see what could be done to put an end to this state of things. They made an agreement as contemplated by this clause, and as a result they committed an act contemplated by this clause. They wrote a letter to Mr. Leathem, and without preamble or excuse or explanation, demanded in a most categorical way the instant dismissal by Mr. Leathem of his foreman and all his men.

Mr. CLEMENT EDWARDS (Denbigh District): The hon. Member has not stated the facts correctly.

*Mr. BOWLES said he had given these facts the best attention of which he was capable, and the hon. Member would find that he had not misstated them. The union demanded the instant dismissal of these men, and Mr. Leathem naturally asked upon what grounds. He said if the grounds were that they did not belong to the local trade union he was quite ready to pay their entrance fees into the union, and he was perfectly willing that they should enter the union. That proposal however, was rejected by the officials of the union, who said in the plainest possible terms that their object was to drive these men out of employment to walk the streets of Belfast for twelve months without any employment. That was intended as a punishment to them for not having joined the union. In other words, the object of the union was not to get these men to join the union but to see that they should be hounded about the streets without any work and reduce them to something which hon. Members below the gangway knew perfectly well amounted to starvation. Having made that intimation, the officials of the union repeated their demand for the instant dismissal of these men. That was a demand which certain employers might at once have acceded to. But Mr. Leatham was a man of a totally different character. He said he did not like the notion of men who had served him faithfully for many years being sent to starve in the streets, and for his part, he refused to dismiss them. Whereupon the union committed another act; for they induced Mr. Munce, by a threat to call out his men, to refuse to take Mr. Leathem's meat, which he was purchasing to the extent of £30 a week, and all this simply because Mr. Leathem had the courage to stand between his men, who were free labourers, and starvation and the union. Consequently, Mr. Leathem suffered a palpable and undeniable damage of a very serious character. Those acts committed under those circumstances were acts which were precisely covered by the clause now before the Committee, because they were done in contemplation of a trade dispute. This was a trade dispute, not indeed between an employer and his workmen, such as was contemplated in the Act of 1875, but they were acts done in contemplation of a trade dispute between the union men and the non-union men of the district. And it was an act which, had it been done without any agreement or combination by one man acting singly, would not have been actionable for a moment. Therefore he thought it was a question worthy of grave consideration whether the Committee was prepared in cold blood and upon serious reflection to place a form of words upon the Statute book which would directly and expressly legalise acts of that description. He asked the Committee to adopt his suggestion with all the more confidence because he understood that the acts of which he had complained were repudiated by every trade union leader worthy of the name. He understood that hon. Gentlemen below the gangway shared the disgust which was felt at such acts, and repudiated them. But in spite of their repudiation and dislike of those acts, the fact remained that such acts were committed, and he could not for the life of him understand how hon. Gentlemen came down to this House and supported the Government in asking for a clause which would expressly legalise acts which everyone who followed him in this debate would repudiate and disavow. For his part, he agreed with a learned Judge who tried this case—he alluded to Lord Lindley—who said that a man might resist without difficulty the wrongful act of an individual but it was a very different thing when one man had to defend himself against a combination of men. An Act committed as the result of such a combination might be good or bad. But it was inevitably different in quality from the same act committed without such combination. And to enact, as this clause proposed to do, that such acts were the same if committed in contemplation of a trade dispute was to enact a plain absurdity. His object was to prevent that kind of thing, or at least, his point was that it should be rigidly confined to times of industrial war, and not to times of peace. That was the object of this Amendment. In the course of a former debate upon this Bill, the hon. Member for South Glamorganshire referred to a system under which employers conspired together to prevent men whom they disliked from obtaining employment, and they kept a black list—a list of men whom the employers agreed together to refuse to employ. If that was true, he thought it was very bad, and he should be very glad, so far as he was able to co-operate with hon. Members below the gangway, to see what could be done to bring such a system to an end. But this clause made that state of things expressly legal, and he hoped working men generally would realise that the efforts of Labour Members in this House would, if successful, result in making such action by the employers definitely legal.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I submit, Mr. Chairman, on a point of order, that that argument has nothing whatever to do with this particular Amendment.

*MR. BOWLES: My object is to show what would be the effect when the Bill becomes law, of leaving out the words which I have moved to omit from the clause.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member does seem to have argued very widely upon this Amendment. Of course, he is quite entitled to argue as to the effect of striking out the words in the Amendment, but the hon. Member appears to me to have gone far beyond that, and he has argued a good deal upon the question of combination. He must confine himself to the Ammendment.

*MR. BOWLES said his object was to enable the Committee to consider whether the kind of acts contemplated by this clause were acts which ought to be possible, not only during, and in furtherance of a trade dispute, but also in contemplation of a trade dispute, because the term "contemplation" was exceedingly wide, and it might be very difficult for a Court to come to a conclusion upon the point. The question was whether those acts should be allowed in contemplation, as well as in furtherance of a trade dispute. They were told that this made no real change, and that it only settled in law what had been supposed to be the law for thirty years or more. They were also told that they ought to trust the trade union leaders in this matter. He was not going to say a word against those representatives of trade unionism who had the advantage of sitting in this House, nor against responsible trade union leaders generally, but he thought they ought to remember that trade union leaders after all, were like Cabinet Ministers, for they only led on terms. They only led so long as they could obtain a following, and in order to obtain a following, what might they not be forced to do? [Cries of "Oh" from the LABOUR Members.] Hon. Gentlemen below the gangway were always contemplating some trade dispute. [Cries of "No, no."] Well, he would come to that point in a moment. They might be, as Cabinet Ministers sometimes were, driven to a course of action against their own better judgment, into taking extreme courses, by wild followers behind them, and be forced in a few weeks' time to eat their own words.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order. That question does not arise on the Amendment.

*MR. BOWLES said he was endeavouring to show that the argument that they ought to trust trade union leaders to act reasonably in contemplation of trade disputes was a very difficult one to admit. What was the object of the words which he proposed to omit? They were directed, it seemed to him, not against the employers, nor were they designed to strengthen the hands of trade union leaders in respect of existing trade disputes, but they were plainly directed, and this was his objection to the words, against the independence of non-union labour. It was the non-union man who was the real enemy of hon. Gentlemen below the gangway. It should not be overlooked that the vast majority of the working people did not belong to trade unions, and did not believe in them, and, in fact, did not want to belong to them. They were the people who were aimed at by the words of this clause, which he proposed to omit, and they would put it into the power of hon. Members below the gangway if they desired to do so, as long as they were contemplating a trade dispute, to make it impossible for any man to retain his independence in the matter of his own labour. Hon. Gentlemen below the gangway were always more or less contemplating a trade dispute. [Cries of "No."] He could prove the truth of his contention, because there were a number of quotations which he could make from hon. Members' speeches and writings which would bear out what he had said. The membership of trade unions in this country was diminishing. He believed the power of trade union leaders in this country was diminishing. They only depended upon their following, and liberty having failed, tyranny was now to be called in. In the phrase, "in contemplation of a trade dispute" hon. Members below the gangway were to be given power to divide the industries of this country into two great armed camps, armed to the teeth, and taught to believe that their interests were not identical, but opposite. Power was to be given under these words, because they contemplated a trade dispute, to ruin, if they desired to do so, any man who refused to be recruited into their ragged army. That was a power which he would not trust to any set of Ministers sitting on the Treasury Bench, still less would he trust it to hon. Members below the gangway. These words gave absolutely unlimited power to trade unions, to coerce free labourers into their ranks at any time and that was why he moved that they should be omitted. He would not like the clause even when the omission was made. But he thought that they ought at least to take care that no man was forced into the struggle between capital and labour against his will, and that those who wished to keep clear of that kind of pressure during times of industrial peace might be permitted to do so. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 9, to leave out the words 'contemplation or.'"—(*Mr. Bowles.*)

Mr. Bowles.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

*THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir JOHN WALTON, Leeds, S.) said that the practical answer to the hon. Member's arguments was that it would be most difficult, even if it were possible, to draw a distinction between acts done in contemplation of, and acts done in furtherance of, a trade dispute. The hon. Member's arguments against what he had described as acts done in contemplation of trade disputes would almost be equally applicable to acts done after the dispute had begun. The desirability of inserting words of this kind was evidently considered by the late Government, with the result that these very words were inserted in the Bill which passed through this House. He hoped, therefore, that the hon. Member would not press his Amendment to a division.

SIR E. CARSON (Dublin University) thought he ought to state to the Committee his view as a lawyer in reference to these words. It was quite true that the House, by a previous Act, had prohibited an indictment against a workman for conspiracy to do an act which would not be indictable if it were done by a single individual. That was the state of the criminal law. It was quite true, as the Attorney-General had said, that within the section of the Act of 1875 these words "in contemplation of" were present. What he should like to point out, however, was that there was a very great distinction, and he thought the Attorney-General would see it at once, between a criminal act and a civil remedy. In the case of the criminal act they could not carry on a trade dispute without entering into some sort of an agreement in contemplation of or before the dispute came on. He thought they ought to do this just as well when the dispute was in contemplation as while it was in progress. The conspiracy, such as it was, would take place before the trade dispute was actually entered into. What a man was indicted for, and what they used to indict him for, was conspiracy. He need not have done any act under it, and nothing need have taken place at all in the way of a trade dispute, prior to the Act of 1875. But, when they came to the civil action it was entirely different. They could not bring a civil action against any person for entering into a dispute, and people might conspire as much as they liked so long as they did nothing in pursuance of it. They had to prove in a civil action not merely conspiracy, but legal damage as a consequence of it. The reason why he objected to these words remaining in the section was that the House would then be laying down that persons might inflict legal damage before a trade dispute had arisen at all. He thought that was a fatal policy. He quite agreed that once a trade dispute came on, there might be reasons of policy, on either one side or the other, why they should limit liability, but how far it should be limited was a question for the Committee. He thought, however, that to lay down that damage might be committed in pursuance of a conspiracy, and before the dispute actually came on, was going a long way to prevent a settlement of that dispute before it reached an acute form. He submitted to the Committee that having regard to this distinction, they ought not slavishly to follow the wording of the Act of 1875, unless in relation to criminal matters, because the gist of the offence in the two cases was absolutely different. In the case of most criminal matters, it was a conspiracy, but in the case of the civil remedy, it was the damage done, and he suggested to the Commitee that they ought not to lay down that legal damage should be without a remedy where it was done before a trade dispute came on, and merely in contemplation of it.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said that the Commission appointed by the late Government to deal with this question of trade disputes distinctly recommended the words contained in this clause. They would be found on page 17 of the Report which was signed by three of the Commissioners, and on page 24 in the Memorandum made by four of the Commissioners. He also wished to point out that these very words passed the Standing Committee last year, and they were inserted upon a division in another clause dealing with peaceful picketing. Upon that occasion eleven members of the Unionist Party voted in favour of these words, and eleven against.

SIR E. CARSON: But that clause was entirely different from this one. This was a recommendation to enact that an agreement or combination should not be the ground of a civil action in contemplation of a trade dispute, unless it was indictable as a conspiracy. His point was in reference to the agreement and conspiracy and the malicious damage done, which was entirely different and ought not to be allowed in contemplation of a trade dispute. As regarded the Report of this Committee, the right hon. Gentleman must be perfectly well aware that the one matter which the Committee reported most strongly against was the Government proposal in regard to Clause 4. It was all very well to pick out parts in the Report of the Commission, and say that they were in favour of so and so, but they must take the Report as a whole; and they could not whittle away one right and then sweep away other rights, and in that way say that they were carrying out the Report of the Commission. They must take the Report of the Commission as a whole, or else their recommendations were of no value whatever.

*MR. HAVELOCK WILSON (Middlesbrough) said he could not very well allow the remarks of the hon. Member for Norwood to pass without challenge from that side of the House. [AN HON. MEMBER: He is not worth it.] Then he was a very poor Member of this House if his remarks were not worth some consideration from the Labour Members. He had described trade unionists as a ragged army. He ventured to say, with all due respect to the hon. Member for Norwood, that when he had gained a little more experience of trade unionism he would probably be like a good many other employers of labour in this House: he would begin to recognise that trade unions were valuable institutions, and that it was a good thing for the workmen to be combined together in order that to settle their differences in a reasonable and intelligent manner. The hon. Member for Norwood had complained of union men compelling non-unionists to join a trade union. If he was correctly informed, the hon. Member himself had recently become an employer of labour by owning ships.

Only a short time ago a vessel in which the hon. Member was interested engaged a crew, and one of the conditions attached to the employment of those men was that they were to join a combination. It was not, however, a workmen's organisation which they were called upon to join, but it was an organisation known as the "Shipping Federation, Ltd." If those men had not become members of that organisation, then they could not have been employed upon the hon. Member's vessel.

*THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order. Unless the hon. Member can show that this particular federation was formed in contemplation of a trade dispute, he is not in order in discussing that point.

*MR. HAVELOCK WILSON: Certainly it is in contemplation of a trade dispute, because it is well known that this particular organisation exists for the purpose of destroying trade unions.

*THE CHAIRMAN: But that is not the question. An organisation to destroy trade unions is not in contemplation of a trade dispute as suggested in this clause.

*MR. HAVELOCK WILSON thought it was, and as the hon. Member for Norwood had made so much out of the tyrannical conduct of trade unions in compelling men against their will to join something that they did not believe in, it was only right that he should be allowed to call attention to the fact that the hon. Member for Norwood himself was not altogether innocent in these matters; therefore he ought to be the last man to cast stones at trade unionists when he himself had been doing a little in that direction.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY (City of London) hoped his hon. friend would press his Amendment. Although not a lawyer, he thought the words "in contemplation" seemed liable to cause very serious injury not only to employers but also to trade unionists. He regretted the introduction of questions as to whether trade unions were good or bad things, or whether federations of employers were good or bad, and he intended to limit his remarks to what seemed to him as a layman as likely to take place under the provisions of this clause. The hon. and learned Attorney-General said, and this was the only argument he advanced against the omission of these words, that it would be difficult to decide when a trade dispute commenced. That might or might not be so, but still as a layman he should have thought that a trade dispute commenced when the men were called out by the union or when the masters locked the men out. [LABOUR Cries of "No, No."] Hon. Members below the Gangway differed from him, but at any rate that was his opinion, and if hon. Members could show him that he was wrong he would be happy to listen to them, and if they convinced him on that point he would not vote for the Amendment which had been moved by his hon. friend. If he was right upon this point he thought the Attorney-General would admit that it would be very simple to find out when a trade dispute commenced. In that case, those words covered such an enormous ground that it would be worth while to leave them out in order to safeguard the interests of all parties. But supposing an act which up to the present time had been illegal was done, if this clause was in force it would be possible for the persons doing that illegal act, whether masters or men, to declare that it was done in contemplation of a trade dispute. What had the Attorney-General adduced to prove that it was not done in contemplation of a trade dispute? The mere word of the master or of the members of the trade union or their officials, that the act was done in contemplation of a trade dispute would, under this clause, take away the effect of their wrongdoing. He would not go into the arguments which his hon. friends had adduced, because he thought that a good many of them were applicable more to the clause as a whole than to this Amendment, and as he had a Motion down on the Paper to omit the clause he would reserve any further remarks for that occasion. He thought, however, that when the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean, said that the Royal Commission recommended this and that it ought to be remembered that this was the House of Commons and not the Royal Commission; and although he looked with great respect upon the findings of Royal Commissions, he agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin that if the verdict of the Royal Commission was to be taken as something which was unanswerable then they must take it as a whole. If the Government would accept the findings of the Royal Commission as a whole he did not suppose there would be much objection. With regard to the statement of the Labour Members in regard to the late Government's action upon this question, he would like to say that many Members of the Opposition voted against this clause, and with regard to those who voted for it he did not know whether they did so in contemplation of an approaching election or whether that had anything to do with the matter.

Mr. PAUL (Northampton) pointed out that an act done in contemplation of a trade dispute must be done either in futherance or hindrance of it or without any reference to it. If the act was done in hindrance or without reference to it it was clear that it did not come within the scope of the Bill.

Mr. HILLS (Durham) considered that this Amendment was entirely unnecessary. At any rate it was incumbent upon those who desired to cut down the clause in this way, to show that the clause as a whole was wrong. He reminded the Committee that other opportunities would arise for discussing the clause as a whole, but as it did not change but tended to clarify the law upon this point he intended to vote against the Amendment.

*Mr. PARKES (Birmingham, Central) said that in his opinion the words "in contemplation or" had not the same meaning in the present Bill as in the Bill which had gone before it. He should like at once to dissociate himself from any remark made by the Member for Norwood with regard to trade unionists, and he hoped that the debate would be conducted without acrimony. The Attorney-General had said something with regard to the words "furtherance" and "contemplation." The word "furtherance" would in his opinion include "contemplation," and the Attorney-General himself seemed to indicate that in his remarks. He felt sure that all working men would desire that the area of dispute should be kept as small as possible. They wanted to limit trade disputes as far as possible, and if the words "in contemplation or" could be left out without injuring the Bill or making it invalid, and without injuring the main object of the Bill, he thought it would be a very good thing. There was no doubt that to the ordinary mind the words "in contemplation or" were not of a character which was well understood. He therefore appealed to the Attorney-General to agree to the omission of the words "in contemplation or" if he could do so consistently with the object of the Bill.

Mr. PIKE PEASE (Darlington) desired to ask if "in contemplation or" might be taken to be included in the word "furtherance."

*Sir JOHN WALTON said his opinion was that both words were required for this reason, that they might have a trade dispute which either had arisen or was on the point of arising. Therefore he thought it was necessary to include words which would cover that which was done "in contemplation" or arranging of a trade dispute and that which was done after the dispute had arisen.

Mr. BOWLES said he did not desire under the circumstances to force this Amendment to a division. In order to save the time of the Committee he asked leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Leave to withdraw refused.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 319; Noes, 48. (Division List No. 279.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P (Stroud)

Ambrose, Robert
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, John Emmott (Somerset
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beale, W. P.
Beauchamp, E.
Beaumont, Hubert (Eastbourne
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, Sir J. Williams (Devonp'rt
Bethell, J. H. (Essex, Romford)
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W. (Bedfordshire
Boland, John
Bolton, T. D. (Derbyshire, N.E.
Boulton, A. C. F. (Ramsey)
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brodie, H. C.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Bryce, J. A. (Inverness Burghs)
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn)
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Chas.
Cairns, Thomas
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Chance, Frederick William
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Clynes, J. R.
Coats, Sir T. Glen (Renfrew, W.)
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Cogan, Denis J.
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, C. H. (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crean, Eugene
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Delany, William
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobson, Thomas W.
Dolan, Charles Joseph
Duckworth, James
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Duncan, J. H. (York, Otley)
Duncan, Robert (Lanark, Govan
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Essex, R. W.
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Flynn, James Christopher
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gardner, Col. Alan (Hereford, S.
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Gladstone, Rt Hn. Herbert John
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Gulland, John W
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Halpin, J.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Harrington, Timothy
Hart-Davies, T.
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Hedges, A. Paget
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Hills, J. W.
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hutton, Alfred Eddison
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Sir D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kelley, George D.
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lamont, Norman
Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, W.)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lupton, Arnold
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs
Maclean, Donald
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S)
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, Sir C. B. (Leicester)
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Micklem, Nathaniel
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Rt. Hon. John
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murnaghan, George
Murhpy, John
Murray, James
Myer, Horatio
Nicholson, Chas. N. (Doncaster
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Grad, J.
O'Hare, Patrick
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paul, Herbert

Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Philipps, Col. Ivor (S'thampton
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Richardson, A.
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C. E. (Manchester)
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seddon, J.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Snowden, P.
Soares, Ernest J.
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thompson, J. W. H. (Somerset E.
Thorne, William
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
Ward, W. Dudley (Southamptn
Wardle, George J.
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Watt, H. Anderson
Weir, James Galloway
Whitbread, Howard
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.
White, Patrick (Meath, North
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.
Wilson, J.H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Woodhouse, Sir J T. (Huddersf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Ashley, W. W.
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry, N.)
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Campbell, Rt. Hn. J. H M.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cave, George
Cavendish, Rt. Hn. Victor C. W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fell, Arthur
Fetherstonhaugh, Godfrey
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Fletcher, J. S.
Forster, Henry William
Haddock, George R.
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hervey, F. W. F. (Bury S. Edm'ds
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hill, Henry Staveley (Staff'sh.
Hunt, Rowland
Law, Andrew Bonar (Dulwich)
Lockwood, Rt. Hn. Lt.-Col. A. R.
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Dublin, S.
Lowe, Sir Francis William
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Meysey-Thompson, E. C.
Morpeth, Viscount
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield
Parkes, Ebenezer
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Starkey, John R.
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ.
Thornton, Percy M.
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Bowles.

*MR. CLAVELL SALTER (Hants, Basingstoke) said he wished to insert after the word "dispute" the words "between employers and workmen." He thought it possible that on consideration all parts of the Committee, including the leaders of the Independent Labour Party, would be disposed to think the words he proposed to insert were necessary. If this Bill was ever to become part of the law and to be operative there would have to be some thing to define what a trade dispute was. It contained no definition clause in regard to trade disputes, and in the absence of a definition clause he asked the Committee to say that it was necessary to define what a trade dispute really was. This was a Bill that would, rightly or wrongly, license conspiracy; it would license interference with businesses and with a man's right to work when and where he pleased. Having regard to the great importance of the change which this Bill would make in the law and the great number of people who would be affected by it, he considered that it was desirable to define the position if it could be done.

Wherever this Bill applied it would deprive those who came under its operation of many of their rights and that personal freedom and immunity from interference which had hitherto been considered to be of great importance. That would be generally agreed. Everybody had assumed that "trade disputes" in this Bill would be limited as he proposed to limit it by this Amendment, but these changes in the law had nothing to do with trade unions. Trade unions were not mentioned in the first part, which had nothing to do with employers or with the relations between employers and their workmen. The proposed changes were not restricted to those who would be parties to the dispute. They were not so restricted as regards the attackers or the attacked. As soon as they brought themselves within the operation of this Bill by saying they were furthering or contemplating a trade dispute they would stand in a different position from the rest of their fellow subjects as to what they might or might not do.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN said the hon. Member appeared to be discussing the clause. He must confine his observations to the Amendment.

*MR. CLAVELL SALTER said he had said all he intended to say on that point. What was a trade dispute? If he had a difference with his butcher because he said that his bill was not paid and threatened to take proceedings, that was a trade dispute. ["Oh, oh."] Yes, that was a matter which had to be faced. These questions would soon come up if the Bill passed into law. Suppose a dispute arose between members of a trade who formed rings to exclude a member or to cause injury to another branch of trade. Nobody could deny that that would be a trade dispute. It did not affect trade unions and workpeople in any sort of way, but nobody would deny that it was a trade dispute. A dispute between two railway companies was a trade dispute, and under this Bill they would be able to picket each other's stations to any extent and would be allowed to do anything they liked to impair the trade of each other and injure other people. A trade dispute was an evil which in itself might injure and cause suffering to persons who were not parties to the dispute. His object in moving this Amendment was to define what a trade dispute was in the contemplation of this Bill. It must be defined. As the Committee knew, if this clause passed it would find a place in the Conspiracy and Property Protection Act of 1875 and he was appealing to the Committee to make a workmanlike job of it. If it was passed into law as it stood without the change he desired to make, the Judge who had to construe this section would be bound to construe it in a wider sense than as a dispute between employers and workmen. It would be impossible for this clause to be so limited if the words proposed were not inserted. He claimed the support of the hon. and learned Attorney-General when he said that in making any addition to an Act of Parliament they must follow the words of the Act. He did not think any Member of the Committee could allege any particular reason for not making the limitation he suggested, and he asserted that if they did not make this limitation they would do enormous harm to great masses of people in the country who had no interest in these disputes. All he asked was that they should assimilate the law of civil and criminal responsibility. He moved.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 10, after the word 'dispute,' to insert the words 'between employers and workmen.'"—(*Mr. Salter.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*SIR JOHN WALTON thought there was some point in the argument of the hon. and learned Member when he pointed out that there should be some definition of the words "trade disputes," and he would consider that point, and endeavour to find a definition. But this Amendment went a great deal further. The hon. and learned Gentleman had pointed out that these words appeared in the Act of 1875. In that Act they had had a judicial construction placed upon them which if it were extended to this clause would greatly limit the operation of the clause. The words "disputes between employers and workmen" had been held to mean a dispute between an employer and his workmen, and that would limit the operation of this clause to what were called primary strikes which were strikes between one employer and his workmen. The clause would have no operation whatever in what were termed secondary strikes, which were due not to a grievance between an employer and his workmen, but were due to men abstaining from work in sympathy with other workmen who for some cause had struck. The principle raised by the Amendment was a very wide one, because the whole policy of this Bill was founded on the established right of workmen for any reason which they in their judgment thought sufficient to abstain from work. They had a right to abstain from work if they had a grievance; or because they objected to some action on the part of their employer in refusing to support the action of the men. His hon. and learned friend propósed by his Amendment that this clause should be limited in its operation to disputes between an employer and his workmen, and that being so the workmen who abstained from work out of sympathy with their fellows in the employment of others would not come under the operation of the clause. But if a number of men employed by an employer struck work and that employer declined to meet the case of the union, the men of that union employed by other employers had a perfect right to say that they would abstain from working unless the terms of the union were conceded. His hon friend had called attention to the very important passage in the Report of the Royal Commission as to their reason for omitting after the words "trade dispute" the words "between employers and workmen." In that passage the Royal Commission reported that it was impossible to draw a distinction between a primary and secondary strike.

SIR E. CARSON said the point made by the hon. and learned Gentleman hardly bore out his contention, because if he looked again at the report he would see that what the Commission recommended was that the criminal law laid down by the Act of 1875 should be amended. He thought the Commission were right. The one thing this Bill did not propose to do was to amend the criminal law. The Committee were not here dealing with the case of civil liability at all. He agreed with every word the Attorney-General said with reference to sympathetic strikes in relation to the criminal law, and he really did not think the question would arise in reference to a small action. By eliminating the words with regard to civil liabilities they would be able to prosecute a man for something for which they could not bring a civil action against him. That was a very strange result. He should have thought that the real thing they wanted to do by this Act was to amend the criminal law as suggested by the Commission. What the House would have liked to have heard from the Attorney-General was what he meant by a trade dispute, and how far it went. Did it go far beyond the questions between workmen and employers, whether they took it as a primary, secondary or sympathetic strike? If it did, he thought the Attorney-General ought to have told the Committee whether he meant it to go as far as employers, merchants, dealers, or traders wishing, for instance, to make a ring and run up prices. Did the hon. and learned Gentleman mean that in those cases they were to employ any of the men allowed by this Bill for the purpose of carrying that out?

MR. RUFUS ISAACS (Reading): They can do it now.

SIR E. CARSON said they might be able to do it in certain circumstances, but it entirely depended on the methods they employed. But he understood that the Attorney-General did not mean that. At any rate, trade disputes ought to be defined, and he understood the hon. and learned Gentleman had underaken to put in a definition.

*SIR JOHN WALTON said it was pretty clear and perfectly understood that the term "trade dispute," related mainly if not solely to disputes arising from the exercise by trade unions of their functions,

SIR E. CARSON said it might be that they all knew what they meant to convey, but the matter had to be stated in words which would bear out that meaning in law. Might he point out another difficulty, namely, that this Act might be cited as the Trade Disputes Act, 1906, and the Trade Union Acts, 1871 and 1876, and together as the Trade Union Acts, 1871 to 1906. What would be the effect of that? Would they read "trade dispute" as something different in each of those Acts, or would they read it as having one meaning as regarded them all. If so, what was to be that meaning? The matter certainly required looking into and clearing up, and he earnestly hoped the Attorney-General would not leave the words as they stood, in the hope that the Courts would thoroughly understand what the House of Commons intended.

MR. LYTTELTON (St. George's, Hanover-square) said that there ought to be some more exact definition of "trade dispute." He claimed some right to speak on this matter, because some years ago he wrote a pamphlet on the subject of trade disputes, which for a long time slept, until a discussion arose three or four years ago, when he believed he was claimed by the trade unions as an ally and as having written to the best of his ability in order to secure them equality of play with the federation of employers. Therefore, he trusted that from anything he might say now it would not be considered that he had in any way altered his opinion as to perfect equality between the federation of employers and the trade unions. He asked both sides of the Committee to consider whether they were really aware of the very wide scope of this clause. In its present form it would enable the utmost tyranny to be used by a combination of employers against a competitor, or by trade unions against workmen who did not belong to a union. There was a remedy for small employers against combinations. There ought to be remedies when measures were taken by a powerful trade union to coerce the freedom of those outside who did not wish to belong to the union. Did hon. Members below the gangway desire legislation giving them privileges and immunities in cases where there was no question of a strike? He appealed to them to say why they should be absolved from many acts which would otherwise be illegal. He thought the Committee ought to learn from the real authors of the Bill what their intention was in regard to this matter. Did the Leaders of the Labour Party desire when a conflict arose between great rings of employers, that those employers should have the privileges of this Act and the immunities granted by this Act in order to assist them in fighting to crush out competition among themselves?

MR. LAMBTON (Durham, S.E.) thought there ought to be some definition of a trade dispute. It was no use simply replying that they were laying down words that had been inserted in an Act already in existence. Obviously, it was necessary that the Attorney-General should give a definition in the Act itself of the term "trade disputes."

*MR. RUFUS ISAACS (Reading) said in answer to what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dublin University, it appeared to him that the first thing the Committee had to do was to make up its mind what was intended, and then see that the words used would carry out that intention. There had been considerable discussion upon this matter, and some forcible observations had been made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for St. George's, Hanover Square, with regard to the possible operation of this Bill in reference to rings and trusts and organisations of that character. As he understood the Bill, there was no such intention entertained by its framers. No one had contemplated that the trade dispute referred to should be a trade dispute of the character known as trade competition. They knew that the law on this subject had been clear since the Mogul case, and in any event it was not necessary to have any controversy as to what the law was in relation to that question, because it was not intended that this Bill should in any way change the law applicable to this subject. After what had fallen from the learned Attorney-General, it seemed to him quite unnecessary that they should discuss this point at all, because the Attorney-General had said that he would consider some words to prevent the application of this section to that class of competition. Therefore, he thought that it would be better if those who had raised this point would agree to leave the consideration of the question for the present and deal with it when the limiting words which had been promised were brought up on the Report stage, if the words now in the clause were not considered sufficiently strong. The real question was, did they intend that the Bill should be so drafted and so worked as to protect those who had come out in a secondary or sympathetic strike. That was the real question. The limiting words introduced under the Amendment would have the effect, particularly when read in conjunction with such observations as had been made in the case of "Quinn *v.* Leathem," of limiting the operation of this clause to a dispute between an employer and his workmen. If there was no dispute between an employer and his workmen and the men had gone out on strike in sympathy with the workmen of other employers, in order to ameliorate the condition of those engaged in a particular trade, that would constitute a sympathetic strike, and if they did not apply this clause to sympathetic strikes, they would be taking away one of the main advantages of the Bill. They ought to devote their attention to ascertaining whether these words amounted to preventing the operation of this clause to secondary strikes. His right hon. friend the Member for the University of Dublin had told them that, under the Act of 1875, from what had been stated in the case of "Quinn *v.* Leathem," the words "employer and workmen," would be understood and defined by Judges as meaning an employer and his workmen, and therefore it was understood that if there was a prosecution under the Act of 1875 against those who had come out under a sympathetic or secondary strike, they would not be protected from a criminal prosecution by virtue of the Act of 1875. The Bill made this difference, that it omitted the words "employer and workmen" because of the dangerous meaning which had been given to those words.

SIR E. CARSON said it was quite true that they left out those words, but the section they were discussing did not mean the criminal law, but merely the civil law.

*MR. RUFUS ISAACS said he agreed entirely, but the right hon. Gentleman's observations were strong arguments in favour of having the clause as they had now got it. If the criminal law was to be interpreted as limiting the immunity to men who struck because of a dispute between them and their employer, it was high time that it was amended. He thought they were in complete agreement that this law ought not to operate so as to make those who took part in a sympathetic strike liable to a criminal prosecution. They were seeking to assimilate the civil law to the criminal law, and if his right hon. friend said he did not desire that there should be the limitation in the criminal law upon those words which the Law Lords had indicated might be placed upon them, it must follow if they were seeking to bring the civil law into harmony with the criminal law of conspiracy they must equally apply the same reasoning to the civil law. He did not expect that his right hon. and learned friend would agree with that, because he had already stated that he was opposed to extending the immunity from prosecution under the criminal law to immunity from any action under the civil law. He quite understood that that was so, but it was on this point that they were in absolute disagreement, and his view was that they should place the civil law upon the same footing as the criminal law in regard to conspiracy. That was to say, that the immunity in reference to conspiracy should be the same under the criminal as under the civil law. If they were right in that view, it must follow from what had been said that they were consistent, and justified in the contention that they must leave out the words which were sought to be introduced and which would have a limiting effect. Speaking with some little experience and knowledge of the difficulties which arose, he thought it was very necessary that they should leave out those words; if they inserted the Amendment the effect would be that they would cut away a very considerable portion of the protection intended to be given to the trade unions by virtue of the Bill. He hoped, therefore, that the Committee would not consider this Amendment favourably, but would reject it by a large majority.

Mr. BONAR LAW (Camberwell, Dulwich) said the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite when he rose made a statement with which he entirely agreed, to the effect that their first duty was to find out what they wanted, and then try to carry it out. He thought the hon. Member was going to give them some light upon the questions put by his right hon. friend the Member for St. George's, Hanover Square. He did, at any rate, deal with one of them, and stated that in his judgment this Bill ought not to cover trade combinations, and he quite agreed with that. The definition of the Attorney-General, if he gave one, he was sure would cover such cases as that. His right hon. friend put another case equally pertinent to which no answer had been given. He asked the Attorney-General now to give an answer to that question. Did he mean the term "trade dispute" to include such a case as that which had been cited? Would it include a case where, although no strike was going on at all, a trade union nevertheless desired to make all the employees in a particular works members of the union, and drive out all non-union men? Did the Attorney-General mean this Bill to give immunity against individual action in such cases as that? The answer to that question would decide his vote. If the hon. and learned Gentleman said that he was going to define "trade dispute" in such a way that trade disputes under this Bill would not give to those who were engaged in them special privileges to tyrannise over other workers, then he would not vote for the Amendment.

*Sir JOHN WALTON: I am surprised at this Question being asked; it is so elementary.

Mr. BONAR LAW said the hon. and learned Gentleman had not understood his point at all. He admitted that workers had a right to strike, but what he asked was this: Did he mean that they were to have immunity under this to perform acts which would be illegal Bill on the part of anybody else in order to drive out non-union men?

*Sir JOHN WALTON said trade unionists had a right to say that they would not work with non-union men, and if they said so not in units, but collectively, they rendered themselves liable to no action. The test in every case was whether the act which was done collectively would, if it were done by a single person, be a tortious act. If a single man had a right to say that he would not work with non-union men, twenty, fifty, or 100 men had collectively the right to say the same thing.

Mr. CLEMENT EDWARDS (Denbigh District) said there was another important matter which would happen if the Amendment were carried. Some of the most serious disputes in this country had been disputes between one branch of labour and another branch of labour over what were called demarcations of work. If this Amendment were carried limiting trade disputes merely to those between employers and their workmen, trade union workmen would be placed under disadvantages in a strike of that sort as compared with those who were striking in connection with some difference with the employers. It had been said by the right hon. and learned Member for St. George's, Hanover Square, that this clause placed union men in a privileged position because it gave them an immunity from the law which was not enjoyed by any other class. That statement was not correct, and he challenged the right hon. and learned Member to point to a single case, apart from those to which recent decisions in connection with trade disputes related, where other members of the community had been found guilty in a civil action of conspiracy in respect of an act which was not conspiracy if done by single individuals. This clause sought not to place union men in a privileged position, not to give them immunity as against other classes of the community, but to place them in precisely the position occupied by other classes of the community as determined in such cases as the Mogul shipping case. He thought it would be a pity if it went forth that they were supporting a clause giving immunity when they were simply seeking to remove an anomaly in relation to trade unions.

***MR. CLAVELL SALTER** said he wanted to say one word more. It was said that the workmen were not protected from civil action in the case of a sympathetic strike. He understood that a sympathetic striker was a man who went out from his work, not because he had any difference with his employer, but because he desired to assist another. That was not a dispute between the employer and his workman, but the act was done "in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute between employers and workmen." If this clause was amended as he proposed the benefit of it would go to all those who acted in furtherance of a trade dispute between employers and workmen. It appeared to him that the sympathetic striker would be acting in furtherance of such a dispute.

MR. HILLS asked whether the Attorney-General would promise to introduce a definition of "trade dispute." It was a matter of extreme importance, and it should be clearly defined what a trade dispute was. He did think that they ought to know.

***SIR JOHN WALTON:** I feel the importance of the point raised, and I will consider favourably the introduction of some words to meet the difficulty. I will also consider the introduction of some words which will amend Section 3 of the Act of 1875, which would create a variation between the civil and the criminal law in regard to conspiracy. But I cannot pledge myself absolutey.

***SIR E. CARSON:** Am I to assume that any definition which the Attorney-General makes will not exclude from the Bill the case of unionists wishing to coerce non-unionists? If this Bill is to give liberty to coerce non-unionists, I hope my hon. friend will divide on the Amendment.

***SIR JOHN WALTON:** I may undertake to define "trade dispute," but not general principles.

Question put.

The Committee divided: Ayes 42; Noes 326. (Division List No. 280.)

AYES.

Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry, N.)
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Bowles, G. Stewart
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Campbell, Rt. Hon. J. H. M.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, Rt. Hn. Victor C. W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fell, Arthur
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Haddock, George R.
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashf'rd
Hervey, F. W. F. (Bury S. Edm'ds
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hunt, Rowland
Law, Andrew Bonar (Dulwich)
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Dublin S.
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Morpeth, Viscount
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield)
Nield, Herbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlingt'n
Rawlinson, John Frederick P
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton
Starkey, John R.
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ.
Thomson, W. Mitchell- (Lanark
Thornton, Percy M.
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Viscount Valentia and Mr. Forster.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, John Emmott (S'merset

Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beauchamp, E.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Belloc, Hilaire Joseph Peter R.
Benn, Sir J. Williams (Devonp'rt
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bethell, J. H. (Essex, Romford
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W. (Bedfordshire
Boland, John
Bolton, T. D. (Derbyshire, N.E.
Boulton, A. C. F. (Ramsey)
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brodie, H. C.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Bryce, J. A. (Inverness Burghs)
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Clynes, J. R.
Coats, Sir T. Glen (Renfrew, W.)
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Cogan, Denis J.
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, C. H. (Sussex E. Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crean, Eugene
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Delany, William
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobson, Thomas W.
Dolan, Charles Joseph
Duckworth, James
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness)
Duncan, J. H. (York, Otley)
Duncan, Robert (Lanark, Gov'n
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Essex, R. W.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Findlay, Alexander
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gardner, Col. Alan (Hereford, S.
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hn. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Halpin, J.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Right Hon. Lewis
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harrington, Timothy
Hart-Davies, T.
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Hedges, A. Paget
Henderson, Arthur (Durham,
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hills, J. W.
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hutton, Alfred Eddison
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Sir D. Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D.
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lambton, Hn. Fredk. William
Lamont, Norman
Layland Barratt, Francis
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lupton, Arnold
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs)
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Laren, Sir C. B. (Leicester)
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan, Patrick A.
Micklem, Nathaniel
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murnaghan, George
Murray, James
Myer, Horatio
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Grady, J.
O'Hare, Patrick
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor

Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Philipps, Col. Ivor (Southamton
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Pollard, Dr.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh Central
Radford, G. H.
Raphael, Herbert H.
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Richardson, A.
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradfrd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C. E. (Manchester)
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seddon, J.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick, B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Snowden, P.
Soares, Ernest J.
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson, J. W. H. (Somerset E.
Thorne, William
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent
Ward, W. Dudley (Southamp'tn
Wardle, George J.
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, H. Anderson
Weir, James Galloway
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

LORD R. CECIL (Marylebone, E.) said he desired to move an Amendment with a view to securing that the clause should not be used to protect those who under the guise of a trade dispute would be really trying to secure some other indirect object. He thought he would at any rate have the support of the hon. Member for the Denbigh District in making this proposition. Indeed he had some hope that he would act as teller with him in the Lobby, because the hon. Member had said more than once that what he desired in this Bill was that trade unionists should not be placed in an advantageous position as compared with other workmen, but in the same position as everybody else in regard to the law of conspiracy. The hon. Member for the Denbigh District upon a former occasion said that what trade unions were asking for was that the law as laid down in the Mogul case should be the law applied to trade unionists in trade disputes. Now the words of the Amendment which he had to propose were taken from the judgment given in the Mogul case. His Amendment would made the clause read—

> "An act done in pursuance of an agreement or combination by two or more persons shall, if done in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute for the purpose of lawful gain or the enjoyment of lawful rights, not be actionable unless the act, if done without any such agreement or combination, would be actionable as a tort."

It had already been pointed out that they had no clear definition of a trade dispute and the words used in the Conspiracy Act of 1875 extended far beyond any disputes between trade unions and employers, because there was nothing about trade unions in the Conspiracy Act of 1875. This Bill was an Amendment of the Conspiracy Act of 1875. Therefore, a trade dispute when it came to be discussed in the Law Courts would have to be defined by the Judges and they would have to say what they conceived the words to mean in their ordinary acceptation. He could see nothing in this Bill to limit them to any commercial dispute having for its main purpose and object some trade advantage or some trade object. He thought these words would quite clearly apply to such disputes, and he thought everybody intended that the clause should apply to the action of employers and employees with reference to their work. Any combination of employers would be protected under this clause in their action against workmen, and he suggested that unless words such as he was suggesting were put in they would be able to use this clause so as to secure objects very different from trade objects. It was clear that there might be amongst employers an agreement to act in such a way as to hinder work, not to promote their own lawful right, but with the object of injuring some particular business. As far as he could read the clause such action would unquestionably be assisted by this Bill, because it would be quite easy for the employers to represent such a matter as a trade dispute, and it would really be a dispute between employers and workmen which might involve the dismissal of workmen by a group of employers and would come under the words—

"in furtherance of a trade dispute . . . not be actionable unless the act, if done without any such agreement or combination, would be actionable as a tort."

Let the Committee consider another instance. Let them assume that a large combination was formed for the promotion of some kind of protection. Let them assume also a very large federation of employers formed with the object of securing the passage of some particular modification of a tariff in their favour. He did not think that was an unknown thing. If they passed this clause as it stood they would at once legalise a gigantic combination of employers to dismiss the whole of their workmen unless they voted for a particular proposal in which the employers happened to be interested. He had expressed in this House and elsewhere his views upon protection principally on account of the evil which might be involved by great combinations of employers endeavouring to promote their own trade interests in this way. He wished to point out to the Committee that if they passed this clause as it stood they would be putting into the hands of large employers a very strong weapon. He therefore hoped that some limitation of the words would be accepted. If the words he had suggested were unsatisfactory let the Government suggest other words. At any rate he thought some limitation should be put upon this power of combination.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 10, after the word 'dispute,' to insert 'for the purpose of lawful gain or the enjoyment of lawful right.'"—(*Lord Robert Cecil.*)

*Sir JOHN WALTON said the Amendment would destroy the whole efficacy of the clause. It was proposed to leave the law in the extremely unsatisfactory condition in which it stood at present. The noble Lord suggested that the test of the legitimacy or illegitimacy of combination was the question whether its object was "for the purpose of lawful gain or the enjoyment of lawful rights." It afforded no criterion as to whether the gain or the right to be asserted were lawful. It was because there was no such test that the present condition of the law was unsatisfactory, and this clause was framed to afford a test. He might allude to some of the difficulties in connection with the law as they found it, and which were due entirely to the fact that the tribunal must at some stage or other express an opinion with regard to the objects of combination, and declare it legal or illegal having regard to those objects. The hon. Member had given them a case of combination of employers to restrict their employment to persons who were not trade unionists. He strongly disapproved of that, and said it was unreasonable, but he had met some people who thought it most right. Who was to decide whether it was right or wrong? If the law remained as it was now or with these words in the clause, there was absolutely no test in Heaven and earth, except the opinion of the particular person who was asked to determine whether the object of the combination was lawful or unlawful. Take the judgment of Lord Brampton. He seemed to throw the objects of trades unions into two categories. The noble Lord said that with regard to some "it is quite clear that they are lawful." For instance, if the object of a trade union or a strike was to improve the conditions of labour, to raise the rate of wages, or improve the lot of the employed, then it was clearly lawful; but, if the object was to restrict the employers from giving the union men employment then it was clearly unlawful. Supposing they got a combination to confine trade union machinery to skilled workmen, would that be lawful or unlawful? Who was to say? There was also the case of restricting the output. Was that to be a lawful or an unlawful object? There was, moreover, the case as to the number of machines a particular man had to look after: trade unions contend one thing and employers another. If trades unions caused a strike to effect their views, was that lawful or unlawful? Unless the legality of the act of the individual was taken to be the test of the legality of the acts of the combination, there was no satisfactory test which it was possible to apply. They knew by that at once whether the Act was right or wrong. If it was right, it might be done in combination; if it was wrong, it might not be so done. If the Committee said that these bodies might pursue objects lawful and assert rights lawful, they left the whole question in the dark.

*SIR FRANCIS POWELL (Wigan), as representing a manufacturing and mining district, said he devoted some time last session to service on the Law Committee which considered the Bill of that year. He was extremely anxious, more anxious than he could describe, that wise legislation on this subject should be amongst the achievements of the present session. He regarded with nothing less than grief the misfortune which befell the Bill in 1905, but that misfortune would be a calamity in 1906 if no legislation took place. He hoped that neither side would seek a forensic victory. This legislation affected the hourly and daily life of millions of our countrymen, and he listened with some impatience to the ingenuity of his learned friends when such real and vast interests were at stake. He also felt regret for the language used by some speakers on the Opposition side of the House toward trade unionists. They were described by the hon. Member sitting near him as a ragged army. They had before them day by day and night after night representatives of that Party on the benches below the Gangway, and he hoped they would not think it an undue liberty on his part if he ventured to say that there was no class of Members in this House which was held in greater respect and no Members who were listened to with more attention. One reason in favour of the Amendment was that it would limit the range of trade disputes. But what had been the action of the trade unionists? It was common knowledge there had been some great and deplorable strikes entailing much suffering, but to every one strike caused by trade unions a hundred which would have caused much injustice and suffering to the working classes had been averted by them in an honourable manner and with a dignified spirit. He believed that the passage of a measure something on the lines suggested by the Bill would remove many difficulties.

*THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Baronet is getting a little wide of the subject. Will he kindly confine himself to the Amendment?

*SIR FRANCIS POWELL did not desire to trespass beyond the proper limits of the debate, but he confessed he was so much moved by what hon. Members on the Opposition benches had said that he could not help expressing some portion at least of his sentiments upon the question.

MR. CLEMENT EDWARDS said his objection to the Amendment of the noble Lord was that it was vague. All they asked was that trade unions should be placed upon the same footing as other people.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY said the words suggested by the noble Lord seemed to his lay mind to be very reasonable. They would have great effect and great weight. They were "for the purpose of lawful gain or the enjoyment of lawful rights." It seemed to him the only object in having lawyers, judges, and law courts was to interpret what was lawful. No one in this House or outside it wanted to do anything that was unlawful. Hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway had not, he thought, read the Bill, because the avowed object of this proposal was to render acts done by a certain number of people legal which up to the present time had been illegal. They ought to be careful that while a combination under this clause would be authorised to do what they had not been authorised to do before it would be—

"For the purpose of lawful gain or the enjoyment of lawful rights."

He asked the Attorney-General if he could assure him that the Courts of law did not know what a lawful thing was, and, if he could do that, he was not sure that he should vote for the Amendment. He could not help thinking, as a layman, that it was perfectly evident the Courts of law must know what a lawful thing was, and, if he was right in thinking that, he should support the noble Lord if he went to a division. Allusion had been made to words used by hon. Members above the gangway towards trade unionists, but there was only one hon. Member who had said anything which might be taken as offensive. He was sure all the hon. Members above the gangway, including himself, had no wish to say anything offensive to trade unionists; they wished to conduct the debate in an amicable way. They had, however, the right to their feelings and the right to express them, but he hoped they would do so in a proper manner. He believed his hon. friend who made use of the expression only did so on the spur of the moment.

LORD R. CECIL said, in asking leave to withdraw his Amendment, he would only say that no answer whatever had been made to the substance of the argument he had ventured to address to the Committee. [Cries of "Oh, oh!"] Then hon. Members opposite did not attach the same meaning to the English language as he did. It had been said with a great deal of force that these words were vague, and that they were unsatisfactory because they were vague. The hon. Member for Denbigh said that tersely and the Attorney-General said it at greater length. He admitted it was hard to draw the line between the kind of combination it was desired to admit and the kind of combination which would be a great danger to the State. But in the form of the clause they were legalising all combination which could not possibly be said to have a trade object. He was sure, in the form in which the clause was drafted, it would be made use of in a serious way injurious to the State, and that hon. Gentlemen below the gangway and opposite would not be the last to complain of it. He asked leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY proposed to insert the words, "as to wages or other conditions of labour" after the word "dispute." That could not be characterised as vague, and therefore would not be open to the objections raised by the Attorney-General to the last Amendment. His object was, as far as possible, to define to what extent an authorised combination of workmen or other persons could be pursued. He thought it was very necessary that some definition should be put in. The hon. and learned Gentleman had recently said that this Bill was confined to trade unions, and was intended to deal with them, but according to the title it was a Bill to provide for the regulation of trade unions and trade disputes, and in Clause 5 it said, "this Act may be cited as the Trade Disputes Act, 1906, and the Trade Union Acts, 1871 to 1876, and these Acts may be cited together as the Trade Union Acts, 1871 and 1906. Therefore it was very evident that a definition such as this should be inserted unless it was intended that it should apply to every dispute in any trade of any sort or kind. One of the chief objects of the Amendment was to prevent non-unionists being deprived of work. He did not think anyone would say that a man was not entitled to work because he was not a member of a trade union. Trade unionists themselves said that unless the employer dismissed any non-union men he might have in his employ and replaced them with union men, other persons with whom he dealt would have men withdrawn from their work. That was a very serious thing. He believed if, when this Bill was passed, such a thing as that were done it would arouse such feeling in the country that the result would be very different from what hon. Gentlemen below the gangway anticipated. He thought they would have Pinkerton men, a type well-known in the United States, brought over here. [A LABOUR MEMBER: They would soon go back.] The hon. Gentleman evidently thought the power behind trade unions so strong—and he presumed he meant that they would not be very particular as to the means they used—that these people would go back, but he could not be so sure. It must be remembered that employers and employed both came from the same stock. They were both Englishmen as a rule, and they had the same feelings. He hoped his Amendment would be accepted if only for that reason. He pointed out that there might be, through no fault of the hon. and learned Gentleman, no Report stage. The first thing to do to make sure of a Report stage was to accept an Amendment. He asked the right hon. Gentleman to accept his, and if he did not like it when the Report stage was reached, he could move to omit it.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 10, after the word 'dispute,' to insert the words 'as to wages or other conditions of labour.'"—(*Sir Frederick Banbury.*)

*SIR JOHN WALTON said the hon. Baronet had made such a winning appeal to him that if he could have done so he should have quite cordially accepted his Amendment, but the objections to it were twofold. In the first place, it restricted the operation of this clause within very narrow limits, because it only legalised combinations which had for their object the improvement of the conditions of labour or the raising of wages, and shut out altogether other combinations which trade unionists might consider essential to their interests or the advancement or extension of their organisations which did not involve any breach of the law. The second objection was that it infringed the whole principle of the clause, because the object of the clause was to make it free to trade unionists to decide upon the policy which they should pursue. They were the best judges of that. The object of the clause was to give perfect freedom, with the one restriction that the conduct they decided upon must be lawful conduct if it were the conduct of an individual.

MR. STUART WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam) said the remarkable thing about the Amendment was that it would not carry out the object which the hon. Baronet had in view. It would not exclude conduct which had for its object the shutting out of non-union men. It was none the less interesting and necessary to point out that, although it had been most forcibly brought to the attention of the Government, the clause as it stood went far beyond their avowed object, viz., the legalising of the application of the process of combination to all legitimate objects pursued by the employed. It could be shown to legalise combinations of a totally different kind and which, whilst it might not be possible to call them unlawful, were yet most undesirable. Although this was the second opportunity offered to the Attorney-General, he had not shown the slightest desire to exclude these other political and trade combinations from the very odious privilege of this clause, which would probably be forced upon the House by the Government majority and would legalise combinations which nobody by the widest possible stretch of imagination could describe as desirable.

*SIR JOHN WALTON said he really did not understand the speech of the hon. Gentleman. He had said he would consider the desirability of giving such a definition of "trade disputes" as to shut out disputes between traders and disputes not connected with the relations between employers and their workmen.

LORD R. CECIL said the last phrase of the right hon. Gentleman showed that they had not yet been able to make quite clear the point he had pressed upon him. The very disputes he referred to were disputes between employers and workmen, and they showed that they had a very real danger, which existed in a number of countries all over Europe and in America, to fear.

*SIR JOHN WALTON: That is quite a different thing.

LORD R. CECIL said it was not. They must have some limitation of "trade disputes" which would exclude those kinds of combinations and their actions which they had already alluded to and which formed a serious danger. Although the Attorney-General might not like their words, it would have been more satisfactory if he had shown an appreciation of the arguments they had submitted and had made some attempt to deal with them.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 30; Noes, 289. (Division List No. 281.)

AYES.

Balcarres, Lord
Baring, Hon. Guy (Winchester)
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry, N.)
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Bowles, G. Stewart
Carson, Rt Hn. Sir Edw. H.
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fell, Arthur
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.

Forster, Henry William
Hervey, F. W. F. (Bury S. Edm'ds
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hunt, Rowland
Law, Andrew Bonar (Dulwich
Lyttelton, Rt. Hn. Alfred
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Morpeth, Viscount
Nield, Herbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Rawlinson, John Frederick P.

Salter, Arthur Clavell
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Talbot, Rt. Hn J. G. (Oxf'd Univ
Valentia, Viscount
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. G. Stuart-

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Frederick Banbury and Lord Robert Cecil.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, John Emmott (Somerset
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beaumont, Hubert (Eastbourne
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, Sir J. Williams (Devonp'rt
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bethell, J. H. (Essex, Romford)
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W. (Bedfordshire)
Boland, John
Bolton, T. D. (Derbyshire, N.E.
Boulton, A. C. F. (Ramsey)
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Brodie, H. C.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Bryce, J. A. (Inverness Burghs)
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Chas.
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clancy, John Joseph
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.

Clynes, J. R.
Coats, Sir T. Glen (Renfrew, W.)
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Cogan, Denis J.
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W.
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C. H. (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crean, Eugene
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Delany, William
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobson, Thomas W.
Dolan, Charles Joseph
Duckworth, James
Duffy, William J.
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Duncan, J. H. (York, Otley)
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Essex, R. W.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Findlay, Alexander
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.

Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Gulland, John W.
Hall, Frederick
Halpin, J.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harrington, Timothy
Hart-Davies, T.
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Hedges, A. Paget
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hills, J. W.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hutton, Alfred Eddison
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Sir D. Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D.
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
Laidlaw, Robert

Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lever, A. Levy (Essex,Harwich
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hn. David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lupton, Arnold
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J.M. (Falkirk B'ghs
Maclean, Donald
MacVeigh,Charles(Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kean, John
M'Laren, Sir C. B. (Leicester)
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Maddison, Frederick
Mallett, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marks,G.Croydon(Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan, Patrick A.
Micklem, Nathaniel
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Mooney, J. J.
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Murray, James
Myer, Horatio
Nicholson,CharlesN. (Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary Mid)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Grady, J.
O'Hare, Patrick
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pollard, Dr.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh,Central)
Radford, G. H.
Raphael, Herbert H.
Reddy, M.
Redmond, William (Clare)
Richards,T.F.(Wolverhampt'n
Richardson, A.
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridsdale, E. A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson, SirG.Scott(Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C.E.(Manchester)
Scott,A.H.(Ashton-under-Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seddon, J.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Simon, John Allsebrook
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim,S.)
Snowden, P.
Soares, Ernest J.
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley,Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thomasson, Franklin
Thorne, William
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
Ward,W.Dudley(Southampt'n
Wardle, George J.
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T
Wason, JohnCathcart(Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, H. Anderson
Weir, James Galloway
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick(Meath,North)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Wills, Arthur Walters
Wilson, HenryJ.(York,W.R.)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Woodhouse,SirJ.T.(Huddersf'd

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY moved to insert in line 10, after the word "actionable" the words "unless damage had been caused or." The object of his Amendment was to endeavour to safeguard the trade of the country, because if this clause would permit damage to be caused to the trade of the country it would be a very serious thing at the present time. We were in very keen competition with foreign countries, and he did think it would be a very serious thing if, because some provision of this sort was not put in, the trade of the country was to be injured. There were several reasons in the Report of the Royal Commission why something to this effect should be introduced. He admitted Lord Lindley signed the minority Report, but he remembered on very many occasions being in a minority in the House, and he was not at all sure that a Report, because it was a minority Report, was not to be received, sometimes, with great consideration——

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Member must please speak to his Amendment.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY said he wished to put in words to limit what might be done to actions which should not cause damage. The Attorney-General's argument was that this clause was not likely to cause any damage, because it only emphasised the law as it regarded one man, and that therefore damage could not ensue; but he was endeavouring to point out that unless "damage" was inserted a great deal of harm would result.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member must really limit himself to his Amendment.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY said he was endeavouring to prove that it would be possible unless these words were inserted to have damage caused which would be a very serious thing to the country, because a large combination of men could cause damage which could not be done by one person. It was very evident that a body of men might do a great deal perhaps in the heat of the moment which they would not do in their calmer moments. They might do all sorts of violence and prevent people carrying on their business, and so cause them a great amount of damage. It was evident if a large number of people collected outside a man's dwelling, they could cause him considerable damage, whereas, if there was only one man, he would cause no damage. Under these circumstances, he hoped the Committee would accept the Amendment. He could not see that it was in any way likely to injure the desires of trade unions, because it did not prevent them taking any action unless by so doing they caused damage. He did not suppose it was their desire to cause damage to anyone in this country.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 10, after the word 'actionable,' to insert the words 'unless damage has been caused or.'"—(*Sir Frederick Banbury.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR JOHN WALTON thought the hon. Baronet was under a little misapprehension with regard to the clause. There must be damage to constitute a cause of action. They must show some damage in order to prosecute.

SIR E. CARSON said he should like to emphasise what the clause was doing. They were going to lay down by the legal declaration of the House that damage might be lawfully caused by combination, and there was to be no remedy. That was what the House meant to lay down, and he thought it was well that the Committee and country should understand it. They were going to give immunity, although a conspiracy had been entered into, and although damage in pursuance of that had arisen.

MR. BOWLES said he rose for two purposes: first of all to support, as far as he was able, the Amendment, and, secondly, for the more important purpose of making one personal explanation. During the speech which he had made earlier in the evening with regard to this Bill he had been betrayed into using an expression which was, now that he had come to look at it, obviously improper. He believed it was referred to during his absence, and he desired to say he did not in the least intend to make the reflection which that expression would suggest. He thought the reflection was totally unwarranted, totally unnecessary and untrue, and, in so far as the expression conveyed those impressions, he desired unreservedly to withdraw it. With regard to the Amendment before the Committee, he recognised that it was impossible to expect the learned Attorney-General to accept it. The Amendment went to the root of the clause, and, if it were accepted, would make the clause meaningless. He could not bring himself to agree to a proposal which undoubtedly would lead to real damage without there being any remedy, and upon that broad and general ground if his hon. friend went to a division he should support him.

MR. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe) said on behalf of himself and his friends that they accepted the withdrawal the hon. Member had made of his previous statement.

Question put, and negatived.

*MR. ATHERLEY-JONES (Durham, N.W.) moved "to leave out the words 'actionable as a tort,' in line 12, and to insert in their place the words 'a criminal offence'."

He thought his hon. friends opposite and on that side of the House would agree with him that there had been no action more fruitful of disaster to trade unions than those actions which had been founded upon molestation, coercion, or intimidation. His hon. friends opposite would also agree with him that the words "molestation, coercion, and intimidation" were words of a singularly ambiguous character. He need only say that his experience of trade union cases satisfied him that in the vast majority of them adverse verdicts had been founded and successfully maintained on the basis of the legal meaning of the words "intimidation and coercion," and he might add to that observation that trade unions and trade unionists suffered no greater hardship under the existing law than the hardship suffered under the law relating to intimidation and coercion. The result of his amendment would be to relieve trade unions entirely from the legal consequences of intimidation of the character already indicated and which had hitherto been successfully enforced against them. He proposed to limit the responsibility of members of trade unions in respect of intimidation to intimidation when that intimidation was only of a criminal character. Hon. Members would understand that the words "only of a criminal character" meant when there was a threat of personal violence—violence to person or property. Trade unions were contented to be liable for any intimidation which partook of a criminal character and that was the object of his Amendment. The clause, as it at present stood, was absolutely useless. He said that with a full sense of his responsibility as a lawyer. It afforded no protection whatever to trade unions. The clause as it stood was that the conspiracy to do an act should not be actionable unless that act was actionable when committed without conspiracy. That was the proposal put into plain English. Molestation, intimidation, and coercion of the kind he had indicated was an actionable wrong, whether it was the result of a conspiracy or the act of one man without conspiracy or conbination with others, and he ventured with great respect to point out to those responsible for the Bill that a civil action for conspiracy would only lie in respect to unlawful acts; that was to say, unlawful means to follow out a lawful object or lawful means to follow out an unlawful object. He wished to point out to hon. Members opposite that if they amended the clause in the direction he suggested, they got rid of the most dangerous weapon used against trade unions. It was perfectly true that the value of the clause would be much impaired, because, of course, if the new Clause 4 were passed employers of labour were hardly likely to bring an action against trade unionists, either officials or members, because they were not likely to get damages. For his part he said although the value of the clause would be much impaired by the new clause, which rendered trade unions immune, still at the same time there were the officials and members of unions liable to be shot at. He proposed that if it was a criminal act it ought to be actionable. The Attorney-General might say, "But why draw this distinction between crime and tort?" His reason for that was this. They were wise to provide exceptional legislation for trade unions, because having regard to the nature of the operations they had to conduct, they and their members were exceptionally exposed to the danger of transgressing a law so ambiguous and elastic as that which related to conspiracy, associated with "intimidation" "coercion," and "molestation." He urged upon hon. Members the vital importance of insisting upon relieving the trade unions from what he could not help describing as the most disastrous effect of the present law with regard to actions of this character. Trade unions had suffered more from that law than anything else. It was a judge-made law. It was a law which had grown up in the old days when penal measures were ruthlessly enforced.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 12, to leave out the words 'actionable as a tort,' and to insert the words 'a criminal offence.'"—(*Mr. Atherley-Jones.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'actionable' stand part of the clause."

*SIR JOHN WALTON said he understood that his hon. and learned friend desired that civil action should not lie in regard to what he characterised as coercion, intimidation, or molestation.

Mr. ATHERLEY-JONES: Unless it is criminal.

Sir JOHN WALTON said he understood that was his great object. Were the terms he had used terms of law or of rhetoric? An action at tort which was classified as coercion or intimidation or molestation.

Mr. ATHERLEY-JONES said in the first place the word "intimidation" was enshrined in an Act of Parliament, and in the second place the word "intimidation" had a clear and definite meaning in law.

*Sir JOHN WALTON said he was bound to acknowledge the truth of his hon. and learned friend's remark that these words were enshrined in a Statute. That made them a crime, and therefore so far from relieving the trades unions from this class of action the only result would be that they would have to find what was meant by these words "intimidation," "coercion," and "molestation." and they would discover it in the Act of 1875. If they looked at that Act they would see that defined the acts of coercion, intimidation, and molestation. The marginal note of that classification was in these terms—

> "Penalty for intimidation or annoyance by violence or otherwise."

Therefore they had a class of acts which were catalogued as crimes, and therefore the Amendment of his hon. friend would not accomplish the object he had in view. All the acts enumerated in Clause 7 of the Act of 1875 were crimes, and therefore for any of those acts an action could be brought such as: (1) Uses violence to or intimidates such other person or his wife or children, or injures his property; or (2) Persistently follows such other person about from place to place; or (3) Hides any tools, clothes, or other property owned or used by such other person, or deprives him of or hinders him in the use thereof; or (4) Watches or besets the house or other place where such other person resides, or works, or carries on business or happens to be, or the approach to such house or place; or (5) Follows such other person with two or more other persons in a disorderly manner in or through any street or road. All those acts were crimes, and therefore the Amendment would not prevent an action being brought in respect of them.

*Mr. HILLS said the Amendment would produce the absurd result that an act which was wrong if done by one man would not be wrong if done by a hundred men.

Amendment negatived.

Mr. BOWLES moved an Amendment to insert at end of line 12; "Provided always that nothing in this section shall prevent an action being brought in respect of an act done in pursuance of a malicious intention to injure another person." The object was to leave a remedy for any person who could prove he had been damaged by an act as the result of an agreement among two or more persons in respect of a trade dispute, which was done in pursuance of a really malicious intention to injure. He did not know that there was any better way of laying before the Committee what the intention and the effect of this Amendment would be, as he understood it, than to detail the kind of acts which he had in his mind. Among the many cases there was the case, he believed a well known one, of Carr against the Amalgamated Society of Painters. In that case what happened was extremely simple. A certain painter he believed, in Manchester, employed a foreman, and that foreman for one reason or another persistently refused to join the local trade union. The executive committee of the union by a resolution gave authority to call out the men who were working with that foreman in the employ of the painter in order that they should not work with a non-union man. In pursuance of this agreement, conspiracy, or whatever they chose to call it, the men were thereupon called out, and did in fact leave their work. The painter, left with his foreman, tried thereafter to get contracts of various kinds for painting, and the contractors to whom this painter applied were approached by officers of the trade union in question, and informed that if they gave any contract to Mr. Carr their men would all be called out as a protest, and the effect of that was that the painter lost not only one particular contract but many contracts, and he sustained obviously great loss. It was found by the Jury in that case that the officials of the trade union did maliciously and in order to injure the plaintiff, conspire to obstruct, and did, in fact, obstruct, the plaintiff in carrying on his trade as a painter. That was a case of a real malicious intention—he used the word in the legal sense—to injure this particular person. The only object of this Amendment was to elicit a statement from the Government so that they might know exactly what their intentions were as regarded the effect of this clause upon acts of that kind. Of course, if the Government said they meant such acts should be really left without remedy, and if in contemplation or in furtherance of a trade dispute any number of persons might combine to do malicious damage without any remedy, then he supposed the matter must be left there, but he could not believe that the Attorney-General desired that. He did not believe that hon. Gentlemen below the gangway regarded that as a necessary part of the activities of real trade unionism, and he thought if there were any objection to his amendment it was an objection that this was an attempt to define things that were to be done and things that were not to be done, and that as this was unusual legislation for a particular set of circumstances, while resulting in good upon the one hand, it might result in hardship on the other. The question was a short one; it was whether the Government desired, whether hon. Gentlemen below the gangway desired that malicious acts done in pursuance of a malicious intention to injure a person should be left entirely without remedy, and it was with a view to getting an answer to that question that he begged leave to move the Amendment standing in his name.

Amendment proposed.

"In page 1, line 12, at end, to insert the words 'provided always that nothing in this section shall prevent an action being brought in respect of an act done in pursuance of a malicious intention to injure another person.'" (*Mr. Bowles.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR JOHN WALTON hoped the hon. Member would not proceed with this Amendment. It was quite impossible to impose the test which the hon. Member proposed.

Question put, and negatived.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Clause 1 stand part of the Bill.

LORD R. CECIL said that, owing to an unfortunate accident, he was not in the House to move the Amendment standing in his name to leave out the words "as a tort." He could not move it now, but he could object to the passing of the clause in order to ask the Attorney-General what was the meaning of the words at the end. The clause ran in this way—

"An act done in pursuance of an agreement or combination by two or more persons shall, if done in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, not be actionable unless the act, if done without any such agreement or combination, would be actionable as a tort."

He asked the Committee to conceive quite a common case—an agreement among certain people that they would all on a certain day break their contracts. That would be an agreement between two or more persons, and if in consequence of the agreement they did break their contracts, that would be an act done in pursuance of an agreement, and it would not be actionable. It would be merely an agreement among certain people to break their contracts. It would not be an actionable tort. He knew that the Attorney-General would correct him if he was wrong. In an action for a tort one must either pursue a man for breaking his contract or for a wrong suffered independently of contract. That was the whole theory of civil litigation. What this clause said was that an act done in pursuance of an agreement was not to be actionable unless the act, if done without any such agreement, would be actionable as a tort. He dared say that the hon. and learned Gentleman had a simple and easy explanation of the words of the clause. It seemed to him clearly wrong, and that it should stop at the word "actionable." It was just possible that they arose from too slavishly following the words in Section 3 of the Conspiracy and Protection of

Property Act of 1875. He could not conceive what was the meaning of the words "as a tort," and he ventured to ask the Attorney-General whether he would introduce something in the clause to make the meaning clear.

*SIR JOHN WALTON said the noble Lord misapprehended the intention of the Bill. It did not contemplate an action for conspiracy being brought against three or more workmen who might break their contracts. The clause meant that an action for conspiracy should not lie where there was a simultaneous breach of contract on the part of a number of men. Where there was a breach of contract on the part of men in contemplation or in the course of a trade dispute, there was invariably a simultaneous act; and if labour acted together and in the course of acting together there was a breach of the contract of service, there were all the elements of an action for conspiracy at common law. There was a combination to break a contract, and therefore undoubtedly an action for conspiracy would lie. The object of the clause was not to allow such an action to be brought, because, in the view of the Government, it would be oppressive. They did not free men from responsibility, who, in the course of a trade dispute, left their work without serving out the whole time of their notice. They remained responsible under their contracts and their ordinary liabilities were not removed. What the Government said was that it was not their policy as part of legislation of this class to make these men as a body subject to an action for conspiracy where the act committed was not tortious *per se*. Let the Committee suppose that an employer introduced a body of 200 or 300 under contract for three or six months. Let them suppose these men were engaged in Holland, Belgium, Germany, or elsewhere. They could not leave their work for the period of their engagement without a breach of contract. What was the position of these men? They found out possibly that they had been engaged under misrepresentations. They found out that they had been given a fallacious view of the dispute which had taken place in this country. They found out after experience that in their view the conditions of employment were intolerable and they declined to go on because they felt that they ought not to go on. If they did not go on they would be liable for actions for breach of contract and the employers had all those remedies in their hands, and all that was said here was that they should not under those circumstances subject these men to an action for conspiracy in addition to their liability to pay damages for breach of contract. In his view the liability to pay damages was quite sufficient sanction to enforce those contracts. He thought for those reasons the words "as a tort," not having been included without due consideration, should stand.

MR. RAWLINSON (Cambridge University) said he did not wish to intervene in the merits of the dispute, but he ventured to submit to the Attorney-General that he had absolutely misapprehended his hon. friend's point on this matter. The Attorney-General had said that he had no intention of taking away from an employer his right of action against a single employee. But this section went far farther than that. Might he give a concrete instance of what he meant? Assuming there was a trade dispute and assuming that there was a contract that an employer should supply a large quantity of iron, of flour, or provisions, or anything of that sort, anyone could break that contract in pursuance of that dispute; and so carelessly was this section drawn that no action could be brought against any of them. He was not dealing with the merits of the case, but with the slovenly drafting of the section. If the Attorney-General would read the section again he would see what was meant. There was no question of an action for conspiracy at all. It was simply this. This section was drawn in such a way that what it said was that any act done in pursuance of an agreement by two or more persons should, if done in furtherance of a trade dispute, not be actionable unless the act if done without any such agreement or combination would be actionable as a tort. Therefore if it was simply actionable as a contract they could bring no action as a tort. Under that section the employer had no remedy against a single servant who broke his contract after three months employment. Supposing there were three people under contract to deliver flour and those three people did not deliver the flour because they had agreed to break their contracts to deliver it. The section said an act if done in contemplation of a trade dispute would not be actionable unless the act so done would be actionable as a tort. That would not be actionable here as a tort but as a contract. It was merely a question of drafting. This section as it stood would prevent a person bringing an action for breach of contract against those millers who declined to deliver flour. He was not convinced that the omission of the words "as a tort" would be the best means of carrying out the intention of the Committee, and he suggested that the clause required redrafting in order to carry out what he gathered to be the full intention of the Committee in this matter.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY said two reasons had been advanced for this clause. The first was that the law had been altered by the decisions in the Taff Vale case and in the case of Quinn *v.* Leathem. Those decisions were not in contemplation when the Act was passed in 1875 and therefore, as the law required a new interpretation, it must be amended. The next reason was that there really was not much in it. The reason given by the Attorney-General was because an action which was done by a number of people would still be liable to civil or criminal prosecution it was illegal if done by one person. In regard to the next point that this clause was necessary in order to alter a misconception in the Act of 1875, he pointed out that three Commissioners in the Report did not take that view. They said they were satisfied that the law laid down by the House of Lords involved no new principle and was not inconsistent with the legislation of 1871. It was indeed true, they proceeded, that that statute did not declare nor had any other statute declared that trade unions should be liable to an action in tort, and before the Taff Vale case there was not on record any case in which the question of the liability of a trade union was distinctly raised and in which a Court of Law pronounced a trade union liable. But this did not prove the trade unions as such possessed any special exemption from actions of tort. On the contrary it could not be disputed, the Commissioners pointed out, that theoretically the funds of trade unions had all along through their members been subject to the general law of liability. The Commissioners went on to say that—

> "An action to recover damages in respect of a tort could be instituted only in the Courts of Common Law, and those Courts, although they did not allow the non-joinder of defendants to be pleaded in such an action either in bar or in abatement, adopted a rigid rule that judgment could not be recovered against any person or persons not named as defendants in the action. From this it followed that no property could be taken in execution which was not the property of the named defendants. If, therefore, an association consisted of so large a number of persons that it was impracticable to ascertain the names of all of them or to make them all defendants, the property of the association as distinguished from that of the individual members could not be taken in execution in a Common Law action."

The same Commission had also stated that on the grounds of justice and equity the law as laid down in the Taff Vale case appeared insurmountable.

> "That vast and powerful institutions, "

they said—

> "should be permanently licensed to apply the funds they possess to do wrong to others and by that wrong inflict upon them damage perhaps to the amount of many thousand pounds and yet not be liable to make redress out of those funds would be a state of things opposed tthe very idea of law and order and justice."

Those words appeared to him to be extremely true. They were laid down by three Commissioners, and he had never heard in the course of the debate a single argument which would go to prove that the conclusion they then arrived at was wrong. With the single exception of an hon. Member below the gangway on the opposite side no Member of the Labour Party had got up and attempted to justify this clause. The justification which was used by the Attorney-General to the effect that the remedy would be that if the action done by one individual was illegal it would apply to this combination was dealt with by Sir William Lewis, who made some forcible quotations from some of the learned judges of the land. Sir William T. Lewis at page 130 of his minority Report quoted Lord Macnaghten who said—

> "A man may resist with much difficulty the wrongful acts of an individual . . . but

it is a very different thing when one man has to defend himself against many combined to do him wrong."

Sir William Lewis also quoted Lord Lindley, who said--

> "My Lords, it is said that the conduct which is not actionable on the part of one person cannot be actionable if it is that of several acting in concert. This may be so where many do no more than one is supposed to do. But numbers may annoy and coerce where one may not. Annoyance and coercion by many may be so intolerable as to become actionable and produce a result which one alone could not produce. But there are many ways short of violence, or the threat of it, of compelling persons to act in a way which they do not like."

He thought that under this clause the damage that would result, not only to trade unions, but to employers and those possessed of capital must recoil upon the workmen. That damage would, in his judgment, be irretrievable. It would put power into the hands of people, honestly actuated no doubt by motives which were wrong and of which they did not perceive the effect, who ought not to be entrusted with it. It would allow them to do illegal acts from which misery and suffering would flow to other persons. He thought he had shown that, according, to the opinion of three of the Commissioners who were gentlemen of great ability and impartiality, there was an error in saying or believing that the decision in the Taff Vale case or in the case of Quinn *v.* Leathem was not absolutely right. They had shown that that was the law although people might not have generally known that it was the law. He had quoted opinions which showed that this clause could not be rendered harmless because the tort of one person was shared by many. He had shown that that was an illusion. He had shown that the clause gave the power to persons to combine for a perfectly illegitimate purpose for the doing of which they should be prosecuted, and that if the clause were agreed to great injury would be cast upon the trade and industries of this country. The trade and industry of this country were not in too good a state now.

THE DEPUTY - CHAIRMAN (Mr CALDWELL, Lanarkshire, Mid.) pointed out that the hon. Member must not make a Second Reading speech in Committee.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY said he was only talking about the right of people to combine for an illegitimate purpose. If he was making a Second Reading speech he should be entitled to refer to any other clause of the Bill that he wished. He ventured to affirm that there was not a single Member present who would get up and prove that what he said was wrong.

MR. LYTTELTON said he had listened to this debate with great attention, and he thought the question raised by his noble friend was an absolutely sound one. If the intentions of the Government as he understood them were put into force, it would still be possible for 500 or 600 miners in a particular colliery to leave their work without warning, with the result that if the colliery became flooded, and £10,000 worth of damage was done, the colliery owner would have no effective remedy. Surely it would be a farce to suggest to him that his remedy was to sue separately 500 or 600 colliers for breach of contract.

Question put.

The Committee divided—Ayes, 313; Noes, 33. (Division List No. 282.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork. N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A.(Finsbury, E.)
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, J. Emmott (Somerset)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beaumont,Hubert(Eastbourne
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn,Sir J. Williams (Devonp't
Benn, W.(T'w'rHamlets,S.Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bethell, J. H. (Essex, Romford)
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black,Arthur W.(Bedfordshire)
Boland, John
BoltonT. D. (Derbyshire, N.E.

Boulton, A. C. F. (Ramsey)
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Bright, J. A.
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brodie, H. C.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh
Brunner, Sir John T. (Cheshire)
Bryce, J. A. (Inverness Burghs)
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt.Hn.SydneyCharles
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Cameron, Robert
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Chance, Frederick William
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clancy, John Joseph
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Clynes, J. R.
Coats, Sir T. Glen (Renfrew, W.)
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Cogan, Denis J.
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W.
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, C. H. (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Delany, William
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobson, Thomas W.
Dolan, Charles Joseph
Duckworth, James
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness)
Duncan, J. H. (York, Otley)
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Essex, R. W.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Findlay, Alexander
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Grant, Corrie
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Gulland, John W.
Hall, Frederick
Halpin, J.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harrington, Timothy
Hart-Davies, T.
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Hedges, A. Paget
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hills, J. W.
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hutton, Alfred Eddison
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Sir D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D.
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs
Maclean, Donald
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Laren, Sir C. B. (Leicester)
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan, Patrick A.
Micklem, Nathaniel
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Murray, James
Myer, Horatio
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Grady J.
O'Hare, Patrick
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Philipps, Col. Ivor (S'thampton)
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Pollard, Dr.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Radford, G. H.
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Reddy, M.
Redmond, William (Clare)
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Richardson, A.
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Chas. H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter

Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H.(Brentford)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann,SirC.E.(Manchester)
Scott,A.H.(AshtonunderLyne
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seddon, J.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T.(Hawick,B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Simon, John Allsebrook
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth,Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Snowden, P.
Soares, Ernest J.
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley,Hn.A.Lyulph(Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Thomas,SirA.(Glamorgan,E.)
Thomasson, Franklin
Thorne, William
Toulmin, George
Turnour, Viscount
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walsh, Stephen
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward,John (Stoke upon Trent)
Ward,WDudley(Southampton
Wardle, George J.
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason,JohnCathcart(Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, H. Anderson
White, J. D. (Dunbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Wills, Arthur Walters
Wilson, Henry J.(York, W.R.)
Wilson, J. H, (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Woodhouse,SirJ.T(Huddersf'd

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Balcarres, Lord
Baring, Hon. Guy(Winchester
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry,N.)
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Bowles, G. Stewart
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cavendish,Rt. Hn. Victor C.W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Craig, Chas.Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Fell, Arthur
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Forster, Henry William
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hervey,F.W.F. (BuryS.Edm'ds
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hunt, Rowland
Law,Andrew Bonar (Dulwich)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease,Herbert Pike (Darlington
Roberts, S. (Sheffield,Ecclesall)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Smith,F. E. (Liverpool,Walton
Valentia, Viscount
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Frederick Banbury and Mr. Rawlinson.

*MR. BOWLES said he rose to move the Amendment which stood in his name to insert "not exceeding three" after the word "persons." The clause would then read—

> "It shall be lawful for one or more persons, not exceeding three, acting on their own behalf or on behalf of a trade union in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, to attend, peaceably and in a reasonable manner, at or near a house or place where a person resides or works or carries on business or happens to be, if they so attend merely for the purpose of obtaining or communicating information, or of persuading any person to work or abstain from working."

The effect of that Amendment was sufficiently clear on general grounds as it stood, but he hoped the Committee would allow him to suggest shortly one or two considerations which did not appear upon the surface, but which ought to influence the Committee in considering whether this Amendment should be adopted. Hon. Members were no doubt well aware that by Section 7 of the Act of 1875 it was already possible for any number of persons acting on their own behalf or on behalf of a trade union during a trade dispute to attend at the various places mentioned in the clause if they did so for the purpose of obtaining or communicating information. But it was not legal so to attend in order to persuade anybody to work or not to work whether peaceably or not. The purpose of this clause was to allow peaceable persuasion in that way. Now the Committee would perceive that this procedure which was to be legalised was to take place, in the words of the clause itself, "peaceably and in a reasonable manner," and he submitted this Amendment to the Committee on the sole ground that it or something like it was absolutely necessary, as a matter of fact, in order that there should be some security, at any rate, by the insertion of a provision in this clause which would make it operate in a "peaceable and reasonable manner." What were these persons to do? They were to obtain and communicate information and they were to peaceably persuade persons to work or to abstain from working. What earthly reason could there be for a large crowd if these things were to be done in a peaceable and reasonable manner? What was the need of great numbers of persons? Was it to be asserted that two or three men of the highest intelligence, because they were the men who would be chosen, were incapable of obtaining or imparting information in connection with a trade dispute? Could it be really suggested that three persons were an insufficient number to persuade a man either to abstain from working or to work so long as that persuasion wasreally to be peaceable? He did not believe that any hon. Member would suggest that three persons were not amply sufficient for either of these things. He had endeavoured, but was unable to be convinced by the arguments that would probably be used against him. In the first place it would be said that if the number of men who were to be allowed to picket was limited, they would get into the difficulty of whether these men were to be allowed to attend in many places at the same time. [Laughter.] Hon. Gentlemen laughed, but what he said was distinctly what he meant; whether these groups of two or three persons were or were not to be allowed to attend at more than one place at the same moment. Whether they were to have groups of two or three in many places at one time, or whether there were to be confined to one place. That was said to be one objection, but there was really nothing in that argument. If the intention of this clause was that these two or three persons might not go alone to one place, but that they might go to a man's house or any where else that he happened to be at; that if they could not find him at one moment they might have every security of being able to find him the next; then there was no limit to what they might do. The only object of limiting the number of persons to two or three was to ensure that what was really meant should be carried out, and that this clause should not be a tolerable pretence, and that such information as was imparted might be imparted in a really peaceable and reasonable manner. Then again it was said or might be said that this Amendment was not necessary because any proceeding which was not peaceable or reasonable was already dealt with by the law. He earnestly wish that he could take that view. He did not believe any hon. Gentleman on either side of the House would uphold the kind of thing which was, as a matter of fact, done—there was nobody in the House who would defend many things which had been done in the past. Though he was sure that hon. Gentlemen below the gangway would do all they could to prevent such things being done, there was no security that such things would not be done again. Take an instance at random. There was a man in connection with the Taff Vale case, a man named Berry. He started for work on August 20th and he was met by four pickets. He was told not to go to work; that nobody else was at work; and that more pickets were waiting for him at the Rhymney Gate, and he was afraid and went home. He put it to the Committee, did any hon. Member assert that things should go on in this way? If they did he had nothing more to say, but if they did not let them take the only possible course and accept his Amendment or something of the kind. The truth was that if they allowed indeterminate numbers of men to attend at any place—at a man's house, or wherever he happened to be, at the entrance of works, or anywhere else, the mere fact that they did attend in considerable numbers was in itself unreasonable and likely to result, without any overt act, in intimidation. He himself would have been profoundly intimidated if he had been met by such pickets, and men would be intimidated if other men were given these large powers to be used on other men without the proper control which hon. Members below the gangway desired to exercise and who really desired that, in future, picketing should be carried out in a peaceable and reasonable manner. It was in those circumstances that he earnestly submitted that such an Amendment as he suggested was really necessary. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 13, after the word 'persons,' to insert the words 'not exceeding three.'"—(*Mr. Bowles.*)

Question proposed "That those words be inserted."

*SIR JOHN WALTON said the hon. Member had expressed what he was sure was the desire of all. He was anxious that the right of picketing, which was exercised under this Bill, should not be exercised in such a way as to inspire terror in any class of workpeople, who might not agree with the strike. He had suggested that that object would be obtained by limiting the number in a way most likely to obtain it, and that some fixed figure mentioned in the Act would be the most effectual limit by which he could regulate the number of the picket. The answer to the hon. Member's argument seemed to be that any figure upon which the Committee might decide would be sure to be inapplicable to some conditions which might arise. Let them take his maximum figure of three. That figure certainly would be an excessive one if they were dealing with a very small works with a single entrance, in which case, one or certainly two men would be amply sufficient. On the other hand, if they were dealing with such works as Armstrongs, where several thousand men were employed, and where there were several entrances to the works, it would be impossible to limit the figure of the picket, and say they must not employ more than three. It was for that reason that instead of employing a figure the Government sought to find some expression which would restrict this right so that there should be no abuse, and they had put in the words "peaceable and reasonable." If the right was to be exercised in a peaceable and reasonable manner, a reasonable number of men had to be employed having regard to the particular case, and in that way the hon. Member's purpose was served in a better way than it would be by his proposal of three. He could not accept the Amendment

VISCOUNT TURNOUR said he had come down with a fairly open mind on this question, having something like 100,000 trade unionists in his division. Therefore, he was not biassed in any way. Though he frankly admitted he was not very familiar with the Bill, it did seem to him that this Amendment which had been moved by his hon. friend was entitled to some consideration and deliberation. A person approaching the Bill with an absolutely open mind would wonder why there was any objection to including this Amendment in it. The clause read thus :

> "It shall be lawful for one or more persons, acting on their own behalf or on behalf of the trades union, in contemplation or furtherance of a trades dispute, to attend peaceably and in a reasonable manner at or near a house or place where a person resides or works or carries on business or happens to be, if they so attend merely for the purpose of obtaining or communicating information or of persuading any person to work or abstain from working."

Approaching that with an open mind one would like to ask why, if the clause allowed persons to attend peaceably and in a reasonable manner, one or at most two should not be able to do that. There seemed to be no possible reason why more than that number should be allowed. It could not be maintained that eight or ten persons would be any more capable of communicating or imparting information or persuading any person to work or abstain from working than two, and that if more than two or three attended they were going to prevent by some force, which was expressly against the meaning of the clause. It appeared to him nothing short of monstrous for any Bill to be passed containing any clause which gave power to any number of persons to attend at a person's house for the purpose of annoying him in any possible way, and a considerable number of people attending the house would be an annoyance. If they were going to allow fifty persons to be employed for the purpose of picketing, the chance of injury being done to property and persons was infinitely greater than if they allowed only one or two to attend. He could not conceive in what way this Amendment was against the spirit or intention of the Bill. It seemed to him to be a most admirable Amendment, and if the hon. Member went to a division he should support him and in saying that he said he was representing the views of 98 per cent. of those in his constituency.

*MR. PARKES said that while it might be possible that picketing was in order until it became intimidation one could quite understand that when 100 men were gathered round a man's house that that amounted to intimidation, and nothing less. The case which the Attorney-General took of Armstrongs' works was a very extreme case, but there were any number of cases in which men would be intimidated for all practical purposes by such a gathering. He could quite conceive a man who on leaving his house in the morning found it surrounded by a crowd of 100 persons being intimidated. As he understood, besetting and watching was not legal. Now would an action like that be besetting and watching? Because they had here a very narrow margin between peaceful persuasion and besetting and watching. As the Bill now stood any number of persons might attend whether they were connected or whether they were unconnected with the dispute, and they could attend on their own behalf or anybody else's behalf at the house where a person resided or at his place of business, whether he was in the house or at work or on his way to work. It seemed to be a very drastic provision that a man should be followed wherever he might go and that he might be followed for days and weeks and perhaps for months during the period of a strike. He put it to hon. Members if they were in the position of a man being watched in this way whether they would say it was a position that should be allowed. If that was the case it carried its own condemnation with it. It was only right to set some limitation on the number of men who should be allowed to watch any man and follow him about in this way. He thought the clause in this form was one of the strongest objections one could have to the Bill.

Mr. F. E. SMITH said that after listening to the Amendment and having given the best attention he could to the observations made upon it by the hon. and learned Attorney-General, he would say that if this clause had dealt and dealt only with the trade unions—if it was an exercise of these powers, though its defects were great, to carry out peaceful picketing at a man's place of business where he was to be subjected to the process known as "peaceful picketing," he should have been the first to recognise the weight of the argument of the learned Attorney-General, that if the place of buiness had as many as twenty or thirty places of entrance and as many exits, the Amendment of his hon. friend would be futile and inoperative. If that had been the fact then indeed he would say the fault was not that of the Amendment proposed, but of the looseness and the comprehensiveness of the clause for which the Government had made themselves responsible. They had neither introduced nor proposed to introduce any words to make any distinction whatever between peaceful picketing at a place of business and the peaceful picketing of a place of residence which was in every conceivable sense objectionable. The clause for which the Government had made themselves responsible permitted a picket, the numbers of which were unlimited, not only to wait outside the numerous exits and entrances of a place of business, but also allowed any number of men bound on peaceful persuasion.

*__Sir JOHN WALTON__: Any number of men would not be reasonable.

Mr. F. E. SMITH said he would like to test that problem a little further. He did not quite appreciate it. The proposition was, as he understood it, that a number of men were desirous of working and that a number of other men were desirous that they should not be permitted to work. He submitted that ten men might be a reasonable number of men peacefully to persuade men who were desirous of working to abstain from working—a hundred men would not be a reasonable number. What they wanted in this case was not a statement made in debate which they could not bring before a jury. What they wanted was some legislative signification, some legislative guarantee introduced into the Bill that this should not be made a brutal violation of the elementary rights of those who claimed—and, in the judgment of the Opposition rightly claimed—to be able to sell their labour in the best market they could find in this country. When he said that this clause as introduced and supported by the Government was a brutal violation of that claim, he was not confining himself to the *a priori* argument. There was the evidence which was given before the Commission—a Commission the constitution of which had not been, and could not be, impeached in this House. He knew perfectly well the gravamen of the objection advanced below the Gangway. It was that no Labour Member sat on that Commission.

The CHAIRMAN said the hon. and learned Gentleman would not be entitled to go into that question.

Mr. F. E. SMITH said the argument he was attempting to develop was that some numerical qualification was necessary to the right of peaceful picketing, and he was about to support that contention by arguments from evidence. That evidence had never been challeneged, and it illustrated the beautiful process of "peaceful" persuasion that would be applied under the provisions of this clause if there was no such limitation. An instance was afforded in the case of the strike at Aberamen on 2nd July, 1904, reported on page 125 of the Minutes of Evidence before the Royal Commission.

The CHAIRMAN asked the hon. Member how he connected his quotations with the Amendment.

Mr. F. E. SMITH said the quotations went to show that in fact "peaceful picketing" was pursued by a larger number of men than the limit proposed. According to the *South Wales Daily News* of 10th August 1904—

> "A non-union man was turned out of his lodgings and was followed by a good-humoured crowd as far as Ferndale just in time to meet the men there going home from work, and upon the non-unionist being recognised, the chase was taken up by the Ferndale men. The non-unionist, however, made good his escape."

Mr. CROOKS rose to order. This was not a case of picketing.

The CHAIRMAN ruled that the quotation was not irrelevant.

Mr. F. E. SMITH said that although he fully understood the objection of the hon. Gentleman below the Gangway to hear the evidence that was called before the Commission, he proposed to remind him of it in even greater detail so long as he kept within the ruling of the Chair. The next case was the Thames Steam Company strike in 1900. The evidence in that case would command itself to those who still believed in the possibility of peaceful persuasion when exercised by large numbers of persons at the expense of small numbers of persons. He understood from the position that was taken up below the gangway that it was suggested that if authorised members of a trade union approached a man and reasoned with him on the basis that he was a blackleg, that was peaceful picketing. In the case he was quoting a man who desired to continue his work was met by members of the union at a public-house at Shadwell and called a "blackleg."

Mr. J. WARD suggested that the case to which the hon. and learned Gentleman was referring had nothing to do with the question of picketing. It was a mere pothouse squabble.

Mr. STUART WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam) asked whether it was not relevant to the words "at or near a house where a person resides or works or carries on business or happens to be?"

The CHAIRMAN said he did not think he could rule the hon. and learned Gentleman's remarks out of order

Mr. F. E. SMITH ventured to think that the words where a man "happens to be" which the Government had introduced into their Bill, in the imperfect state of modern society, were not unlikely to mean a public-house. He could give evidence to that effect if necessary if any of the cases he had quoted were challenged by hon. Members below the Gangway. The effect of the evidence referred to was that wherever there had been a strong attempt on behalf of trade unionists to prevent non-union men working, this form of picketing had been a form of persuasion which had natuarally led to violence, and therefore he thought it would be extremely unwise of this Committee to allow men in future to exercise their powers of persuasion in that way. It was not merely as if the proposal were confined to the place of business in which the man affected was working. If that were so there might be a great deal to be said for it, but it was a numerical limitation. No one familiar with the working classes of this country would refuse to accept this general proposition that they were not giving a man a fair chance of exercising an independent judgment as to whether he would work or not at a particular place when they entitled a crowd of men numbering between 100 and 150 to proceed to violence when their object had not been immediately satisfied. No member of this House would say that they were taking a step in the direction of individual choice or the freedom of judgment of the working men of this country as to the market in which they should sell their labour by authorising by law men, whose interests were not necessarily the interests of the whole of the working classes and whose only object was to force as many men as they could into the ranks of organised labour as contrasted with unorganised labour to indulge in, violence of this kind. This clause would allow a crowd of men to go not only to a workman's place of business but to his house, where his wife and children were, in order to induce him by acts of this kind to cease working at the place where he was earning his livelihood. During the Second Reading of the Bill introduced by an hon. Member below the gangway it was stated that trades unionists had not enough men to go in such large numbers in order to enforce peaceful persuasion. The hon. Member said they would only have perhaps two or three or four or five men for this purpose, and ridiculed the assumption that they might have 100 men at their disposal to attempt to enforce peaceful persuasion. The evidence given before the Royal Commission showed that over and over again not only had large and inordinate numbers of men gone to the places of business at which non-union men were working, but large numbers had gone to the houses at which non-union men resided and had exercised the most brutal intimidation in order to get those men to leave their employment.

MR. SHACKLETON said he could not regard the statements which had just been made by the hon. and learned Member for Liverpool as facts. The Attorney-General had really shown that any such limitation of numbers was an absurdity. To suggest that three could peacefully picket was an absurdity, and the hon. Member himself had admitted that three would be out of the question to picket peaceably in hundreds of cases in this country. He could understand the anxiety of hon. Members sitting on the Opposition side of the House if all these cases had to be settled by a bench of magistrates composed of Labour men or of judges belonging to the labouring class, but when all these points had to be settled by men who were far removed from the workmen's position surely hon. Members could place sufficient trust in them to decide what was peaceful and reasonable when dealing with trade disputes. The Courts were composed of men of their own class, and it was entirely unnecessary to insert any further restriction in the clause. The statement that they had the right of cross-examination in regard to the evidence was as far from the truth as it could possibly be. On the contrary the Labour Party asked for that right and repeatedly asked for it, and were refused it. On the other hand the employers were granted that right by having one of their own class placed upon the Commission. Therefore the statement that they had a right to cross-examine witnesses was absurd. The hon. Member for Liverpool had quoted a host of cases of what he had called peaceful persuasion in which violence was used, but there was not a single instance which it would not be illegal to do if this Bill were passed. That was his answer to the hon. and learned Member for Liverpool's charge that Labour Members wanted peaceful persuasion in anything like the terms which he had put before the House. It would be a deplorable thing when they had got to that point to engage in such proceedings without running the risk of the consequences of their own actions. If one man chose of his own free will to assist three of his colleagues to picket, to say they should be in the clutches of the law was absurd. They knew why that number was put there. They could appoint three men as a trade union, but they had no control whatever over the employer, who might send another three men. He knew cases where this had been done, and therefore they were not going to have any limitation of this character. They trusted to the reasonable action of the men, and they left it to those in charge of the administration of the law to say whether they had broken the law or not. He hoped there would be no attempt made to fasten upon them anything like a limitation of this description.

SIR E. CARSON said there was no desire that anything should be legalised in the shape of intimidation. What had been said by the learned Attorney-General might be so in the case of certain strikes, but he would like to call to mind the case of the dock strike. In that case he could quite imagine that the limitation of the pickets to the number of three would be quite impracticable, but if they agreed that there ought to be no limitation except such as would prevent intimidation surely they ought to be able to frame words to make that perfectly clear before the Committee, and what he had intervened for was to ask whether the Attorney-General was prepared to accept an Amendment upon this point which stood in the name of the hon. Member for Maidstone, which proposed to insert in line 16, after the word "manner" the words, "and in such manner as are not calculated to cause intimidation." That seemed to him to be exactly what everybody appeared to desire, and that would leave it open to any person carrying on the strike to add any number they liked so long as those numbers, *per se*, were not calculated to cause intimidation. That was the way in which they ought to limit this enactment, and it would be in the direction of the views expressed during this debate. Therefore, he asked the learned Attorney-General whether he considered what he had suggested a reasonable way out of the difficulty.

*MR EVELYN CECIL (Aston Manor) said he understood the Attorney-General to say that he considered the numbers would be necessarily reasonable because the word reasonable had been introduced. He gathered that the hon. and learned Attorney-General was of opinion that he did not wish in this Bill that any numbers should be employed which tended in the direction of intimidation. He questioned whether, owing to the loose drafting of this clause, his intention would be carried out because the words of the Bill were—

> "It shall be lawful for one or more persons, acting on their own behalf or on behalf of a trade union, in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, to attend, peaceably and in a reasonable manner."

He did not think that the words "in a reasonable manner" necessarily applied to the number at all, but they applied to the manner of behaviour. At any rate it was a doubtful point and open to that interpretation. That being so it was most desirable to introduce some such words as those which stood in the name of the noble Lord the Member for Maidstone. He hoped the learned Attorney-General would clearly explain to the Committee exactly what he considered was the meaning of the words "in a reasonable manner"'

*SIR JOHN WALTON said he did not assume that such extraordinary things as those which had been put forward could possibly occur. This was a right to be exercised by trade unions and it was for all the unions to persuade men to join their ranks in a reasonable manner. It therefore contemplated the collective action of the union, and that collective action must be peaceably and reasonably exercised. He had no objection to say that the right should be exercised in a reasonable manner and by a reasonable number. He did not think that the expression added to the strength of the clause, because in his opinion the words "reasonable manner" also governed the question of numbers, but he did not at the moment see any objection to saying that it should also be by "a reasonable number," and he would certainly consider that point.

SIR E. CARSON thought the statement that the Attorney-General had made was a very fair one, and so far as he was concerned he should advise the withdrawal of the Amendment.

MR. F. E. SMITH, as a personal explanation, said he should just like to say a word in reference to what was said by the hon. Member to the effect that the Labour Members had the power of cross-examination before the Commission. He was very sorry that it had been thought that he somewhat misled the Committee. [Cries of "No, no!"] He should like to say what was in my mind at the time.

*THE CHAIRMAN: I am afraid I cannot allow that. The whole question is entirely out of order. In fact the hon. Member's first reference to it was also out of order.

MR. BOWLES said that after the very sympathetic manner in which this Amendment had been received by the Attorney-General and in view of his promise to meet them upon the Report stage, he hoped the Committee would give him permission to withdraw his Amendment.

Leave to withdraw the Amendment was refused.

MR. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil) hoped the Attorney-General would consider this matter very seriously before making any further concession. [OPPOSITION cries of "Oh, oh" and laughter.] This might be a matter for amusement with some hon. Members, but it was not a matter of amusement with them. The clause as drafted was already an exceedingly dangerous one from the point of view of those who desired to conduct picketing in a perfectly reasonable manner. They had had experience to show that any loophole of the kind provided by the words "peaceable and reasonable manner" was used to make picketing impossible altogether. He only rose to say that they objected, not because they desired picketing which was either unreasonable or not peaceable, but because they objected to the proposal as it stood, and their objection to the present words would be very much strengthened if the clause was to be further weakened in the way suggested by the learned Attorney-General. Therefore he hoped that the hon. and learned Gentleman would not too readily either give a promise or agree to the insertion of words which would make picketing even more difficult in the future than it was at the present moment.

*SIR JOHN WALTON said he did not wish to be misunderstood upon this point. What he said was that according to his view at present the words "reasonable manner" must have regard to the number of men employed, but he stated that he would consider between this and the Report stage whether the introduction of a limit of number into the construction of reasonableness would strengthen the clause, and if so he would prepare and introduce words for that purpose. It must be understood, however, that he did not give any explicit pledge.

SIR E. CARSON said the Attorney-General had now stated what he intended to say and he accepted what he had said. He had told them that reasonable numbers would avoid intimidation and he had promised that even if his own view was right and was included in "reasonable manner" he would not object to make it perfectly clear by the insertion of the words "reasonable number." Those words were the words of the noble Lord the Member for Maidstone, and it was the Attorney-General himself who suggested "reasonable number." Of course he could not now go behind what the Attorney-General said, but he hoped he would see his way to make the matter perfectly clear by putting into the Bill what he said was his own intention that this great power should only be exercised by a reasonable number. It must be apparent to the whole Committee that no matter in what manner the power was given if 100 men went in a perfectly peaceable way smoking round the door of the house of one man that *per se* was intimidation. He hoped the Attorney-General in consequence of the speech which had been made from below the gangway would not in any way detract from what he had already said, but would really put in those words. He was sure he wished to act impartially between the parties concerned upon this point.

*MR. RUFUS ISAACS hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman would hesitate very much before accepting the suggestion which had been made. They had already introduced the words "peaceably and in a reasonable manner," and he was quite sure that those familiar with the way in which those words had been interpreted in the Courts and with the question of whether an act was done in a reasonable manner or not, which would have to be determined by a jury, would not have any hesitation in coming to the conclusion that those words were quite sufficient to cover all the points which had been raised in the debate. If as his right hon. friend said just now 100 men were standing outside waiting for one man who was inside he did not suppose there would be anyone who would hesitate to say that that would be found to be not attending "peaceably and in a reasonable manner." [Cries of "Why"?] In the case of these 100 men standing outside a house smoking it had been suggested that they were standing outside in a manner amounting to intimidation, and that was not peaceably and in a reasonable manner. Therefore, that case was covered by the words in this clause. He hoped that they would not have any further difficulty and complications introduced by the insertion of words which would only give rise to greater trouble, and more litigation.

Two hon. Members rose to continue the discussion, but

The ATTORNEY - GENERAL rose in his place and claimed to move, "That the question be now put." [Cries of "Oh, oh" and "Gag" from the OPPOSITION benches.]

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 319; Noes, 49. (Divison List No. 283.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork,N.E
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, A.Acland(Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Asquith,Rt.Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A.(Finsbury,E.)
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, John Emmott(Somers.
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont,Hubert(Eastbourne
Beaumont, W.C.B.(Hexham)
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, Sir JWilliams(Devonp'rt
Benn, W.(T'w'rHamlets,S.Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bethell, J.H.(Essex, Romford)
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine

Black, ArthurW.(Bedfordshire)
Boland, John
Bolton, T.D.(Derbyshire,N.E.)
Boulton, A. C. F. (Ramsey)
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Bright, J. A.
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brodie, H. C.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L.(Lancs.,Leigh)
Bryce,J.A.(InvernessBurghs)
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton,Rt.Hn.SydneyCharles
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Cameron, Robert
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton,Rt.Hn.RichardKnight
Chance, Frederick William
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R R.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Clynes, J. R.
Coats,SirT.Glen(Renfrew,W.)
Cobbold, Felix Thornley

Cogan, Denis J.
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, SirWm.J(S.Pancras, W
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett,C.H(Sussex,E.Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cowan, W. H.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth
Crean, Eugene
Cremer, William Randal
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Delany, William
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh,S.)
Dickinson, W.H(S.Pancras, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobson, Thomas W.
Dolan, Charles Joseph
Duckworth, James
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Duncan, J. H. (York, Otley)
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne,MajorE.Martin(Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Essex, R. W.

Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Findlay, Alexander
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Gladstone,Rt.Hn.Herbert John
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Grant, Corrie
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gulland, John W.
Hall, Frederick
Halpin, J.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardie,J.Keir(MerthyrTydvil
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harmsworth, Cecil B.(Worc'r)
Harrington, Timothy
Hart-Davies, T.
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Hedges, A. Paget
Henderson,Arthur (Durham)
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hutton, Alfred Eddison
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones,William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D.
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, W.)
Layland-Barratt, Francis

Lever, A.Levy(Essex,Harwich)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald,J.M.(FalkirkB'ghs
Maclean, Donald
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down,S.
MacVeigh,Charles(Donegal,E.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, Sir C. B. (Leicester)
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marks, G. Croydon(Launceston
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meagher, Michael
Meehan, Patrick A.
Micklem, Nathaniel
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Nicholson,CharlesN.(Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Connor,James (Wicklow, W.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Grady, J.
O'Hare, Patrick
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Philipps,Col. Ivor (S'thampton)
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Pollard, Dr.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh,Central)
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)

Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E.(Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mptn
Richardson, A.
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson, SirG.Scott(Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Scarisbrick, T. T. L.
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann,Sir C.E. (Manchester)
Scott,A.H.(Ashton underLyne
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seddon, J.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Simon, John Allsebrook
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth,Thomas F. (Leitrim,S.)
Snowden, P.
Soares, Ernest J.
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Thomas,Sir A.(Glamorgan, E.)
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson,J.W.H.(Somerset,E
Thorne, William
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds,S.
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent
Ward,WDudley(Southampton
Wardle, George J.
Wason, John Cathcart(Orkney
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, H. Anderson
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas

Wilkie, Alexander
Wills, Arthur Walters
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Woodhouse, Sir J T. (Huddersf'd

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Baring, Hon. Guy (Winchester)
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry, N.)
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Bowles, G. Stewart
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cave, George
Cavendish, Rt. Hon. Victor C. W
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S
Craik, Sir Henry
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Fell, Arthur
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Fletcher, J. S.
Haddock, George R.
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hervey, F. W F (Bury S. Edm'ds
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hills, J. W.
Hunt, Rowland
Keswick, William
Lambert, George
Law, Andrew Bonar (Dulwich)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Morpeth, Viscount
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Rawlinson, John Frederick P.
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Starkey, John R.
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ)
Thomson, W. Mitchell- (Lanark)
Thornton, Percy M.
Turnour, Viscount
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-

Tellers for the Noes—Viscount Valentia and Mr. Forster.

Question, "That the words 'not exceeding three' be there inserted," put accordingly, and negatived.

Sir E. CARSON moved to report Progress. They had been in the House, he said, since twelve o'clock; it had been a long and tiring day; and at that late hour it was not worth while going on with another Amendment.

Mr. SHACKLETON asked the Patronage Secretary when the Government proposed to take the Bill again.

Mr. GEORGE WHITELEY (Yorkshire, W.R., Pudsey) said it was rather difficult to say. The Government were very anxious that the Committee stage of the Bill should be finished before the holidays. The Bill, however, could not be taken before Friday, but it would be put down as the first order on that day and, if necessary, the House would sit till eleven o'clock to discuss it. If the Committee stage was not finished by eleven o'clock on Friday night the House would have to devote a good many hours to it on Saturday. And should the Committee stage be still unfinished he was afraid it would have to go over to October.

Sir E. CARSON: Might I suggest that we should sit on Sunday?

Mr. GEORGE WHITELEY said he was afraid the rules of the House did not permit them to do so. [Cries of "Yes they do."] If, however, the Committee stage of the Bill was not concluded on Saturday night the Government must seriously consider the question of taking it on the Monday of the following week.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress; and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Sir Edward Carson*)—put, and agreed to.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon Monday next.

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn until Tomorrow."—*Mr. Whiteley*)—put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at five minutes before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, 28th July, 1906.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Perth Corporation Gas Order Confirmation Bill. "To confirm a Provisional Order under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Perth Corporation Gas," presented by Mr. Sinclair, and ordered (under Section 7 of the Act) to be considered upon Monday next.

Inverclyde Bequest Order Confirmation Bill. "To confirm a Provisional Order under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to the Inverclyde Bequest," presented by Mr. Sinclair, and ordered (under Section 7 of the Act) to be considered upon Monday next.

PETITIONS.

BETTING AND GAMBLING.

Petition from West Ham, for legislation; to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Petitions against; From Deddington; and Ossington; to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL (RELIGIOUS TEACHING.)

Petition from Prestwich, against alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Two Petitions from St. Helens, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

POISONS AND PHARMACY BILL [LORDS.]

Petitions from Sunderland, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD.

Copy presented, of Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Local Government Board, 1905–6 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

METROPOLITAN WATER BOARD.

Copy presented, of Second Annual Report of the Metropolitan Water Board for the year ending 31st March 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

ALKALI, ETC., WORKS REGULATION ACTS, 1881 AND 1892.

Copy presented, of Forty-second Annual Report on Alkali, etc., Works by the Chief Inspector, being for 1905 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 289.]

FACTORY AND WORKSHOPS ACTS (PERIOD OF EMPLOYMENT).

Copy presented, of Order dated 24th July, 1906, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in pursuance of Section 36 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, revoking on Order of the 12th January, 1884, and granting a special exception as regards the period of employment of women and young persons in Factories in the county of London, in which letterpress bookbinding is carried on [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOPS ACTS (PERIOD OF EMPLOYMENT).

Copy presented, of Order, dated 24th July, 1906, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in pursuance of Section 36 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, revoking certain previous Orders, and granting a special exception for a period of one year as regards the hours of employment of women and young persons in certain classes of Factories and Workshops [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

CIVIL SERVANTS (RETIREMENT AT THE AGE OF SIXTY-FIVE).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 27th July; *Mr. McKenna*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 290.]

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Scottish Churches Commission—Suggested Interim Report.

SIR T. GLEN-COATS (Renfrewshire, W.): To ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he can now make a statement as to the date of the Report of the Scottish Churches Commission; and whether, in view of the inconvenience caused by the delay, the Commission, though not yet able to report on all congregational property, will issue an interim Report dealing with general Church property.

(*Answered by Mr. Sinclair.*) I cannot do better than refer my hon. friend to the full statement made by the Chairman of the Scottish Churches Commission in another place, on the 20th instant.†

Date of Transfer of Treasury Official to Board of Education.

MR. STAVELEY HILL (Staffordshire, Kingswinford): To ask the President of the Board of Education, on what date the transfer of officials from the Board to the Treasury, in respect of Clause 25 of the Education Bill will take place.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I have at present no information to give on the subject.

Madras Estates Land Bill.

MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that the Madras Estates Land Bill, now before the Legislative Council of the Governor of Madras, provides that every ryot now in possession, or who shall hereafter be admitted to possession, of public cultivable land shall be deemed to have a permanent right of occupancy in his holding; whether Lord Hartington and Lord Kimberley vetoed a similar provision when proposed for Bengal; and, if so, whether he will take steps to ensure that the distinction between resident or permanent, and non-resident or temporary, cultivator is duly considered before the Bill in its present shape is passed into Law.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Morley.*) The Bill, since its introduction into the Madras Legislative Council in March 1905, has undergone very full consideration and extensive revision by a Select Committee, and before proceeding further with it the Madras Government are submitting it for opinion to the High Court. I must reserve my opinion on the subject for the present. The circumstances of Bengal, I am advised, are not completely analogous to those of Madras.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Rosyth Water Supply.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY (St. Andrews Burghs): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the arrangements for the water supply for the new naval base at Rosyth are complete and satisfactory.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON, Dundee): Satisfactory arrangements for water supply have been made with the Fife County Council, whose works are well in hand. There is every reason to believe that when the work is completed the water supply will be satisfactory.

H.M.S. "Montagu."

MR. COURTHOPE (Sussex, Rye): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what is the estimated cost of the salvage operations of H.M.S. "Montagu"; and what is the estimated value of that battleship if successfully salved.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I have answered this Question five or six times already. I can only say I have nothing to add to my reply to a similar Question from the hon. Member for Yarmouth on July 19th.‡

Subsidised Liners.

MR. FELL (Great Yarmouth): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the guns and fittings are ready for the ships which are liable to be taken over by the Government in time of war; and particularly whether the guns and fittings are ready for the new Cunard ships which are being built under engagement to the Government.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxi., 559 *et seq.*

‡ See (4) *Debates*, clxi., 378.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: This Question should have been addressed to the Admiralty. The reply is in the affirmative.

Army Horses.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY (St. Andrews Burghs): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the increase of motor traffic and the decrease of the number of horses fit for military purposes in time of war, the Government will consider the advisability of forming breeding establishments, such as are in general use in Austria-Hungary, Germany, France, and other countries.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. HALDANE, Haddington): At present the War Office is able to procure without difficulty all the horses necessary for peace establishments, and in the event of war in the near future, it is believed that arrangements could be made to supply the animals that would be required. The formation and maintenance of horse-breeding establishments, such as exist in some other European countries, would entail a large initial and annual outlay, which present conditions do not justify.

Reserve of Guns and Ammunition.

MR. FELL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will take the opportunity presented by the saving to be effected on the Army Estimates to create a reserve of guns and ammunition which cannot be created in time of war, and which are maintained in this country in a condition quite below the standard of a first-class Power.

MR. HALDANE: The reserves of guns and ammunition which are already available or in course of supply are considered adequate.

Army Estimates.

MR. FELL: I beg to ask the Secre- of State for War whether the Government, having decided, since the Army Estimates for the year were voted, materially to decrease the same, will not also, under certain other conditions which may arise during the recess, undertake to alter the numbers of the Army and the Army Estimates back again to the number and amount originally voted by Parliament.

MR. HALDANE: The hon. Member is under a misapprehension. The Government have not decided to reduce the Army Estimates for the current year—which remain as voted by the House.

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley): Do we understand there is to be no reduction of the Estimates for the year 1906-7?

MR. HALDANE: If the noble Lord means "reduction" there will be none; but if he means "saving," then I say it is highly probable that money may be saved.

The Brigade of Guards.

MR. COURTHOPE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War which battalion of the Brigade of Guards has the highest musketry figure of merit.

MR. HALDANE: The battalion of the Brigade of Guards which obtained the highest average for the year 1905 is the 2nd Battalion Scots Guards.

MR. COURTHOPE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War which battalion of the Brigade of Guards was most successful in the recent National Rifle Association meeting at Bisley; what competitions were won by that battalion; and whether those competitions were open to the whole British Army.

MR. HALDANE: The War Office has no official information concerning the competitions, entries and scores at rifle prize meetings.

MR. COURTHOPE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War which battalion of the Brigade of Guards has the highest figure of merit for signalling; and what position that battalion occupies in the whole of the British Army in regard to signalling.

MR. HALDANE: The 1st Battalion Grenadier Guards gained the highest figure of merit for signalling during the last inspection and is also placed first in list of battalions of the Home and Colonial Establishments.

MR. COURTHOPE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether a battalion of the Guards' Brigade on mobilisation costs the country more or less than a line battalion.

Mr. HALDANE: The pay of the Guards is slightly higher than that of Infantry of the Line. In all other respects the cost of a mobilised battalion of Guards is the same as that of a mobilised line battalion.

Mr. COURTHOPE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the battalion of the Brigade of Guards which he proposes to disband were selected owing to inefficiency, or for what other reason.

Mr. HALDANE: I have already fully explained to the House the reasons for the selection of the battalions concerned in my speech on Army Estimates, to which I have nothing to add.

Enniskillen Military Station.

Mr. FETHERSTONHAUGH (Fermanagh, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether any decision has been come to as to retaining Enniskillen as a military head quarters station.

Mr. HALDANE: This matter is still under consideration.

Chinese Coolie Repatriation.

Mr. FETHERSTONHAUGH: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the republication of Repatriation Ordinance has been any more successful than the original publication in inducing the Chinese coolies in the Transvaal to realise that they wish to be sent back to China.

The UNDER-SECRETARY of STATE for the COLONIES (Mr. Churchill, Manchester, N.W.): Lord Selborne has not as yet reported the result of the publication of the amended notice.

Extension of Lagos Railway.

Mr. MITCHELL-THOMSON (Lanarkshire, N.W.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, having regard to the fact that the unofficial members of Council in Lagos have unanimously asked that the railway from Lagos to Ibadan, which is now being extended to Oshogbo, should be further extended to Jebba *viâ* Ilorin, and to the fact that the Colony is prepared to raise a loan for this purpose, he can state whether this extension will be proceeded with; and, if so, when.

Mr. CHURCHILL: The whole question of railway extenstion in northern and southern Nigeria is being closely considered with a view to early and effective action. I should hope that it would be possible to make definite and complete statements in both Houses when Parliament re-assembles for the autumn session. Meanwhile no time is being lost; for the Lagos Railway is, as my hon. friend is aware, now being pushed forward through the cotton country to Oshogbo, and it will not reach that place until the end of the year.

Railway Extensions in Southern Nigeria.

Mr. MITCHELL-THOMSON: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the contracts for the contemplated railway extensions in Southern Nigeria will be put out to public tender, or, if not, in what manner it is proposed to carry out the construction.

Mr. CHURCHILL: The methods by which any further railway construction in Nigeria may be effected are an integral part of the general statement which I expect to make in the autumn.

Religious Processions in Malta.

Mr. T. L. CORBETT (Down, N.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is in a position to lay further Correspondence upon the Table between the Government and the Governor of Malta with reference to the case of the Rev. John M'Neill.

Mr. CHURCHILL: No, Sir; not at present.

Mr. T. L. CORBETT: Are we not to have these Papers before the Colonial Vote is taken? Are we to be kept in the dark?

Mr. CHURCHILL explained that already one set of Papers had been laid, and that the correspondence still in progress must be completed before the Secretary of State could, on a complete survey of it, decide what, if any, could be published.

MR. T. L. CORBETT asked whether the letter from the Government to the Governor of Malta would be laid on the Table. The right hon. Gentleman had carefully evaded—[Cries of "Order."]

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member has got a very fair Answer.

MR. T. L. CORBETT asked again whether the letter to the Governor of Malta would be laid on the Table.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member must give notice of the Question.

MR. T. L. CORBETT: For Monday, Sir?

MR. NIELD (Middlesex, Ealing): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can give an approximate date when it will be possible to lay upon the Table of the House the Return moved for in February last, and ordered to be made as to the countries within the Empire where coolie labour is employed, and the conditions regulating the same, and also regulating the housing of such coolies.

MR. CHURCHILL: It is hoped that it may be found possible to complete the Return during the course of the Autumn session; but we are, of course, entirely dependent on the replies from the Colonies, several of which have not yet reached us.

Venezuelan Tariffs.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the existing surtax of 30 per cent. on all goods shipped from the West Indies to Venezuelan ports, which was imposed by President Castro's Government, is a contravention of existing treaties; and, if so, what steps His Majesty's Government propose to take to secure its removal.

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RUNCIMAN, Dewsbury; for Sir EDWARD GREY): Ever since the surtax was imposed in 1881, this Government have considered it contrary to Article 4 of the Treaty of 1825. His Majesty's Government are not at present prepared to take any steps different from those taken by their predecessors, which were to attempt to settle the question by negotiation.

British Shipowners' Claims against Russia.

MR. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the claims of British shipowners in respect of ships sunk in the course of the operations of the Russian Navy against the enemy during the war between Russia and Japan, have yet been settled; and if he will give the terms of the settlements.

MR. RUNCIMAN: Negotiations are still proceeding with the Russian Government in respect of these claims, but no settlement has yet been arrived at.

Tea Duty Rebates.

MR. NIELD: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what was the sum returned by the Commissioners of Customs in respect of duty paid on tea between the date of the financial statement and the fixed date for the reduced duty coming into operation; and whether there are any outstanding unadmitted claims for such returns, and the total amount thereof.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. ASQUITH, Fifeshire, E.): The concession applied only to tea duty paid on May 1st last before the alteration of date was announced. The amount of duty returned to merchants by the Commissioners of Customs in respect of such tea was as follows, viz:—

	£	s.	d.
(a) On Tea which had not been delivered from or was returned into, bonded warehouses, the whole duty of 6d. per lb. - -	12,006	1	0
(b) On Tea delivered from bond, as to which proof to the satisfaction of the Commissioners of Customs had been adduced that it did not go into consumption prior to May 14th, 1906, the amount of the difference between the former and the reduced duty =1d. per lb. - -	7,495	19	1
	19,502	0	1

The Tea which was returned into bond falls to be duty paid at 5d. per lb. if cleared for home consumption. This will produce £10,005 0s. 10d., thus reducing the net cost of the concession to £9,496 19s. 3d. There is only one outstanding claim, amounting to £4, which is still under examination.

Unproductive Prison Labour.

Mr. CLAUDE HAY: On behalf of the hon. Member for the Thanet Division of Kent, I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he can state the number of cranks, treadwheels, and other machines of unproductive labour now in use in His Majesty's prisons in England and Wales.

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Gladstone, Leeds, W.): Unproductive labour on tread-wheels or cranks has been discontinued at all the prisons for some years past. At three prisons water has to be drawn for the use of the prison by wheels or cranks; but this is an ordinary prison service and not a form of hard labour.

South Wales—Superintending Inspector of Mines.

Mr. STAVELEY HILL (Staffordshire, Kingswinford): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department what salary will be paid to the Superintending Inspector of Mines in South Wales, and upon what date the appointment was gazetted.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Mr. Atkinson will continue to receive the salary which he had when inspector in charge of a district, that is, £900 a year; and, in addition, in consideration of the special nature of his new duties and also of his undertaking such editorial work as may be required in connection with the Annual General Report on Mines and Quarries, I have assigned to him a special allowance of £100 which was at my disposal. No *Gazette* notice of the appointment is required by the Act, but a special circular will be issued to all owners of mines and quarries in the Cardiff and Swansea districts, announcing the appointment.

Lord BALCARRES: When will the right hon. Gentleman be able to make his promised statement as to the extension of the system?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The matter is now being inquired into. I do not suppose the inquiry will take long.

Insurance against Workmen's Compensation.

Mr. COCHRANE (Ayrshire, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is now in a position to supply information showing what will be the estimated additional cost of insurance in the coal, ironstone, mining, engineering, shipbuilding, and textile industries respectively, resulting from the reduction of the qualifying period in Clause 1 of the Workmen's Compensation Bill from fourteen to three days; and if he can also give the cost of reduction from fourteen to seven days.

Mr. GLADSTONE said it was rather difficult to arrive at anything like a satisfactory estimate on this matter. This Question was only put down on the previous day, and he had not had time to go into the matter. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman would repeat it next week.

Mr. COCHRANE reminded the right hon. Gentleman that he originally raised the point in May last, and he then said he hoped to be able to furnish the information.

Case of Dr. John Bate Bawden.

Mr. BOWLES (Lambeth, Norwood): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Home Department whether his attention has been called to the proceedings of the General Medical Council in the recent case of Dr. John Bate Bawden; whether he is aware that, though proved to have committed only a slight infraction of etiquette, which he engaged not to repeat. Dr. Bawden's name has been removed from the medical register on the ground that he was guilty of infamous conduct in a professional respect; and whether, in view of the power of the General Medical Council to adjudge as infamous any conduct of which it disapproves, and the absence of any appeal or other remedy to the victims of such judgments, he is prepared to introduce legislation limiting the powers of this Council to bringing cases of unprofessional conduct before a Divisional Court.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am informed by the Registrar of the General Medical

Council that the Council, after a prolonged and careful trial, at which the accused practitioner was present and gave evidence on his own behalf, came to the conclusion that a grave professional offence had been committed by Dr. Bawden. I am not prepared to introduce legislation on the lines suggested.

Captain Clive Bigham and the Motor Car Commission.

MR. NIELD: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that the driver of Captain Clive Bigham was, in September last, sent to prison for driving a motor car to the public danger; and will he say whether, as Secretary of the Motor Car Commission, Captain Clive Bigham had any control or, in fact, exercised any control over the evidence given or tendered before that Commission.

MR. GLADSTONE: Captain Bigham informs me that a driver temporarily in his employ was convicted in September, 1905, of driving to the common danger in the High Street, Eton. He himself was not present. He dismissed the man in consequence of this offence, as he had previously warned him about driving carefully. As to the last part of the Question, I have no information, but I see no reason to doubt that Lord Selby and his colleagues on the Commission followed the usual course in the discharge of their duties.

Ballysadare Bay Foreshore.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the claim of a man named M'Gloin to ownership of a portion of the foreshore of Ballysadare Bay, county Sligo, and to exclude fishermen from anchoring their boats there; and if he will communicate with the local coastguard officer for a report on the subject, and give the necessary instructions for protection of the rights of the public and the Crown.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE, Carnarvon Boroughs): I understand that Mr. M'Gloin's claim to certain property did not extend to any foreshore; but I will ask the local coastguard officer for a further report as to whether there has been any interference with the rights of the Crown or the user by the public of the foreshore in question.

Lancashire Justices.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, whether he will state the number of Justices of the Peace appointed within the Duchy since his appointment as Chancellor of the Duchy.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER (Sir HENRY FOWLER, Wolverhampton, E.): One hundred and sixty-eight.

New War Office.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: On behalf of the hon. Member for the Thanet Division of Kent I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works whether he can state when the new War Office buildings in Whitehall will be available for the use of the department.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. HARCOURT, Lancashire, Rossendale): It is not expected that the new buildings will be occupied before Christmas.

Victoria Memorial.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works when the statue of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, in connection with the Victoria Memorial in the Mall, will be erected.

*MR. HARCOURT: I am unable to fix a date. It depends upon the progress made by the sculptor, and the rapidity with which the marble is supplied.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: Can the right hon. Gentleman give the House any idea whether it will be this year, next year or the year after?

*MR. HARCOURT: It will not be this year.

Unproductive Labour in Scottish Prisons.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: On behalf of the hon. Member for the Thanet Division of Kent, I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland if he can state the number of cranks, treadwheels, and other machines of unproductive labour now in use in His Majesty's prisons in Scotland.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (MR. SINCLAIR, Forfarshire): There are not any such machines in use in the prisons of Scotland.

German Gipsies in Scotland.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he is aware that bands of German gipsies are still causing alarm in various districts of Scotland; and whether he will take further action to abate this nuisance.

MR. SINCLAIR: If the hon. Member will give information as to the districts where annoyance has recently been caused the matter shall be investigated.

Dublin Revaluation.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH: I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he has yet made the necessary financial arrangements to enable the revaluation of Dublin to be proceeded with.

MR. ASQUITH: The provision necessary for proceeding with this service has been included in the Supplementary Estimates presented to the House on the 19th instant.

Royal Commissions.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: I beg to ask the Prime Minister if he will state the approximate cost of the Royal Commissions appointed since he accepted office.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Stirling Burghs): I have no information on the subject.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: Cannot the right hon. Gentleman obtain the information for the House?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Does the hon. Gentleman wish me to send to every Commission to know exactly what expenditure they have incurred up to date, or would he like to wait until they have completed their inquiries?

MR. CLAUDE HAY: One effective way would be to ascertain the charges for rent, and for the Secretaries.

Traffic Board for London.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether he has received any communication from the London County Council against the establishment of a traffic board for London, in accordance with the recommendation of the Royal Commission on London Traffic.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No, Sir.

The Stibbert Bequest.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether he will state what progress has been made in carrying out the arrangements between the British and Italian Governments, the Municipality of Florence, and others, to ensure that the works of art and other property bequeathed to the British nation by the late Mr. Stibbert, of Florence, shall be available to the public in the United Kingdom or in Florence.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I can make no definite statement. Communications between the Government and the authorities at Florence are still in progress.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: When will the right hon. Gentlemen be in a position to give this information which I asked for months ago?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It does not depend on me, but on the authorities at Florence. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will address his question to them, as he could get his answer more readily on the spot.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: Will the Government in the public interest defray my expenses if I go out there?

The National Gallery.

MR. CLAUDE HAY: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether any change was made in the powers, duties, and pay of the Director of the National Gallery on the appointment of the present Director.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No change was made on the appointment of the present Director, but his position and duties are under consideration.

Indo-Chinese Opium Traffic.

MR. T. L. CORBETT: I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether he intends to introduce legislation giving effect to the unanimous Vote of the House of Commons against the opium traffic between India and China.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The answer is in the negative. I do not anticipate that legislation will be required to give effect to such measures as His Majesty's Government may consider expedient.

MR. T. L. CORBETT: Do the Government intend to give effect to the unanimous Vote of the House ?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: That is exactly what I said.

MR. T. L. CORBETT: What does the right hon. Gentleman mean ?

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member has had his answer.

MR. T. L. CORBETT: And a vrey unsatisfactory one, too.

NATIONAL GALLERIES OF SCOTLAND BILL.

MR. MORTON (Sutherland) asked if further stages of the National Galleries of Scotland Bill were contemplated in this portion of the session if it should be read a second time to-day. He also pressed the Prime Minister to give the Crofters' Bill precedence over it.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said there was no intention of going beyond the Second Reading of this Bill in this part of the session. He could not change the order of business for that day.

NATIONAL GALLERIES OF SCOTLAND BILL.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

*MR. GULLAND (Dumfries Burghs) expressed his pleasure at seeing so many English Members present, and his hope that they would remain to the end of the proceedings. He was particularly glad that this Bill had been produced, but he was sorry that the Secretary for Scotland had adopted verbatim the Bill of his predecessor; had he drafted a Bill of his own, he would have produced a more democratic measure, and one more in accord with Scottish sentiment as well as one more useful for the purposes of Art. The Bill was the outcome of the report of a Departmental Committee which sat in 1903, a Committee which reported very strongly on the inefficiency of the present Board of Manufactures. This Board consisted of twenty-eight trustees nominated by the Secretary for Scotland for life. They were no doubt most excellent gentlemen: they formed a kind of local House of Lords in Edinburgh. Their average attendance at meetings of the last six years had been seven and a half out of a possible twenty-eight, and there were very few of them who attended regularly. He could not do better than quote the Report of the Committee, which said—

> "The system of appointment appears to have been, not to select those whose particular qualifications and occupations rendered them suitable for the work to be done, but to confer membership as a mark of distinction on eminent men, with little regard to their special fitness."

On the Board there was no one representing the people, no one to whom a humble person like himself could make suggestions or offer reproof as the case might be. That was not the right kind of board for a National Board. The Committee had no permanent Chairman: Members took the chair in rotation, and consequently the Board suffered from a want of direction. The Report of the Committee showed the need for a vigorous strong Board. But what did this Bill suggest ? It suggested a new Board to consist of seven members nominated by the Secretary for Scotland, and to hold office for five years. These gentlemen might be re-elected at the end of their term. That really was a continuance of the present system in a slightly modified form. He had the most perfect confidence in the judgment of his right hon. friend the Secretary for Scotland, and believed that so far as he was personally concerned he would make the very best appointments he could, but he could not help remembering that the right hon. Gentleman's predecessors in office were the people who were responsible for the nomination of the present Board, and though he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would still be in office ten years hence, he would be a bold man who would prophesy what would occur fifteen years hence. It might be suggested that as the appointments were to be made by the Secretary for Scotland there would be a certain amount of Parliamentary control, inasmuch as his actions would be subject to review in this House. In theory that was so, but in practice the House had no opportunity of reviewing the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman. Could the right hon. Gentleman guarantee them an opportunity of discussing the subject once in five years? In the present session, while three days had been given to Irish Estimates, Scotland had had only one day, and two and a half hours even of that were absorbed by an Irish Bill. He had during the present session heard grumblings about the nominations made by the right hon. Gentleman to the Scottish Fishery Board, yet the representatives of fishing constituencies had not been able to bring the matter under the attention of the House The Departmental Committee proposed that there should be fifteen trustees, eight to be nominated by the Secretary for Scotland and seven by other public bodies, *i.e.*, three by the Royal Scottish Academy, one by the Town Council of Edinburgh, one by the University, one by the Society of Antiquaries, and one by the Royal Society. He was in favour of a small Board because it would be more efficient; he thought fifteen too large, but seven too small. He would suggest a Board of nine, of whom the majority should be representative and not nominated. Four might be nominated by the Secretary for Scotland and five by public bodies. One might be nominated by the Edinburgh Town Council, which just now at the request of the Scottish Education Department was starting an art school, taking over the school of the Board of Manufactures and finding the site and a good deal of money. The school was to be managed by a composite Board, on which the Town Council would have but a small representation. Then the Glasgow Town Council, which ran the best art gallery in Scotland, if not in the United Kingdom, and which certainly had the best art gallery building in the kingdom, should have one representative. The other representatives might be appointed by the Convention of Royal Burghs, the Royal Scottish Academy, and the Edinburgh University or some such body. What were the duties of this Board? One was that of buying pictures. In the past there had been no definite policy pursued in the purchase of pictures. The Board had been the recipient of many generous gifts, but undoubtedly people were more likely to give to a responsible representative body than to a State Department. Another very important duty was to get the people to see the pictures. The National Gallery wanted popularising perhaps more than any other institution in Scotland. Ever since he was a small boy he had visited the gallery regularly and had benefited much thereby, but he regretted that now when he went there some four or five times a year he found it almost empty. He attributed that very largely to the non-representative character of the Board, which failed to do what it might to popularise the Gallery and to advertise it. With a representative Board they might have a more forward policy in this respect. Another important duty was to agitate for more money to be given for the purchase of pictures. To secure that the Board must be independent and in a position to assert itself a good deal more than it had done in the past. Up till now it had been far too apathetic, and in the course of the inquiry the Secretary to the Board of Manufactures admitted that during the South African War the Scottish Office refused to apply to the

Treasury for money actually due to Scotland on the ground that it was an inconvenient time to put in the claim. Therefore it was clear they must have an independent Board which, if necessary, would agitate even over the head of the Scottish Office. Mr. Inglis, the Secretary to the Board of Manufactures, in his evidence, said, in reply to Sir John Stirling-Maxwell—

> "I should suggest that this meeting of Committee might be very valuable in calling attention to the fact that we, the Board of Manufactures, cannot very well take action against the constituted authorities of the Government. We have made our remonstrance on various occasions, but the thing has been going on for very many years.
>
> "Sir Walter Armstrong: But is it not the duty of the trustees of a fund which belongs to Scotland through the Treaty of Union to do their best to see that the matter is put right?—An Act of Parliament is an Act of Parliament; we kick, but we can do no more.
>
> "But did you kick enough?—I do not think there is any doubt about that. I am quite sure there was plenty kicking."

He was very much afraid that if they did not have an independent Board it would become a mere creature of Dover House. This same bureaucratic idea ran through the Bill. The Board was created but not trusted. The old Board appointed its own officers subject to the approval of the Secretary for Scotland, but subsection (5) of Clause 4 provided that the officers should be appointed by the Secretary for Scotland, while subsection (6) laid it down that the Board should comply with any instructions that might be laid down by the Secretary for Scotland. Thus the Bill made the Board a mere creature of the Secretary for Scotland. There was something still worse. The Board was not to be allowed even to hold its own property. The National Galleries were transferred to the Board of Works, a not very popular body in Scotland, for the Scottish people could not forget the way in which it neglected Holyrood Palace, with the result that the Lord High Commissioner was driven to live at an hotel. The Law Courts too had been allowed to get into a deplorable condition and the National Museum was badly ventilated. Much, however, was hoped from the approaching visit of the new Commissioner of Works. His contention was that the Board should be allowed to hold the buildings which it had to administer. Dunblane Cathedral after its restoration was handed over to the Board of Manufactures by the Board of Works, but this Bill actually proposed to re-transfer it. He wanted to see a National Board of Trustees, to which should be entrusted the care and maintenance of their national monuments. He wanted to see a thoroughly representative body, strong and popular. His great objection to the Bill was that by it the national character of the National Gallery was to be taken away; the Gallery was to be run from London by some junior clerk in Dover House, and that, in his opinion, was not in accordance with Scottish ideas. It might be that in England there was a nominated Board who managed the national galleries, but surely what was needed was, not that Scotland should follow the English practice, but that they should level up England to the Scottish practice. They had in Scotland some ideas of nationality, and they were quite capable of managing their own affairs. The right hon. Gentleman might say that the points which he was raising were Committee points and should not be raised upon the Second Reading stage. He should rather agree that that was the case, but he did appeal to the right hon. Gentleman if this Bill was read a second time to allow it to go to a Scottish Committee. Although they were glad to have the assistance of English and Irish Members upon Committees as a rule, still he thought that this was pre-eminently a matter for Scottish Members to settle. It should, therefore, go before a Scottish Grand Committee. He begged to move his Amendment.

*MR. SMEATON (Stirlingshire) seconded, and said that when he read this Bill two or three days ago he rubbed his eyes and wondered whether they were under a Liberal or a Tory Government. The Bill was, he believed, a relic of the late Government, and not the production of the present Secretary for Scotland. He had had experience of red-tape, centralisation, and officialism in another quarter of the globe, but he did not think that he had ever known a measure so saturated with the essence of centralisation, officialism, and red tape as was this Bill. The National Gallery belonged to

Scotland, not to Edinburgh; it was a national institution, and there should be representation of all parts of the country—and more particularly of Glasgow, which had shown more liberality and enthusiasm in the promotion of Scottish arts than Edinburgh had—upon the Board which controlled it. The Board, he feared, would remain under the Bill a Board of Edinburghmen; and, what was more, they would not be able to eall their souls their own. They were tied hand and foot, slaves to the will of the Secretary for Scotland. He thought that representation on that Board ought to be more largely distributed and that its action shouid be largely free from official trammels Under the Bill the National Galleries would be managed from London. The Board would be appointed by the Secretary for Scotland, who would also appoint the Chairman. Then also the officers of the establishment were to be appointed by the Secretary for Scotland and the Board were ordered to comply with the directions. given to them by that Minister. The whole thing was official from beginning to end; and the result would be that Scottish art would languish as it had languished for eighty years or more. Although the property and the buildings were to be vested in the old Commissioners it seemed to him that they were to be managed by the new Board. He did not see how the right hon. Gentleman could reconcile these two separate proposals. The measure was really a one man Bill, and the whole administration of the Scottish National Galleries would be managed from London by one man or by a local clique. A similar course had been the cause of the throttling of Scottish art during the last sixty or seventy years. The report of the Royal Commission showed how Scottish art had languished under the clique which had managed the National Galleries. In Glasgow, in the last fifteen or sixteen years, great efforts had been made to encourage art, and the success had been wonderful, due, in great measure, to the fact that officialism had been absent. There was a School of Art in the Western city which had sent out artists distinguished all the world over. There was the Royal Scottish Society of Painters in Water Colours, the only Royal Society of the kind in Scotland, apart from the Royal Scottish Academy. There was a new art gallery in Glasgow housed in a building which cost £250,000, a far greater amount than had ever been spent by any society in Edinburgh. It was paid for partly by the surplus of an exhibition and as to a large proportion by public subscriptions. The Corporation of Glasgow paid £12,000 a year in the upkeep of their galleries, and they spent £1,000 or £1,500 a year for the purchase of pictures, and the bequests were always on the most liberal scale and amounted to £50,000. Did they find that state of things in Edinburgh? Read the Bill in any way possible, and it was a red-tape centralising and officialising Bill. He for his part would, on the whole, rather see the Bill rejected because, in his opinion, it was past mending.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out from the word 'That' to the end of the Question, in order to add the words 'this House regrets that this Bill does not follow the recommendation of the Departmental Committee of 1903 for the appointment of a representative rather than a nominated Board"—(*Mr. Gulland*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith Burghs) was glad the Bill had been introduced, because a very serious state of matters existed in regard to art in Scotland, which, if the Bill was passed, it would do much to remedy. The point which had been raised was mainly with regard to the governing body, and he thought it desirable that the number of the Board of trustees should be small, as in that way they would secure more effective and more national control. He instanced the control of the great galleries in London: there the number of trustees was small. As to its being a representative body, he thought there was a good deal to be said, because if it were a strong representative body it could undoubtedly bring greater pressure upon the Government in regard to the money required for the undertakings which it was sought to benefit.

Under this Bill they received a considerable additional grant, and he should hope that that grant might be yet increased. His hon. friend the Member for Dumfries had suggested that the Bill should be referred to a Scottish Committee, and he was entirely in accord with him, but he hoped that this was not the only Bill which would be referred to a Scottish Grand Committee. If, moreover, a Scottish Grand Committee could be set up and maintained as part of the ordinary procedure of the House it might do very important work not only in informing the Government as to the needs of art in Scotland, but in other matters. He entirely agreed with the strictures that had been passed on the Board of Works. The operations of that Board in Scotland had been very unsatisfactory; they had not only neglected the buildings, but they had in cases of repair allowed some very bad work to be done. Scotland had in fact been neglected by the Board of Works, and he should like to see a new Board in control of its own buildings and other buildings, and one which should appoint its own officers. So far he quite agreed with the criticisms upon the Bill, but as to the main point he was bound to say that there was a great deal to be said on both sides. Some hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House who were in favour of a representative body had rather abandoned that position in favour of the basis of the new Board. He granted the advantages if a fair representation could be obtained, but after all a representative system would not be established by giving representative members of the Board to Glasgow and Edinburgh, because that would not be a representative system for the whole of Scotland. The Bill would, however, give the Board a working control, and would give them something to do, and he hoped that they might have yet more to do in the future. He regarded this as a very urgent matter, and he should regret very much if there was any delay in pressing the measure. In supporting the Bill as it stood, however, he should like to guard himself against being supposed to be a supporter of nominated Boards. This was the only Bill in regard to Scotland under which he would approve of a nominated Board.

SIR JOHN TUKE (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities) said he had placed a Resolution on the Paper in the hope that the claims of science in Scotland might have due recognition. The Secretary for Scotland, in reply to a deputation at Edinburgh some months ago, definitely indicated what course he was going to take in connection with the Arts, and distinctly showed that his mind held that the claims of art were a long way in front of the claims of science. The right hon. Gentleman proposed to occupy or take for the purposes of art two great buildings in Edinburgh at present in the possession of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and thereby dispossess that society of its ancient halls. The Royal Society of Edinburgh was the central society of science in Scotland; it was the clearing house of most matters scientific in Scotland. Through it had passed the works of a large number of scientists who had been born in that country—men who had developed important industrial agencies, who had improved telegraphs and other things, and whose work had contributed very greatly to the material well-being of Scotland. The Royal Institution was an institution of which Scotland was justly proud. It was proud of its past and its present. It was an institution which Scotland would be grieved to see injured in any way whatever. Judging from the speech the right hon. Gentleman made in Edinburgh it would seem that he had never thoroughly appreciated the importance of this society which he now proposed to dispossess of the rooms in which it had sat for eighty years. One of these great buildings was designed for the purpose of science and art, and rooms were actually designed and built in it for the purposes of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. They were now to be dispossessed. It seemed to him that this was only another instance of the way in which science was treated in Scotland. The Royal Society of London had £5,000 a year from a Government grant and £1,000 a year for publications, and it sat rent free in Burlington House. The Irish Royal Society received £1,500 a year as a Government grant, and sat rent free, while its fellows contributed £310 to its annual revenue. The Royal

Society of Edinburgh received in contributions from its fellows £1,200 a year, and £300 a year as a Government grant, and what became of that money? The £300 a year received as a Government grant from the Treasury was paid to the Treasury again as rent. That was the treatment that Scotland had received from a long succession of Governments. Although he blamed those Governments he did not blame them nearly so much as the succession of Scottish Members who had sat in this House, and had refused to combine together to obtain justice to Scotland. He had no doubt that the Secretary for Scotland would do his best, as he had assured the deputation he would, for the Royal Society, but he held that it would have been far better if they had obtained definite assurances from him as to the means of housing the Royal Society properly before bringing this Bill before the House. His statements with regard to art were very definite and very generous, but the future of science had been relegated to the background. He desired to be very frank with the right hon. Gentleman and to tell him that a considerable sum of money would be necessary to rehouse the Royal Society in such a manner as to maintain its dignity and prestige, and to house its extremely valuable library. He was glad of the one assurance which they had received from the right hon. Gentleman, namely, that the body proposed to set up would not dispossess the Royal Society of Edinburgh until proper accommodation had been found for it, but he would like to see some statement of that kind in the Bill, and therefore he asked the right hon. Gentleman whether he would accept as an additional clause something to the following effect—

> "It is hereby provided that the society shall not be required to vacate its apartments in the Royal Institution Building appropriated to its use when the building was erected until equivalent accommodation on a suitable site shall have been provided out of public money for the use of the said society."

In his anxiety to see the interests of art provided for in Scotland he was second to none, but under all the circumstances he maintained that they had the right to make equal demands in favour of science. He would urge the right hon. Gentleman if he got his Bill to-day to relegate it to a Committee. He also wished to ask the Prime Minister whether it would not be desirable to establish before the autumn session a Scottish Bill Committee and to allow this thoroughly and essentially Scottish measure to be the first which came before it. He begged to move.

MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS (Kent, St. Augustine's) desired to say a few words upon this Bill, as he had the honour to take the chair of the Departmental Committee which considered the matter. While he generally supported the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, he desired to see incorporated in the Bill some such Amendment as that which had been suggested. When the Committee came to inquire into the composition and the work of the old Board it came to the conclusion that the composition of that body was not satisfactory; that it was antiquated and not satisfactory for its present purpose. It was too unwieldy, consisting of twenty-eight or thirty members. Against those gentlemen, comprising the Board of Manufacturers, he had nothing to say. They were largely recruited if he remembered rightly from legal circles, and included in their number only one or two members representing art and science in Scotland. It was quite clear that the members of that Board in the past had been selected without sufficient consideration, having regard to the duties they had to perform. Many of them lived great distances from Edinburgh, with the result that the attendance was not regular and there was no general continuity of policy. The Committee also considered that there ought to be a permanent chairman of the Board, a provision he was glad to see in the Bill. The absence of such a permanent chairman had, in the opinion of the Committee, led to a want of system and to a want of continuity of policy. This Bill met to some extent the recommendations of the Committee, in the appointment of a permanent chairman, in the reduction of and the reconstruction of the Board, and in limiting the period of service of members of the Board to five years. But it did not secure what many members of the Departmental Committee desired, namely, an adequate representation of the artistic and scientific societies of Scotland;

that the Board of Trustees should consist of fifteen members, eight appointed by the Secretary for Scotland, and seven by art societies and other bodies in Scotland. He believed the Committee recommended that there should be three members appointed by the Royal Scottish Academy, one by the Royal Society, one by the Society of Antiquaries, one by the University and one by the Town Council of Edinburgh. He thought those bodies ought to be represented. The hon. Member for Dumfries had suggested there should be a member representing the School of Art, Glasgow. He had great sympathy in that direction, because he believed there was no School of Art in the two countries which was better carried on or which possessed better attributes than the School of Art, Glasgow. When the Bill came up for consideration in Committee he trusted they would be able to secure some concession from His Majesty's Government in the direction of representation of the learned societies and the galleries in Scotland. The question of the retention of the Royal Society in the Royal Institution buildings came before the Committee when they sat in Edinburgh, and certainly it was not contemplated by the Committee that the Royal Society should suffer. The Royal Society occupied the whole of the west side of the ground floor of the building, and a large octagonal room at the south end. He did not think that the Royal Society even there were properly housed, or that they had room for their excellent library; but the question the Committee had to consider then was the tenure of the rooms, and he considered—and he thought the Committee agreed with him—that whatever legal right the Royal Society might have, they certainly had the moral right to continue the use of their present rooms, or, in the event of those rooms being imperatively required for gallery space, they should not be turned out unless and until some equivalent accommodation could be provided at the public cost. He did not know what the intention of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Scotland was on that point. He had hoped he would have made a statement earlier in the debate, because it might have saved time. But he had no doubt the right hon. Gentleman was well advised in waiting to reply to the whole debate. What he should like to be assured was that if it was the intention, as he believed, to dispossess the Royal Society in the Royal Institution, at all events adequate provision would be made for their accommodation, or, at any rate, some money would be presented to them by the State for the purpose of finding accommodation. The Bill was not a Party one. They desired to see the Board properly constituted, and that it might be an efficient machine properly to carry out the duties which it was called upon to discharge. He still thought there ought to be a representative element on the Board, and that they ought not to be entirely in the hands of the Scottish Office. He appealed to hon. Members not to conduct this debate in a controversial spirit. He was perfectly aware that the Scottish Office during the late Government was of the same opinion as apparently the Scottish Office was now, but as a Member of the late Government he did not agree with that particular point, and he adhered to the recommendations of the Committee over which he presided. He was sure the distinguished member of the Committee sitting on the Treasury Bench would agree that they gave very great thought and took very great pains over their Report. He could not think that in the short period that had elapsed since that Report was presented any reason had arisen why the Members of the Committee should have changed their views. Whilst supporting the Second Reading of the Bill, he reserved his right to move or support Amendments on one or two points.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. SINCLAIR, Forfarshire) said he was sure the Members on the Ministerial side of the House welcomed the intervention in the debate of the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down. He was sure also that they would respond to his appeal not to conduct the discussion of this Bill on Party lines. The Government had no reason to complain of the discussion that had taken place. It was said that this Bill, which had been founded upon the Report of the Committee presided over by the right hon. Gentleman, had not followed the Report in all particulars. That was true in regard to some of the details, but the spirit and the intention was to disentangle and simplify the various functions discharged by the present Board of Manufactures, and that was done by this Bill, taken in conjunction with the arrangements which were now being made administratively. On behalf of the Government, let him disclaim emphatically any idea that either in the form or in the spirit of their proposals was any preference shown, or intended to be shown, to the interests of art as opposed to those of science, or that there was any coolness or neglect by the present Government towards the interests of science in Scotland. This was a Bill which established new machinery. It was agreed on all hands that the present arrangements did not afford adequate scope for the development of either [science or art. New arrangements were necessary, and a stimulus to these new arrangements came as strongly from the desire to benefit science and the institution which was specially identified with science in Scotland as from the desire to benefit art and the institution identified with art in that country. It was hoped that the Bill would afford adequate scope for the development for a considerable time to come of both science and art in Scotland. Let him say a few words about the present allocation of the buildings. By Clause 3 of the Bill the Board of Manufactures ceased to exist, and its place was taken by the Board of Trustees of seven members nominated, according to the Bill, by the Secretary for Scotland. The Board of Manufactures consisted of twenty-eight members, and there was no permanent chairman. There was a secretary with a salary of £500 a year, and the total annual cost of the whole of the salaries of the department amounted to £1,080. In former days the Board's revenue was devoted to the assistance of various industries in Scotland; hence its name. It helped fisheries, woollen and linen manufactures, the cultivation of flax, and other miscellaneous purposes. These were all passed away, and its duties now were confined to the encouragement of art and the management of certain institutions, including the conduct of the School of Art, the maintenance and management of the National Gallery and the National Portrait Gallery, and the management of the Applied Art School, recently affiliated to the School of Art. The buildings under whole or partial control of the Board of Manufactures were the Royal Institution, the National Gallery, the National Portrait Gallery, and Dunblane Cathedral. The arrangements which were being conducted in conjunction with the Bill changed in important respects the present allocation of the buildings, and it was one of those changes to which the hon. Member for Edinburgh University this afternoon had taken exception as affecting the Royal Society. The Royal Institution building was at present divided between the Board Offices, the Royal Society, the Statue Gallery, the School of Art and Applied Art and the staff. The National Gallery building was used practically for the purposes of the National Gallery and the Royal Academy. What the Government were endeavouring to do was to give more space for these various institutions. The necessities had entirely outgrown the present arrangements. That was true of the governing bodies, but it was still more emphatically true of the buildings. The National Gallery had no room for development because in the same building it had to find quarters for the exhibition of the Royal Academy. There was not half the wall-space that was required for either of these institutions. The Royal Institution housed the Royal Society, which even now wanted greatly increased accommodation. In both buildings there was congestion, friction, discomfort, and damage to all the interests concerned. It was therefore necessary that the Government should be enabled to proceed a further stage to-day in the arrangements which it contemplated under this Bill. Parliament alone could afford the assistance for which he pleaded in the interests of all the societies concerned. It was true that the Bill rejected a scheme put forward by the Committee for a National Gallery to cost £200,000. As to that he could say that nothing in the Bill and no arrangements under the Bill were a real obstacle to the attainment at some future date of the scheme outlined in the Report. The Government did not feel justified in putting that forward at the present time in the condition of public opinion either in this House or outside, and they were putting forward a less ambitious scheme in the full confidence that it would meet for a considerable time the necessities of the case. In the first place, under the new arrangements the Government proposed to give to the National Gallery the whole of the accommodation in the National Gallery building, which would greatly increase the wall space and, it was hoped, give scope for the development of the Gallery, which was a national one. In regard to the other buildings, arrangements were being made, in conjunction with the Edinburgh Town Council and the Heriot Watt College, for the establishment of a School of Art which should have adequate premises in another part of the city, and he had no doubt that with the friendly co-operation of the Town Council and the college authorities the scheme would be brought to a successful conclusion. That left the Royal Society and the Royal Academy unprovided for. Both bodies had equal claims upon the consideration of Parliament, and it became a question as to which of these two bodies should occupy the Royal Institution building. There was not room for both, and after a full consideration of the case, taking in view the necessity that any public exhibition of pictures should be accessible to the public, the choice of the Government was clear that the Princes Street site was that to which the Royal Academy and exhibition pictures had the prior claim. He could assure the House, however, that the pledge which he gave to a deptation of the Royal Society in Edinburgh that their reasonable claims should be met in a reasonable spirit would be most thoroughly and accurately adhered to. In the first place, he ought to recognise the way in which the Royal Society had faced the situation, and he ought to recognise also on behalf of the Government with gratitude the fact that they were now in co-operation with the Royal Society in endeavouring to find an adequate solution of the problem. He himself had no doubt that by the time this Bill reached the Committee he would be able to report that the claims of the Royal Society had been adequately met. The question of the vesting of the buildings in the Board of Works had been raised. That was not so simple an operation as some of his hon. friends seemed to think. It was not his duty on this occasion to enter into arguments as to whether the control of Parliament over the Board of Works was or was not sufficient. The practical point for them to consider to-day was whether it was an advantage or disadvantage that these buildings should be so vested. He thought undoubtedly there was a distinct advantage in so vesting them, inasmuch as they would be maintained and paid for at the cost of the Board of Works. They could not have it both ways. They could not avoid the control of the Board of Works if the Board, with the assistance of the Treasury, found all the money for the maintenance of these buildings, and it was partly the advantage of the new state of things that British money, so to speak, would go to this purpose, and that a draft for the upkeep of these national buildings would not be made upon money which was purely Scottish. That was really the practical purpose of this change. Requests had been made by both the Royal Academy and the Royal Society that they should be mentioned in this Bill. It was not considered necessary that they should be mentioned. This Bill was for a limited purpose. A good deal had been said to-day about the failure of the Board of Manufactures to carry out its work. He did not think, however, that they should allow the Board of Manufactures to pass away without a recognition of its long history, and the useful work which it had done in Scotland. The necessities of the case had outgrown the situation, and this Bill proposed to set up an authority which had a definite and limited duty. In defining and limiting that duty it was hoped to increase and press upon the authority its sense of responsibility. The duty of this new Board of Trustees would be to manage these buildings and to purchase pictures as they were allowed by the grant. Much criticism had been passed to-day upon the constitution of the governing body. This was entirely a matter which should be discussed and decided in Committee. He would venture to place his own opinion before the House, but he acknowledged the weight of opinion which had been expressed to-day in favour of the introduction of some representative element. He could assure the House that he would not fail to show every disposition to consider the wishes of the Committee on the point. It was agreed that the constitution of the Board of Manufactures would not do. A Board of twenty-eight members was far too large for any business body, and those who knew anything of business in Scotland knew that it was extremely difficult to obtain an adequate meeting of any large body, or of any small body sometimes, in Edinburgh. He had been a member of committees which were national in character, and unless the business was important, it was extremely difficult to secure a big attendance.

Mr. GULLAND: On nominated boards.

Mr. SINCLAIR said he was referring to elected boards. His hon. friend objected to the Board because it was nominated. Let them consider the question dispassionately. There were two sides to every question. Let them hear what could be said on the other side, because, after all, they had to come to a decision on the point on a future occasion, and he held himself perfectly free to alter his opinion, as he dared say his hon. friend held himself free to alter his. This Board had to manage the galleries and to purchase pictures. The Committee's suggestion was that the Board should be partly nominated by various bodies and partly appointed by the Secretary for Scotland. His hon. friend had suggested, and other hon. Gentlemen had expressed sympathy with the view, that it should be an elected body. He thought all agreed so far that it should be a small body. But it was very difficult to elect a small body to carry out a national work. How were they to be elected and by whom? How were they to achieve a fair representation of all the interests? He was pointing out the considerations which had led the Government to put forward the Bill in its present form as, at any rate, the basis for discussion. Let them look also at the experience elsewhere. He had made such researches as had been possible. He had examined the constitution of the governing bodies of national galleries both at home and abroad. He had had the opportunity of conferring with men who were certainly great authorities in this matter, and he found no testimony whatever in favour of an elected board for this particular purpose. Nor was it asked for by those who were perhaps specially interested, namely, the members of the Royal Academy. At any rate, the Royal Academy raised no objection on that point. As to the principle of election it was his desire that they should arrive at the best solution of this particular point in the interest of all concerned. He could assure his hon. friends that every clause of this Bill had been the subject of most anxious and careful consideration, and that it had not been until after the most detailed examination of all its provisions, and of their possible consequences, that it had been brought before the House in its present form. These were Committee points, and again he gave the assurance that so far as the Government were concerned they had a completely open mind with regard to them. He had been asked whether he could give an assurance that this Bill would come on as the first Bill after the holidays. Hon. Members must know that he had the warmest sympathy with that suggestion, but he was not able to give that assurance at the present time. He was not able to give any indication of what the future of the Bill would be, but he appealed to the House to allow it to be read a second time now. No interest would be prejudiced through that being done. It would enable the Government to proceed further with the negotiations which were now going on, and which he confidently hoped would be brought to a successful conclusion. He would ask his hon. friends to remember that the present might be a golden opportunity for settling this question in a satisfactory way. If they allowed the opportunity to pass it might very well be that in a subsequent session they would find the interests of the Bill conflicting with the interests of some other Bill against whose claims it might have to be weighed.

*Mr. BUTCHER (Cambridge University) said that as he had not the honour of being a Scottish representative his apology for speaking on this Bill was that he had had a connection for twenty years with Edinburgh, and that the case for the Royal Society of Edinburgh was to his mind the case of Learning and Science throughout the United Kingdom. The charter of the Society went back to 1783, and the Society was now one of the great scientific centres of the whole United Kingdom. It had a library which was consulted by people from all parts of Scotland, and in the last ten years the cost of publication of its works of research had been actually doubled. The Secretary for Scotland would readily understand that this Bill did create very deep anxiety and apprehension in regard to the future of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and what the right hon. Gentleman had just said would be read with great relief not only in Edinburgh, but all over Scotland. The right hon. Gentleman had renewed in more emphatic terms the pledge which he gave some time ago in Edinburgh that reasonable claims of the Royal Society of Edinburgh would not be overlooked if effect was given to this Bill and the Royal Society was ejected from its buildings. The tenure under which the Royal Society held the buildings was very peculiar. It was only a tenant of the buildings, but at the same time a tenant under what was virtually a trust, and more than one distinguished Judge in Scotland had stated publicly that the Society could not fairly and equitably be dispossessed of its present accommodation without receiving equivalent accommodation elsewhere. That, he believed, was admitted now by the Secretary for Scotland. The Society had no formal legal right, it was true, but it occupied rooms which were built for three purposes, namely, art, science, and archæology, and there it had been for the last eighty years. He urged that when a settlement came to be made with the Royal Society of Edinburgh it should be put in not only as good a position as it held to-day, but a very much better position. He admitted that no site could be superior to that on which the present buildings stood, but the Society should be put in a better position in regard to recognition from the State for the great public service it was doing. Scotland had received most penurious treatment in this respect as compared with the other parts of the United Kingdom. It would not be fair, of course, to compare the Royal Society of Edinburgh with the Royal Society of London as they worked on such a different scale; but he compared the Royal Irish Academy with the Royal Society of Edinburgh. He did not know to what the difference in their treatment was due. He believed that for some reason or other Scotland was not so articulate as Ireland. If hon. Members for Scotland would press their claims in the way Irish Members did theirs, he did not think the anomaly and absurdity would continue. The Royal Irish Academy, starting with the same grant of £300 a year, which was still enjoyed by the Royal Society of Edinburgh, had by successive increments gone up to £1,500, and was in addition rent free. The £300 received by Edingburgh had to be paid over for rent. That seemed to him a real Scottish grievance calling for remedy. He hoped that when the question of the housing of the Royal Society came to be considered by the Treasury Scotland would be treated in a much less parsimonious spirit than hitherto. The demand for an increased grant was unanswerable. It was a great relief to learn that the fear was groundless that under this Bill Art in Scotland was to be aided only at the expense of Science.

MR. CROMBIE (Kincardineshire) said they were all agreed that Scotland should get more money, and he was sure they would have the aid of the hon. Member who had just spoken in their efforts in that direction. He had listened to this debate with a more or less impartial mind, and, while there was a great deal in the Bill with which they all thoroughly sympathised, there were points which created strong feeling. He thought the main point was whether the body should be representative or not. On that point, which was one of Committee, there was room for a great deal of discussion. For his own part he should be pleased to relegate it to the Committee, but his friends who were inclined to oppose the Bill felt that in Committee the Government might override their opinion. That risk would be minimised if the Bill were sent to a Committee upstairs composed wholly or mainly of Scottish

Members, but it could not be entirely prevented, because a Government could always have supremacy in a House where they had a majority. It would be unreasonable to ask the Secretary for Scotland to give a pledge on that subject. It was a matter for the Prime Minister and the Government, and he could only hope that the Bill would be sent to a Committee upstairs. If they were clearly to understand that in Committee there would be full scope for discussion, he would suggest that his hon. friend might withdraw his Amendment.

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley) said he agreed that it was quite time that a reform was made in the arrangements for the management of the Scottish Art Galleries. In the words of the Report of the Departmental Committee, museums or art galleries managed on the principles which had hitherto obtained must be dead institutions without that organic life or movement which, from the very necessities of the case, ought to be an essential to the conduct of a museum and art gallery. For his own part nothing could have condemned the Board of Manufactures more than their own last annual Report. A few months ago an endeavour was made to secure for the nation the superb portrait of Sir Henry Raeburn, by himself. A few private individuals, headed by Sir Thomas Gibson-Carmichael, subscribed the money by which the picture was secured by the nation; but not a word appeared in the Report of the Board of Manufactures in regard to the matter. He was glad to say, however, that Sir Thomas Gibson-Carmichael had since been honoured by being made a Trustee of the National Gallery. He approved of the proposal in the Bill for a nominated Board, although the hon. Gentleman below the Gangway and his friends recommended a representative Board. He wanted to know, representative of whom?

MR. GULLAND: Representative of other galleries, and of the people of Scotland.

LORD BALCARRES said he could not see any advantage of having scientific societies associated in the management of the National Gallery, or that the Royal Burghs had any *status* whatever in the matter of looking after a National Gallery. The Royal Burghs in England were not represented on the body which looked after the National Art Gallery in London. The hon. Member for Dumfries Burghs had said that he thought a representative body would be in a better and more independent position in pressing for money grants, but he did not think that a body representing the Royal Burghs, or the Geographical and other scientific societies would be in a stronger position to demand money from the Government than a nominated Board. He did not agree with the hon. Gentleman who seconded the Amendment, that this was a one-man Bill, and that the new Board would be dominated by a Secretary in London. After all, he did not think it was fair criticism to say that because the Secretary for Scotland had to spend the greater part of the Parliamentary year in London he was not under the control of the people of Scotland. The next question after that of representation which exercised hon. Members opposite was as to how the property was to be dealt with. Before they could settle how the property was to be vested, it should be clearly understood what the policy of the new body was to be. An hon. Gentleman had said that Edinburgh Castle and Linlithgow Palace should be transferred to the custody of the new Board. He was no great admirer of what had been done by the Office of Works in dealing with the ancient buildings and palaces of Scotland. He himself, having an intense interest in the preservation of these ancient buildings, thought that greater power should be given to those in charge of them to prevent damage being done. He hoped that it was not proposed to transfer the buildings referred to in the Bill to the new Board. The buildings of the British Museum, for instance, were not vested in the trustees of the British Museum, but in the Board of Works. He ventured to suggest to the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Scotland that he should consider the propriety of recognising in the text of the Bill the title of the Royal Society and of the Royal Scottish Academy to full recognition and accommodation, in either the existing or the proposed new buildings. He was prepared to support the Bill as it stood, though it was in the nature of a compromise, and he was sure that when hon. Members come to work out their scheme of representation, about which they talked so glibly, they would find that the task was more difficult than they thought.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.) was grateful for the request coming from the Opposition side of the House and made by the hon. Member for Edinburgh University that this Bill should be referred to a Scottish Grand Committee. He thought that suggestion, coming from the Conservative side of the House, formed a welcome landmark. He hoped the Secretary for Scotland would not only take to heart the question of referring this Bill to a Scottish Grand Committee, but would do so in the case of all Bills applying exclusively to Scotland. Scotland had been treated with deplorable parsimony for the last ten years. In regard to Art that parsimony had been increasing. His only point of alarm was that the Secretary for Scotland was not able to give a pledge that this Bill should go to a Scottish Grand Committee, but except upon that one point he was in agreement with everything the right hon. Gentleman had said. He earnestly urged that a Scottish Grand Committee should be constituted before the end of the session and that this Bill should be sent to it.

*MR. R. DUNCAN (Lanarkshire, Govan) said it was essential that this question should be settled in accordance with the instructed opinion of Scotland. They had great artists in Scotland, also living voluntary associations of art-lovers, and he pleaded for a national system in this matter. Such a system could not be carried out by a wooden officialdom, and he should like to have an assurance that this matter was to be settled principally by Scotsmen associated only with those Englishmen and Irishmen who took a living interest in our national affairs.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.) said the Irish Nationalist Members had great sympathy with the aspirations of Scotland in this matter, and would endeavour to assist Scottish Members in securing what they desired. There should, he argued, be freedom in art, and he hoped when the case of Ireland was dealt with they might secure the support of Scottish Members for their claims.

MR. C. E. PRICE (Edinburgh, Central) hoped that the Government would consent to the Bill being referred to a Scottish representative Committee whose decision would be accepted by all the Scottish Members.

*MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON (Lanarkshire, N.W.) appealed to the House to give the Bill a Second Reading. He personally as a Scotsman welcomed the Bill simply because he felt that by it they were getting from the Treasury some money which belonged to Scotland. That was an achievement upon which he was perfectly prepared to congratulate the Secretary for Scotland. The right hon. Gentleman was getting money which had been owing to Scotland not for the last fifteen years only, as had been stated, but from a date very much further back. If there was any blame attaching to the matter it attached to generations of predecessors of those who represented Scotland to-day. He desired to associate himself with what the Secretary for Scotland had said in regard to the constitution of the Board. The proposition that these Boards should be elected was entirely novel and it was not the proposition put forward by the Committee. The Committee proposed that the members should be nominated, but that they should be nominated by various bodies and representatives of those various bodies. His objection, so far as he cared to raise any objection, was that it was very difficult to fix responsibility for elected bodies on the Secretary for Scotland, but if there was a nominative body responsible to the Secretary for Scotland, anybody dissatisfied with the action of that board could come down and say "The board for which you are responsible has committed what we believe to be a mistake. Now we wish to have your opinion, and want to know whether you are prepared to put it right." Again, if they were to have a representative body how far was that representation to go? A claim had been put forward for a Glasgow representative on this Board, but, as the hon. Member for Leith Burghs had pointed out, there were other districts in Scotland with very high claims to representation, and if they admitted all those claims they would go near to make the board as cumbrous and as unwieldy as the old one. The point raised by the hon. Member for Leith Burghs as to the fabric had been already dealt with; the real point was that the Board of Works were in future going to undertake the maintenance and the upkeep of these buildings, and if any Members who objected to handing these matters over to the Board of Works were prepared to say that the new Board were to undertake the maintenance and upkeep of the fabric, the Committee no doubt would be prepared to consider that. He personally dissented from any such suggestion, because he thought that that matter ought to be left to a national Department. As to the Royal Society, the Secretary for Scotland had, when in Edinburgh, given an assurance on this matter; the right hon. Gentleman had repeated that assurance to-day, but he thought that the House would much appreciate it if the Prime Minister in his capacity as First Lord of the Treasury could contribute something more to that assurance. In his view this matter could be adequately discussed in the Committee stage and he hoped therefore that the hon. Member would withdraw his Amendment.

*Mr. J. M. HENDERSON (Aberdeenshire, W.) said the Board need not be of so unwieldly a number as twenty-eight; it might well be a body of twelve. On that board they should have the representatives of the four principal towns in Scotland. Glasgow had an excellent Art School and a splendid gallery; Aberdeen had a splendid gallery which, though smaller than that of Edinburgh, showed that the inhabitants of that town had done more for the progress of art in twenty years than Edinburgh had done in double the time. The feeling that existed in these towns was that everything was being done for Edinburgh. The Bill spoke of Edinburgh and did not recognise any other gallery but the Edinburgh Art Gallery. They could easily get a Committee of twelve from Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee and the other large towns of Scotland. He did not care whether they were elected or nominated so long as the large towns of Scotland who had spent large sums on their art schools and galleries were recognised. He failed to see why, if the whole of the grant was used for the purpose of buying pictures, all those pictures should go to the Edinburgh gallery. It was quite right to spend money to make Edinburgh attractive, but if money was to be spent for the pleasure and enlightenment of the people of Scotland and the Empire that money ought to be spread over the country, so far as the purchase of pictures was concerned, so that each town could have its share. All these four towns had good galleries, and would claim some of the fund in order to stimulate the generosity of the citizens, already so great and commendable. He hoped the Prime Minister would see his way to give Scotland a Committee entirely of Scottish Members, because this was naturally a Scottish subject, and he was quite sure they would never give satisfaction in the north until these large towns were represented.

Mr. COCHRANE (Ayrshire, N.) said he fully appreciated that the difficulties which the right hon. Gentleman had had to face in getting an adequate Board were very considerable, but he thought that in getting a small Board the right hon. Gentleman was on the whole going on right lines. It would not be possible adequately to find representation for all those bodies which might reasonably claim representation. The number of such bodies in Scotland was large, and if the right hon. Gentleman appointed a representative from every body which could put in an adequate claim to be represented the Board would be too large and unwieldy. The right hon. Gentleman had told the House that he had carefully studied this question and made inquiries as to what were the customs of similar galleries abroad. Then again some hon. Members suggested that this Bill should be submitted to a Scottish Grand Committee. If ever there was a question of an Imperial nature, surely it was this one. The claims in regard to this question were not upon the Exchequer of Scotland, but upon the Imperial Exchequer, He did not think Scotland had had anything like just or fair treatment in this session of Parliament, and he hoped that in future Scottish affairs would not be dealt with on a Saturday afternoon at the end of the session, but that adequate time would be allowed for their discussion. With regard to the Scottish Grand Committee, the right hon. Gentleman, whilst he had informed himself by every possible means, appeared to have taken that course which was always the least satisfactory. After saying he had looked into every corner of the question, he had wound up by saying that he had an open mind.

MR. SINCLAIR said that what he stated was that he would approach all these matters in Committee with a readiness to give full weight to all the arguments used.

MR. COCHRANE said he did not think that a Scottish Grand Committee would be a very satisfactory body to deal with this question on many grounds. In the first place these were subjects of Imperial interest, and a purely Scottish Grand Committee would not be the best body to deal with science and art. As Scotsmen he thought they would be wise and liberal-minded if they invited the assistance and support of Members from other parts of Great Britain, who would be willing on a Committee to give them the benefit of their advice and experience. In dealing with the question of science, the right hon. Gentleman's words had fallen short of what he had anticipated. This was a question of the most vital interest, and all the right hon. Gentleman had said was that he had not any coldness towards science. He thought that was a very unsatisfactory and insufficient way of describing the feelings of the Secretary for Scotland towards science.

MR. SINCLAIR: What I stated was that the Government did not wish to treat these two separate interests except upon absolutely equal terms.

MR. COCHRANE said he had listened very carefully to the right hon. Gentleman and had written down his words.

MR. SINCLAIR: And I also have got them here.

MR. COCHRANE said he was not aware that the right hon. Gentleman was in the habit of contravening in any way the custom of the House by reading his speeches *verbatim et literatim*. The actual words used were what he had stated. He was pleased that their feelings towards science were not of a lukewarm character, and that the Government were taking a warm, firm and intense interest in the promotion of science. He hoped that the Secretary for Scotland would use all his efforts to see that the claims of Scotland were fully recognised. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would not mind taking the House into his confidence and giving them some idea of the terms which he thought would adequately and fairly meet the claims of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

MR. SINCLAIR: That would not be possible without prejudice to the arrangements which are now proceeding.

MR. COCHRANE said he had a most profound mistrust not of the right hon. Gentleman or his sincerity, but of the action which would be taken by the Treasury when this matter came to be dealt with. He had always found that the Treasury considered themselves custodians of the national purse, but the limit of their generosity was generally reached when they crossed the Tweed. He was somewhat fortified in that view by an expression of opinion by Sir Francis Mowatt, before the Departmental Committee. He stated that the rates of the National Gallery were paid by the Treasury in Ireland, but in Scotland they were not paid by the Imperial Exchequer. The treatment of the two nations had never been the same, and Ireland had always been the spoiled child whilst Scotland was the snubbed child of the Government. It was contended that the treatment had been equal, but Scotland had been content to be snubbed in this matter, and they had never been treated with the same consideration as was extended to Ireland. He did not grudge any of the grants made to Ireland, but he thought they should stand together and see that Scotland was fairly treated. With regard to the Royal Society, it would have been more satisfactory and helpful and would not in any way have delayed the consideration of this measure had the right hon. Gentleman felt himself in a position to give some sketch as to what he thought was fair and adequate treatment. One hon. Member had stated that a suggestion had been made that £120,000 should be spent on National Galleries in Scotland. Any sum short of that would not be adequate treatment for science and art in Scotland. With regard to the Royal Society, it had done a great work in Scotland, but ever since the year 1780 they had been struggling along with inadequate means. They received now a miserable contribution of £300 a year, which the Government took back in the form of rent. He appealed to hon. Members not to be satisfied with a mere statement that the right hon. Gentleman intended to do his best. As far as the Second Reading of this Bill was concerned he should support it.

Mr. A. DEWAR (Edinburgh, S.) thanked the Secretary for Scotland for the close attention he had given to Scottish interests, for he had taken a great deal of trouble in the discharge of his duties. The right hon. Gentleman actually went up to Edinburgh in order to get the mind of the Scottish people on the spot. They thanked him for that, and they thanked him for this Bill. Since the year 1847 they had had a nominated Board in connection with the galleries, and it had not been a success. The failure was due to the fact that it was a nominated Board and to nothing else. He had taken the trouble to go over the Report which had been issued, and he wished to make a few quotations to show how the Board had failed. The Report said—

> "We are satisfied that the present composition of the Board is not satisfactory. We have no intention of reflecting upon the capacity of the individual members of the Board, because a mere perusal of the list of distinguished men who at present compose it is sufficient to refute such a suggestion."

That was perfectly true, for he had analysed the composition of the Board, and he found that it contained ten Privy Councillors, seven peers, seven baronets, six judges, two knights, and five esquires. There was not, however, a business man upon the Board, and never had been. He recognised that some of the members were business men, but they had never devoted their business faculties to this particular Board, and his point was that the reason they had not done so was that they were responsible to no one and they received no salary. Nobody in Scotland had any real control over the Board, and its members were asked to attend only about ten meetings during the year. The Report said—

> "A certain number whose names we need not mention never attended at all. An average of 7·6 did attend, and the rest never came near the meetings."

And what did these 7·6 do?

The Report said—

> "They could give no satisfactory account of their meetings, duties or powers. We learn that their meetings were not frequent and no minutes were kept. The curator discharges his duties admirably, but he is unduly restricted by the policy, or want of policy, of the Board."

That was a very serious indictment of the Board which was in charge of Scottish art, because all they did was to interfere with the only man who knew anything about the subject. But the Report contained a more comprehensive indictment for it said—

> "Many of the pictures are so badly hung that it is impossible to see them."

The first duty of those in charge of an art gallery was to hang pictures where they could be seen. The Report went on to say—

> "A valuable picture was lately bequeathed, but no room could be found for it except with difficulty. The National Gallery is not reasonably clean."

That was not the way to stimulate public generosity, and if there had been more business men on the Board, they might have taken more trouble to provide accommodation and see that the gallery was kept in a condition in which the public could comfortably visit the establishment. It was said that the management was such as to fail to inspire the public with confidence. To whom was this Board responsible? Surely not to the Secretary for Scotland. If the members of this Board had been receiving salaries the Minister at the House would have had some control over them. Then came a more serious charge—

> "They have failed to press Scottish claims for equivalent treatment in regard to the purchase of pictures. The salaries paid to Scotish officials compare unfavourably with the salaries paid in analogous institutions in England and Ireland. We can find no trace of anything like a specific statement that national buildings should be maintained on a similar system in Scotland to that of the sister isle. Had such a statement be fully and clearly put forward we cannot but think that Parliament would have recognised the justice of the claim. We think the failure to have put forward any such case amounts to a dereliction of duty on the part of a Board to which the art paintings of Scotland were entrusted."

All this was due to the fact that the Board was nominated and therefore irresponsible. He asked the right hon. Gentleman to give effect to what after all was the suggestion of a Committee that this Board should be made more representative. Why not elect some members from the Royal Scottish Academy and other representatives from various parts of Scotland? Some of those representing town councils might also be useful on the Board, for at any rate they would see that the gallery was kept reasonably clean. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would carefully consider the question of sending this Bill to a Grand Committee. Where were the English Members who were going to assist them in regard to this Imperial question? It was known that this debate was coming on. They would not come to the House when the Bill was in Committee, and the great advantage would be that if it was sent to a Grand Committee they would have the same men there and it would be got through at once. They had only had a Saturday afternoon for their Caledonian day, and it was not too much to ask that they should have their next Caledonian day upstairs.

*MR. MORTON (Sutherland) did not see any great difficulty in allowing this Bill to have a Second Reading after the promise of the Prime Minister that the next stage would not come on until the autumn session. He was sorry that the Government had introduced what in his opinion was a miserable Bill, unworthy of Edinburgh and Scotland. Surely a few months might have been allowed for the Members for Scotland to consider this matter with their constituents before the Second Reading was taken. He should like to know what the late Government did for Scotand; they ignored her on every possible occasion except when they wanted money. He was not satisfied with the present Bill, because he was certain it would not do what the Scottish people wanted. He did not think the people of Scotland would be satisfied in any way with this attempt to set up autocratically and bureaucratically a Board which would not represent the Scottish people. The Secretary for Scotland had told them that they ought not to discuss this question until they got into Committee, when he would give every consideration to this matter. Nominated boards had been the curse of Ireland and they were proceeding now to be the curse of Scotland. There were a number of them, and they did not care for the Secretary of Scotland or anybody else. They simply told the right hon. Gentleman what they wanted, and he had to do it. What was wanted was a board which would be fairly representative, not of any particular political views, or of the Scottish Office views, but of the views of the people of Scotland. He quite agreed with what had been said as to the way in which Scotland had been treated by this and other Parliaments in recent years with regard to money. Scotland was not begging for money at all, but simply asking for her fair share of Imperial funds. In asking that the erection of the buildings should be paid out of the public purse they were only asking for what they were entitled to and what was overdue. Under the present First Commissioner of Works it was quite possible that they might get fair treatment in regard to buildings. About thirteen or fourteen years ago he called attention to the neglected state of some of the castles and palaces in Scotland, and he was glad to say that something was done both at Stirling and Linlithgow. The Prime Minister, who was at that time Secretary of State for War, gave him Dumbarton Castle, and he (Mr. Morton), gave it to the town of Dumbarton for a museum, but the castle had not yet been handed over. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would consider that matter and fulfil his promise. A promise had been given to-day that an opportunity would be afforded in Committee for the discussion of the various points which had been raised, and he supposed that they must accept it. His hon. friend the Member for Ross-shire had described this as a Caledonian day. Being a Caledonian day, it was surprising that the Prime Minister did not arrange to have the bagpipes.

*Mr. SPEAKER: Will the hon. Gentleman kindly address himself to the Bill?

Mr. MORTON suggested that his hon. friend should withdraw his Amendment.

*Mr. GULLAND said the Secretary for Scotland had promised to do his best to get a Scottish Committee for the consideration of this Bill. He hoped the Prime Minister, who was now in his place, would give effect—

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman is not entitled to make a second speech. If he is asking leave to withdraw his Amendment, let him do so, but he must not enter into a review of the debate.

Mr. GULLAND asked leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Leave not being granted, the debate was continued.

*Sir HENRY CRAIK (Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities) said all who had listened to the speaker who had just sat down must be convinced, by a useful object lesson, of what would be involved in referring all Scottish questions to purely Scottish committees.

*Mr. SPEAKER: That is not the subject matter of the discussion now before the House. The subject matter of the discussion is the Bill. What the character of the Committee will be to which it is ultimately referred is a different matter altogether.

*Sir HENRY CRAIK said the matter had been referred to frequently during the debate, and he thought he might be in order in touching upon it. His reason for rising was to urge once more the claims of the Royal Society for Edinburgh. He was sorry that the Secretary for Scotland had not been able to give greater assurances on that point. The assurances given had all been of a very general character, but Scottish Members would like to know how in the event of the Royal Society being turned out of its present location it was to be housed. He knew from experience how easy it was for the representative of the Government to say that such and such a question was under consideration with the Treasury, and that to give a greater undertaking might prejudice the negotiations that were going on. In the end when the Second Reading of a Bill had been got, and the particular emergency of the moment avoided, very little was heard of the bargain with the Treasury. He should like exceedingly if they could have an assurance from the right hon. Gentleman that the place which had been indicated in the negotiations with the Scottish Office would be the place fixed by general consent in Edinburgh as the future location of the Royal Society.

*Mr. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton) said that as a Scotsman he was very much disappointed at the speech of the Secretary for Scotland on this subject. Everything had been left by him in a very vague condition, and the right hon. Gentleman would have them accept the assurance that when the Bill got into Committee full weight would be given to any recommendations brought forward. Hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House had pointed out that the Scottish people had often been disappointed, if not deceived, by the Treasury. In the matter of the Royal Society they felt very strongly that there ought to be no loophole left for the Treasury. The right hon. Gentleman ought to put in the text of the Bill a provision which would prevent the eviction of the Royal Society unless it had assured to it all the advantages which it now enjoyed. It had been urged that the Bill should be referred to a Committee composed entirely of Scottish Members. That would be against both the desire and the practice of Parliament, when dealing with matters affecting the Imperial Exchequer, and it would at the same time be very unfair to exclude from the Committee Scotsmen who, though not representing Scottish constituencies, wished to see that their native country was fairly treated. Personally he felt strongly that by leaving the nomination of the Board entirely in the hands of the Secretary for Scotland it would not conduce to the creation of a Board which would give the best results in the interest of art, literature, and science, in Scotland as a whole. He had great misgivings in supporting the Second Reading of the Bill, in view of the very vague assurances which had been given by the right hon. Gentleman.

*MR. BEALE (Ayrshire, S.) said that, both as an Englishman and as representing a Scottish constituency, he was exceedingly surprised at the way in which some hon. Gentlemen seemed to underestimate the reputation of the Royal Society of Scotland. He hoped that after the Secretary for Scotland's clear statement of the intention of conserving to the Royal Society of Scotland at least the same advantages as it enjoyed at present they might rely on its being regarded as a national and not merely a Scottish question to see that faith was kept Scottish Science, which had contributed to British Science such names as Black, Clerk, Maxwell, and Lord Kelvin.

Question put, and agreed to.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for Tuesday 23rd October.

SMALL LANDHOLDERS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

MR. SINCLAIR said he should endeavour to state as briefly as he could the considerations which had prompted the Government to introduce the Bill which he had now the honour of submitting to the judgment of the House. The House was aware of the existing provisions and machinery of the Crofters' Acts. The principal Act was passed in the year 1886. It was the sequel and the product of some years of acute land agitation and had entirely justified in its results those who were responsible for it. There was great discontent in the Highlands at the time: distress, high rents, evictions, and general unrest. The Crofters Act established a system of statutory fair rents with periodical revision, fixed by the Crofters Commission, who were endowed with other powers, including powers for the enlargement of holdings. By general consent the Act had succeeded beyond all expectation: rents were paid regularly, the interest of the landlord had increased in value, while on the other hand the security of tenure had encouraged the crofter to improve his holding. Better houses had been built and there was a higher standard of cultivation to be found. In the year 1894 and also in the following year a Bill was introduced by the then Secretary for Scotland, Sir George Trevelyan, to amend the Crofters Act. These amending Bills proposed to admit leaseholders to the benefits of the Act and to extend the operation of the Act to eight additional counties. He ought to mention also that in 1897 the Congested Districts (Scotland) Act was passed, establishing a Board of Commissioners with an income of £35,000 a year to be applied at their discretion to providing land for sub-division into holdings, aiding migration from congested districts, developing agriculture, dairy-farming, the breeding of live stock, and other purposes. These two authorities had in recent years co-operated within the congested districts in the work assigned to them by Parliament. Of the purposes of this Bill the first which he should mention was the amendment and extension of the Crofters Acts within the crofter area. The Bill removed some of the restrictions limiting available land under Section 13 of the Act of 1886. These restrictions had in practice made it impossible for the Crofters Commissioners to deal with a large number of applications for enlargement which had reached them. The Bill also reduced the minimum number of competent applicants for enlargement of holding. It provided that the holder of land might use his holding for subsidiary or auxiliary occupations. It provided for the admission of leaseholders to the benefits of the Act. It raised the limit of qualifying rental from £30 to £50, the limit contained in the existing Small Holdings Act. It made amendments in the power of bequest and assignation of tenancy. It gave powers for the creation of new crofter tenancies, in the first place by agreement, and in the second place, where agreement was not found to be possible, by compulsory order. There were other amendments which he need not dwell upon at that moment. So much for the area of the existing crofter counties. He might note in passing that the congested districts form only a part of the so-called crofting counties. There remained the question of the extension of the Crofters Acts beyond the existing area. In considering this question two remarkable contrasts must be pointed out. Looking at them together for a moment, the main work of these two authorities, that was to say, the conferring of security of tenure at a fair rent and the settlement of crofters at a fair rent upon the land, operated according to the locality in which the work was done in two different directions. In one part of the country the purpose was the relieving of congestion, in the other, checking and counteracting de-population. In the western islands, where there was great congestion of population—cottars squatting upon the lands of crofters, and so forth—the work to be done and which had been done by these authorities was directed to the relief of congestion. On the other hand, on the mainland, except in a few isolated localities, their work had been directed to remedying the evil of de-population and to increasing the number of settlers on the land. There was another striking contrast. What was meant by a "crofter"? In the congested districts of the western islands, the crofter might be and often was a tenant at a rent of a pound or more, of an acre or two, with a share in the common grazing. There were 555 tenants under a rent of £1 in the island of Lewis alone; while on the eastern seaboard the crofter might be and often was a tenant of a holding of from five to five and twenty or thirty pounds a year, owning a considerable small stock of sheep or cattle, frequently without a share in any common grazing, and as a matter of fact indistinguishable in the circumstances under which he carried on his industry from any small farmer of a like rent in any part of Scotland. except that he enjoyed the security of tenure and the fair rent which he had under the Crofters Act. These two facts—first, that the Crofter Commissioners had been striving to meet the two opposite evils of congestion on the one hand, and on the other, de-population; and, secondly, the identity in condition of the crofter upon the eastern mainland with the small farmer elsewhere in Scotland—showed that for the last twenty years the Crofter Commissioners had been working out problems, some of which were no doubt peculiar to the Highlands, and others of which were undoubtedly common to the whole country. It was right, he considered, that he should take this opportunity of paying a warm tribute to those who had during the last twenty years in the case of the Crofter Commissioners, and in the case of the Congested Districts Board, for the last nine years, been concerned in the administration of these Acts. The country, he felt sure, recognised the debt of gratitude which was due to them, especially to the Crofters Commission, and if he might say so, to the Chairman, who had presided over its work from the beginning, for their devoted and ungrudging labours in the public service. The Crofters Acts had never been amended except in one or two small particulars in the early years after the passing of the principal Act in 1886. The Congested District Commissioners had done considerable work of an ameliorative character in many directions. In relation to the work of the Crofter Commissioners their work had lain in two directions: they had been successful, with the voluntary co-operation of various landlords, in the formation of crofters holdings by agreement. There were various instances of work of this kind carried out by them which had been hitherto and promised to be entirely successful. On the other hand, they had instituted a policy of land purchase which had not been entirely successful. Let him put before the House briefly the contrast between these two policies. They were familiar with the policy of land purchase, the model of which was to be found in Ireland. The experience of the Congested Districts Board tended to show that, at present, at any rate, the crofter did not ask for land purchase. It would be much more costly than crofter legislation, which had been successful. It was not necessary. It would expropriate landlords, which was not desirable. The reluctance of crofters to purchase had led to great difficulty. On the other hand, under the crofter policy the rent of the crofter was fixed and periodically revised by the Commissioners; he made all his own improvements; he had no power of free sale; he had security of tenure, provided that he observed certain conditions which protected the landlord. This security of tenure, as he had already said, encouraged the crofter to expend his capital in improving his holding and every shilling he spent in the improvement of the holding for his own use improved the security of the landlord for the rent, and therefore the capital value of the holding. So far as the crofting counties of Scotland were concerned, there was therefore some experience to guide them, and he now returned to the question of the extension of the operation of the Act beyond the Highland counties. Great objection was taken in 1886 by critics of the Bill in the House of Commons to the narrow limits of its operation and in particular to the definitions upon which the Act was founded. In the Act, which applied to yearly tenants only, a crofter was defined as a person who was tenant of and resided on his holding, the annual rent of which did not exceed £30, and which was situated in a crofting parish, and the successors of such person in the holding, being his heirs or legatees. A crofting parish was defined as a parish in which there were at the commencement of the Act or had been within eighty years prior thereto, holdings consisting of arable land with a right of pasturage in common with others, and in which there still were tenants of holdings from year to year who resided on their holdings. The Government of 1886 firmly refused to extend the operation of the Act beyond the original seven counties, on the ground that they were convinced that beyond these limits no crofting parishes as defined above were to be found. In fact, the 1895 Bill did not in words alter this definition, but in proposing the admission of leaseholders it departed from the historical clan theory upon which the definition of "crofter parish" seems to rest. He had already pointed out that in many districts on the mainland the crofter under the Act was simply a small farmer who made his own improvements, as he might be in any county in Scotland. As a matter of fact, the 1886 Act admitted to its benefits individuals who, personally, had no historical claim, and parishes where in 1886 there was no common grazing, and where there was none now. These considerations had been evident from the first, especially to those counties which Sir George Trevelyan proposed to include in his Bill. To adopt the area of the 1895 Bill and to adhere to the definitions of "crofter" and "crofting parish" would, it was believed, admit to the benefits of the Act the island of Arran and certain isolated parishes elsewhere; that was only a very small proportion of the crofters and not necessarily the most needy, in the eight additional counties proposed in 1895. Large areas of land in the occupation of small tenants in these counties would be excluded from the operation of the Bill. To apply the Crofters Act to some of the small holders in one of these counties and a Small Holdings Bill to others in the same county, each system with separate procedure and machinery, was hardly practicable. The Government, in view of these considerations, had therefore decided to abandon the definitions of the 1886 Bill. There were other considerations which were pertinent to this subject. Circumstances had somewhat changed since 1886, when high rents, accumulations of arrears, and evictions brought about the Crofters Act. Rents had fallen at least as heavily outside the crofting area as within it under the operation of the Act. There was a strong demand for small holdings legislation. While in many branches of farming, Scotland and England might be said to lead the way among the progressive countries of the world, in regard to small farming we lagged behind. On the one hand our farming suffered; we were increasingly dependent upon foreign nations for large supplies of perishable farm produce; from time to time small farms were thrown into large farms; and, on the other hand, our rural population was dwindling, and men who had devoted the best years of their life to farm service and farm labour found no career open to them in the country and were driven to swell the drift of population towards the large towns. There was room in this country for both kinds of farming; nobody contemplated the immediate division of the land of the country into small farms. But there was a strong demand for small holdings legislation. That involved as a *sine qua non* the grant in some form or other of security of tenure to the occupying cultivator; without it the small holder was helpless; with it he seemed to prosper everywhere—in Ireland, in the agricultural countries of Europe, and as a crofter. Many causes had contributed, no doubt, to reduce the number of farm labourers employed on our farms: labour-saving machinery and other causes which he need not now name; but if the experience of other countries was to count for anything the only way to attract men to live in the country was to give them a secure interest in the land they cultivated. To check depopulation, the first step was to check the absorption of small farms. The absorption of small farms was not confined to the crofter counties, and the present Bill permitted all small holders in Scotland paying a rent of £50 and under to have a fair rent fixed and so to come under the provisions of the Bill. Further, the Bill gave powers for the creation of small holdings. The House would remember that the Crofters Act contained powers for the enlargement of holdings. This Bill applied and developed these powers for the creation of new tenancies under tenure of the Bill, in the first place by agreement. The Bill further provided, under careful safeguards and with consideration for the various interests concerned, that where agreement was not found to be possible, that was to say, where, in the opinion of the Land Commission, suitable and otherwise available land was refused by a landlord for the purposes of the creation of tenancies under the Bill, the Land Commissioners, after duly satisfying themselves on all points that might have arisen, might issue a compulsory order. In the creation of these new tenancies, whether by agreement or by compulsion, an alteration in the economic distribution of land was made in the public interest. It might be compared to the work of municipal corporations and private individuals in the pulling down of slums and the erection of new dwellings. There was a money loss in these transactions. It was not fair that it should fall on the former owner, and it was not fair to throw it into the rent of the new tenant. The community must bear the loss. Similarly with the dividing up of land into new tenancies. The farm stock might have to be cleared off and in some cases sold at a loss. The land must be divided and prepared; roads made and houses built. The difficulty of finding money for these operations had been one of the great obstacles to many proposals for the creation of small holdings. The experience of the Crofter Commissioners and of the Congested Districts Board tended to show that, while there were proprietors who were not willing, there were also proprietors who were willing to provide land and to accept selected crofter tenants, provided aid could be given, as it had been in several cases, to meet the cost of removing the farm stock and of dividing up and preparing the land. Authority was therefore given in this Bill to the Land Commissioners to expend their funds in grants or loans for the purpose of meeting such initial expenditure; in grants to enable landlords to fulfil their obligations under existing leases which might be compulsorily terminated, and in loans to individual applicants who wished to erect dwelling-houses on their holdings; and in so far as the expenditure took the form of loans, conditions were prescribed with a view to providing secuity for repayment. He now turned to the remaining provisions of the Bill. The Crofters Commission and the Congested Districts Commissioners disappeared and were merged in one body named the Scottish Land Commission, which was authorised to carry out the above purposes of the Bill. The annual income of the Congested Districts Board remained applied as heretofore to the congested districts, but would be so applied by the Land Commission for the purposes of the Bill, and the Land Commissioners were further authorised to expend an additional annual sum for the purposes of the Bill which might be expended in any part of Scotland. One further point. There was a strong feeling in Scotland that the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, however zealous and energetic it might be in the discharge of its duties, was too distant and too little in touch with Scottish requirements to fulfil satisfactorily the demands made under present day conditions upon a Department of Agriculture. For instance, there was a demand for the encouragement of forestry as specially suitable or possible under Scottish conditions. The development of a class of small holders might be expected to increase those demands. It was therefore thought expedient in this Bill to create the nucleus of a separate Agricultural Department for Scotland. A Commissioner of Agriculture for Scotland was appointed with a general power of supervision of agriculture in Scotland, to whom it was intended to transfer, as found convenient, powers now exercised in Scotland by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries. Provision was also made for the transfer to this Commissioner of certain powers now vested in the Congested Districts Commissioners, which under this Bill would hereafter vest in the Land Commission, but which it was thought might with advantage be transferred later to the Commissioner of Agriculture and be made of general application to the whole of Scotland. These were the main provisions of the Bill. It would be printed and issued as soon as possible. It was laid before the House as a proposal of constructive reform, an endeavour, a scheme which must be considered as a whole, as a careful attempt to solve a problem of vital importance to the country.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That leave be given to introduce a Bill to encourage the formation of small agricultural holdings and to amend the Law relating to the tenure of such holdings (including crofters' holdings) in Scotland; and for other purposes connected therewith."—(*Mr. Sinclair.*)

MR. COCHRANE said that no one who had listened to the speech of the Secretary for Scotland could fail to have in his mind the fact that the right hon. Gentleman had introduced a Bill of very great importance. One was reluctant to allude to the fact that such a Bill should be introduced at such a late period. It was a Bill well worthy of being considered on its First Reading during the whole of one day's debate, and he thought some more favourable occasion than a Saturday afternoon ought to have been chosen for its introduction. It was a Bill of a wide and embracing character, and made a fundamental change in the composition of the Crofters Commission, whilst otherwise it dealt with a variety of subjects. He regretted that the right hon. Gentleman had not been able to see his way to give the House a slight hint of what he had proposed to do by this Bill, in order that when it came before them they might have been able to give it adequate discussion. He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman generally upon that part of his speech in which he praised the success of the Crofters Commission, and announced to the House that in many respects they had carried out their duties most faithfully and well. He had rather wondered that under those circumstances they should have been swept away altogether by this Bill, and that their functions should have been transferred to another Board. He should have thought in the case of a Commission that generally had been such a success it would have been better in the first instance, possibly, to extend its sphere of usefulness in the counties in which it had done so much. The right hon. Gentleman based his measure on the Bill that was introduced into this House by Sir George Trevelyan some years ago. But Sir George Trevelyan did not go nearly so far as the right hon Gentleman in his proposals. Sir George Trevelyan proposed to extend to small leaseholders in the crofting counties the provisions of the Crofters Act; he did not go outside the crofting counties, and he proposed, if he (Mr. Cochrane) remembered aright, to limit the amount of rent paid by these leaseholders to a very low sum. But his right hon. friend must take warning by the response which Sir George Trevelyan's Bill met with. It did not meet with acceptance in Scotland, and he would warn the right hon. Gentleman that the same fate might befall his more extended attempt. Why did the right hon. Gentleman depart from the definition of a crofter which was given very clearly by Sir George Trevelyan? Speaking from memory, he believed Sir George Trevelyan laid it down that the crofter class was distinct from other classes of the community because they had a hereditary claim upon the land. Those were the circumstances which they had to meet and in which certain of the crofters had been dispossessed of their holdings. That was a perfectly different set of circumstances from that which arose in the case of ordinary leaseholders in Scotland. This Bill was not confined to the Highlands, but was to extend to the whole of Scotland. If it applied to the whole of Scotland, why should it not apply to the whole of England as well? He thought some of the English Members on the other side would have something to say to that. If the Bill were confined to the crofting counties there would be something to be said for it, but when the right hon. Gentleman applied it to the rest of Scotland then a question of the greatest magnitude arose. The Prime Minister cheered that remark. When at subsequent stages this Bill was dealt with, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would bear those cheers in mind and not curtail discussion on a Bill of such great importance. The right hon. Gentleman, in the speech to which the House had just listened, had given no justification for departing from the policy laid down by his predecessor in office. The right hon. Gentleman had given no reason whatever for including the leaseholders of Scotland. He had shown no scintilla of evidence that there was any claim throughout Scotland for this extension or that it was in any way desired. He ventured to say that to do that about small crofts in Scotland having fixity of tenure which, from the very nature of the case, compelled the holders to make their own improvements would have a paralysing effect. Fixity of tenure had two sides to it. Not only was a man entitled to remain, but he must remain; not only was he entitled to pay the rent, but he must pay the rent; and when the small lease-holders realised that, the right hon. Gentleman would find that the proposal was not so attractive to them as he thought. Any small leaseholder who was anxious to renew his lease on the same terms as that on which he held it had not the slightest difficulty in obtaining an extension of his lease. When they told the small leaseholder that out of the fulness of their heart it was intended to fix him on his croft and compel him to pay the same rent and pay for all the improvements, he would not greet the proposal with cheers. One could not meet with the crofters without being impressed with the fact that they were a fine, intelligent body of men, and one would be glad to see them living under every condition that would make for their happiness. But they must not merely dwell upon the historical and sentimental aspect of the case. Time had gone ahead, and the conditions of life all through the country were not what they used to be. There would be an increasing difficulty in getting men who were content to live in the primitive conditions in which the old crofters used to live and thrive from fifty to eighty years ago. There was now a great desire to move to the other parts of the country. The whole standard of living had changed. He believed that the case made out for the crofter was roughly that he had been from time immemorial almost coeval with the land, and that he made his own improvements. For that reason only, so far as he could make out, it was proposed to put the leaseholder on the same footing. Were the Government going in the first place to set up a Land Court for Scotland to fix the rent of every small farmer throughout the Lowlands of Scotland? At once they would be face to face with questions of enormous difficulty. Were they going to initiate in Scotland that fatal form of ownership which they all deplored in Ireland, and had spent so much to remove, the system of dual ownership? Here were questions of enormous importance deserving most careful consideration. He did not gather from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman exactly how he was going to deal with the question of de-population. He failed to gather that the right hon. Gentleman was going to deal in any way with that important branch of the question. He could not see that he had any proposals to relieve the somewhat unhappy position of the small cottar, or that he was going to deal in an adequate manner with the grievances of the crofters. One of the principal grievances now felt by crofters was that whilst it was proposed willingly to give him land on which to raise his crop, he had no means of getting the wherewithal to stock it. He thought that in the applications to the Treasury which the right hon. Gentleman proposed to make he might consider that necessity. If the right hon. Gentleman studied the Report of the Commission, he would see that three whole pages were taken up with the question of settling disputes as to who was to succeed into entails. If a similar system were brought in from all leaseholds in Scotland, the legal profession might be well one in which to place their sons if not to enter themselves. In giving fixity of tenure, would they really be carrying out the proposals that the very title of the Bill suggested? Was this a Bill to promote small holdings? Was a landlord who divided his land into small holdings and let it out to a tenant on an agreement that at the expiration of nineteen years the land should be handed back to him, likely to encourage the class of small leaseholder in Scotland if he was entitled to step in and take the improvements for his benefit? That would not turn him into a successful farmer. As a rule a ploughman obtained a small farm and after steady progress he would take a bigger one, but the right hon. Gentleman was now proposing to fix him in one place because he had entered into a permanent contract to pay a rent for a certain number of years. Under those circumstances the prospects of the ploughman rising in the social scale would be considerably lessened. Not only would he find all the farms about the size he wanted permanently fixed in the hands of a particular class, but every landlord who now kept a small farm in the centre of his estate would be induced to give it up and add it to the next farm. It was almost impossible that a Bill of this magnitude embracing so many subjects could be effectively dealt with in this way. The Bill would interfere with freedom of contract, and he had seen no clear justification for that in the statement of the right hon. Gentleman. It did not deal adequately with the cottar and the crofter, or provide for their material improvement. It did not deal with the redundancy of population and it hindered the formation of small farms, which were the stepping stones by which the ploughman rose to a more prosperous state of affairs. He thought the right hon. Gentleman had done right in not considering the further stages of this Bill until the Autumn session, when he hoped the disucssion upon it would be as full and free as it deserved to be.

*MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty) said he was glad that after many years of waiting a Bill dealing with this question had been brought in, and he desired to thank the Secretary for Scotland and the Prime Minister for having introduced it. He also desired to thank the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down for his sympathetic remarks in regard to small cottars and crofters. They had been waiting and asking the late Tory Government in vain for the last ten years for legislation They never could get land legislation for Scotland from a Conservative Government, and he did not think they would if they lived for 100 years. The policy of the Congested Districts Board in Scotland had not succeeded. They had no compulsory powers and he was glad to hear the Secretary for Scotland state that the Bill would give compulsory powers for the enlargement and creation of new holdings. For years in the island of Lewis they had been trying to get land and had failed, because they had no compulsory powers. He had no doubt that in due course when English agriculturists found Scotland was going ahead of them they would ask for similar legislation. He hoped that in future the landlord would be prevented from seizing the crofter's house and all the improvements in case of bankruptcy or failure of heirs to the exclusion of all other creditors. There were some matters of detail which he desired to raise but he would deal with them in Committee. He was very grateful to the Secretary for Scotland and the Prime Minister that the leaseholders had been brought in under this Bill. For fifteen years he had been agitating for this reform, and each year had brought in a Bill to include crofter leaseholders. He thought the right hon. Gentleman had made a mistake in raising rents from £30 to £50. Hon. Members were aware that fixity of tenure had made the greatest difference to the Highland crofter. He hoped in regard to questions affecting the Highlands that they would not be guided by newspaper reports or opinions of sportsmen who were in the habit of visiting the Highlands for a few weeks pleasure. It should be remembered that the crofter had to build his own house, and that the landlord did not provide one shilling of the cost. It seemed to him in regard to that matter the right hon. Gentleman did not understand the facts. Those who had travelled in the Highlands and witnessed the work done through the operations of the Crofters Commission would admit that the results so far could not be praised too highly. There were willing and unwilling landlords, and the working of this Bill would depend in a great measure on the spirit in which all concerned approached the subject. In the island of Lewis and other congested districts it was essential that advances of a generous character should be made for the building of houses. The poor people there had been robbed of their rights for generations. He hoped the Bill would be printed and circulated without delay in order that it might reach the Highland constituencies at the earliest possible date. He was sure that the Prime Minister was at the back of the proposals now made, and that he would facilitate the progress of the measure.

*MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland) congratulated the Secretary for Scotland on the introduction of this Bill which he had so ably explained. It was perfectly evident to the representatives of the northern districts that the right hon. Gentleman had thoroughly studied the great questions which affected the north of Scotland. He had done well to divide the Bill into two parts. The hon. Member from North Ayrshire wanted to know what justification there was for the introduction of the Bill. In answer to that he would say—"We are the justification for the introduction of the Bill." This land reform had been demanded with a practically unanimous voice from one end of the country to the other. The measure which the right hon. Gentleman had now brought forward would, he believed, do excellent work in Scotland. There was one matter to which the hon. Member referred in the guise of a threat in recalling the fate of Sir George Trevelyan's Bill. That was a long time ago. The Bill failed because it was not sufficiently drastic. If they did not get a reform now, and if they had to wait a few years more, they would have to face a much bigger land agitation than they were endeavouring to meet at present He sincerely trusted that the efforts of the Government to promote this moderate scheme of land reform would be successful.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith Burghs) said the speech of the Secretary for Scotland was such as they might have expected from him in bringing in this Bill. The main lines of the Bill were not only bold but sound. He thought the £50 line was right. It was in the Bill which he brought in with his right hon. friend some years ago. When they came to extend the crofting area there was really nothing for it except the inclusion of the whole of Scotland. That was inevitable. They might dispute as to the exact kind of protection to be given to the small tenant within the crofting area and outside of it, but whatever they did beyond the crofting area must necessarily extend to the whole of Scotland. He did not think they need trouble about definitions. He thought now, as he had always thought, that in the old Bills the definitions consisted to a considerable extent of fiction. He thought the present Bill was based on fact. The whole country was alarmed at the lack of population in the rural districts and was beginning to appreciate that there were two ways in which the population could be restored; one was by small holdings and the other by allotments. Much attention had been given to the question of small holdings but very little attention had been given to the other matter, and he hoped more would be done in regard to it. As to the proposals of the Bill he could not himself give a decided opinion because the Small Holdings Committee had not yet reported. Local authorities were really of no use in dealing with the subject of allotments or small holdings. It was not because of want of will, but there was want of method and economy. When there was a central committee of the kind proposed not only would the question of loans come in, but also the question of cheap equipment., upon which an immense amount depended. Alarm had been expressed about the possibility of the Commission's taking a piece of land in a farm and dotting down a number of small farm on it. That was not the system on which the Bill would have to be worked. There were some districts where with compulsory powers the Commission would naturally in the first place give small holdings a chance, and where they had a right to expect they would succeed. He saw no difficulty as to that part of the proposal. The Crofters Commission had a most intricate and difficult work to perform, and it had performed it with much tact and justice. All over the Highlands there had been a great change. He did not know what had been the cause. It might have been brought about during the war when many recruits were raised from the Highlands. But for one reason or another there was far less opposition to small holdings than there had been, and he believed the great majority of landlords would co-operate with the Commission, whatever their views might be, in carrying out the policy of his right hon. friend. He believed this Bill would be of advantage in both the Highlands and the Lowlands. There were,no doubt, other ways by which the ends they aimed at might be arrived at, and he thought there should be a certain amount of latitude in regard to details. They must admit considerable right of initiative on the part of the State if they were to make any real progress in dealing with the land question. He congratulated his right hon. friend on the measure which he had introduced, and he believed that rightly administered it would bring prosperity to the whole country. The Bill should, in his opinion, be sent to a Grand Committee of Scottish Members so that it might be properly and thoroughly considered.

*MR. MORTON thanked the Government for introducing this Bill, and especially the Prime Minister, who had so far redeemed the promise which he made during the last election. Some hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House had stated that they were going to oppose the Bill. He supposed that the Tories would oppose anything which was intended to upset the old feudal system; but it must be remembered that the Tories had passed an Irish Land Act which had upset all feudal notions as to land tenure; and that which Parliament had given to Ireland could hardly be refused to Scotland. It was significant that all the crofter counties were now represented in this House by Liberal Members, whereas, under the old system, the crofters were practically bound hand and foot to their landlords and had to vote as they were told. In the county of Sutherland there was plenty of land to give every crofter a sufficient holding on which he and his family could live. Nearly 400,000 acres had been earmarked by the Royal Commission for that purpose. Undoubtedly the proper user of the land was one of the most important questions which could arise in any country; and the problem had been solved in Belgium, Holland and Denmark, where small holders were able to till the land and live upon it. The unemployed question could only be solved by keeping the people in the country, and giving them the land to work upon. For over twenty years he had been traversing the crofting counties, and a better population could not be found anywhere. He denied that these people were lazy; they were only too anxious to till the land if they were allowed to do so. He hoped that the Government would afford assistance to the crofters in getting their produce to market, which would be not only for the benefit of the crofters, but for the benefit of the country at large. He was glad to hear that there was to be compulsory powers because he was sure that a great many landlords, when they knew that compulsory powers were to be given, would come to terms with their crofting tenants. In fact, he believed that in very few instances would the compulsory powers have to be used at all. He was glad that the Congested Districts Board was to be done away with. It had made many mistakes, it had done no good whatever, and nobody would be sorry at its demise or weep over its grave. He trusted that the right hon. the Secretary for Scotland would be able to issue copies of the Bill as soon as possible, so that the constituencies in the crofting counties and in Scotland generally might be fully instructed as to its provisions between now and the 23rd of October.

MR. R. L. HARMSWORTH (Caithness-shire) said that this was a day to which the people in the north had looked forward for many years past, and the speech of the right hon. Gentleman would give heart to thousands in that part of the country. He thought the Bill projected was sound and generous. He had been informed that the Crofters Act had been of considerable assistance to the landlords; and he had been told by both landowners and factors that they would not oppose an extension of the Act to leaseholders. It was absolutely necessary that there should be no reduction in the £50 limit in the county which he represented, for that was the kind of holding for which there was the largest demand. He hoped that his right hon. friend would use his utmost endeavour to get the Bill printed and circulated as soon as possible.

*MR. AINSWORTH (Argyllshire) said the mere fact that the Bill proposed to establish a Land Commission with full power to deal with all cases of hardship was very satisfactory. When the right hon. Gentleman referred to the possible expropriation of landlords, he was bound to say that in the part of Scotland with which he was associated that was the very last thing they desired. Nothing caused them more sorrow than when they saw the sale of the estates of families who had long lived in the district. Among the powers to be given to the Land Commission he hoped to see included that of land purchase. There certainly were cases in which it was highly desirable in the interests of all parties that the property should pass *en bloc* from the present proprietor to the Land Commission. He hoped power would be given to the Land Commission to become absolute owners instead of being merely the machinery for the transfer of land from one set of proprietors to another. In the case of congested or over-populated districts, such a power would relieve the situation. They were all agreed as to the importance of preserving the population of the Highlands. During the last thirty or forty years that population had decreased by one half. That was a matter which urgently demanded attention, because if there was one section of the population worth preserving in the United Kingdom it was the population of the Highlands. Historically speaking, it was one of the oldest populations permanently settled on the land. They all knew the share it had taken in the foundation of our Empire.

*MR. WILKIE (Dundee) representing as he did an industrial centre in the Lowlands of Scotland, wished to dwell on the importance of attracting the people back to the land and of keeping the people on the land. From that point of view he heartily welcomed this Bill as one of the means whereby they might hope to help to solve the great unemployment problem. The hon. Member for North Ayrshire complained that the Bill would interfere with freedom of contract. Well, he hoped that it would interfere with the so-called freedom of contract in land, and that it would thereby save the people from being starved. They were told that the Land Commission was to have compulsory powers, and he would like to press on the Government the importance of making the Commissioners representative of the masses and not merely of the classes. While he did not commit himself to every detail of the Bill, not having seen them, still he welcomed the measure as they welcomed the appearance of the rainbow through the rain, as it enabled them to feel that the Government's promise was not to be in vain.

*MR. HALLEY STEWART (Greenock) wished to join in the chorus of congratulation to the Secretary for Scotland on his large and drastic measure of reform. Previous speakers had nearly all been representatives of county constituencies, but he desired to offer his praise as a representative of the city and burgh constituencies. This question was not merely one relating to the land, and to the depopulation of the rural districts and valleys of Scotland. The townships of Scotland suffered severely, and it was on behalf of the poorest paid labourers in the great cities, who were suffering from the migration of those clans which once found a living in the Scottish glens, that he ventured to express the hope this Bill would pass. The measure would in his opinion go far to help the lowest paid labourers in the city. He had no desire to say a word against the Congested Districts Board, but he very much doubted the wisdom of the expenditure it had incurred by sending lads from the country districts into the town, and subsidising them during their apprenticeship so that they might enter into competition with the sons of skilled artisans desirous of following their fathers' trade. He knew cases in his own constituency of Greenock where artisans were unable to get their sons apprenticed simply because of this subsidised competition.

*MR. MOLTENO (Dumfriesshire), as the representative of a Lowland constituency, desired to join in the chorus of praise. The Bill dealt with a matter of vital importance to the country. Reference had been made to the depopulation of the Highlands, but those records could be fully equalled in some of the southern counties of Scotland, where the decrease of population could only be likened to the devastations caused by the Thirty Years German War. He could point to one parish in which in the last fifty years 250 cottages had been destroyed and 1,200 of population had disappeared. When the population of their villages was thus decaying they might well ask the reason why. The land was as good as any which could be found elsewhere, and the population was even better, or the Colonies would not be so eager to attract the people composing. They had the finest markets in the world. Why, then this decay? It was the land laws which were at the root of the evil; tenants had not sufficient security for their investments in the land, so that they could not avail themselves of those newer methods of cultivation and organisation which were enabling agriculturists to make such strides in other parts of the world. Tney were open to the increasing competition of those who had security of tenure. In Canada they had fixity of tenure, so too had they in Denmark, and it was not confined to those countries, as he gathered when recently reading a work on the "Transition of Agriculture," which described how the fortunate small holders of Lincolnshire and Worcestershire sent whole train loads of produce to Glasgow. A man should have some security for his labour, and he thought the Bill would tend to create a prosperous, happy, and contented rural population.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Sinclair and the Lord-Advocate.

SMALL LANDHOLDERS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

"To encourage the formation of small agricultural holdings and to amend the Law relating to the tenure of such holdings (including crofters holdings) in Scotland; and for other purposes connected therewith," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday 23rd October, and to be printed. [Bill 332.]

FATAL ACCIDENTS AND SUDDEN DEATHS INQUIRY (SCOTLAND) BILL.

As amended (by the Standing Committee), considered.

New clause—

"Where upon the report of the procurator fiscal in regard to any fatal accident to which The Fatal Accidents Inquiry (Scotland) Act, 1895, applies, the Lord-Advocate shall be satisfied that all the facts have been ascertained, and that a public inquiry could serve no useful purpose and has not been requested by any relative of the deceased or other party interested, he may direct the procurator fiscal that it is unnecessary to apply for a public inquiry, and in snch case no public inquiry shall be held. Section four of this Act shall not apply in the case of any fatal accident occurring in connection with any work to which the Factory and Workshop Act of 1901 applies, or in or about any mine, quarry, or railway."—(*Mr. Younger.*)

Brought up and read a first time.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

THE LORD-ADVOCATE (Mr. THOMAS SHAW, Hawick Burghs) said that on the Grand Committee his hon. friend moved a clause substantially in the terms now before the House, and he agreed that it was proper matter for a new clause with the addendum which the hon. Member had now added with reference to the Factory and Workshops Act. He objected, however, to the whole proposal, as it would allow the Government to direct that inquiries should not be held. It would lead to secret inquiries, and as a matter of principle he thought it would be safer not to adopt the proposed new clause.

Question put and negatived.

New Clause:—

"Sub-section ten of section four of The Fatal Accidents Inquiry (Scotland) Act, 1895, is hereby repealed, and in lieu thereof, be it enacted as follows, videlicet: The jury shall be cited by the sheriff clerk from the sheriff court jury book in the manner provided by statute for the citation of jurors in civil cases in Scotland, and the existing statutory provisions relative to fines for non-attendance of jurors and to the swearing of jurors shall apply to inquiries under this Act; but no person shall be summoned to attend to serve as a juror in any inquiry held under this Act who resides beyond such distances from the court-house or other building at which the inquiry is held as may from time to time be fixed by the several sheriffs of the several counties, with the approbation of the Secretary for Scotland."—(*Mr. Mitchell-Thomson.*)

Brought up and read a first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

Mr. THOMAS SHAW said that in the Grand Committee his hon. friend had raised this question and he had asked leave to look into the matter. He thought the introduction of the clause would do no harm and he had great pleasure in accepting it.

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause read a second time, and added to the Bill.

Amendment proposed to the Bill

"In page 1, line 12, leave out 'workman.'"—(*Mr. Mitchell-Thomson.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. YOUNGER (Ayr Burghs) moved an Amendment to the effect that not less than seven days notice should be given by the procurator fiscal to any person or persons affected that evidence of fault or negligence, etc., was to be adduced by him at an inquiry. The hon. Member said it to him seemed to be quite impossible on any principle of fairness to extend the powers of the jury to bring in a verdict against a man who might not have received previous notice. He could not conceive that there could be any objection to a proviso of this kind. If the period was thought to be too long he was willing to reduce the number of days. They were told in the Grand Committee that a verdict under this Bill would not involve any suggestion of criminality, but he was told by many lawyers that it was undesirable that a verdict of this kind should be passed in the absence of any man.

Mr. CLAUDE HAY seconded.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 23, at end, to add 'Provided that not less than seven days' notice shall be given by the procurator-fiscal to any person or persons affected thereby that evidence is to be adduced by him at the inquiry of such fault or negligence, or precautions or defects in the system of working.'"—(*Mr. Younger.*)

Question proposed "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

Mr. THOMAS SHAW said there was no grievance at all, as the inquiry was not a prosecution at all. If there was plainly something wrong why should the jury be prevented from telling the truth about it? To ask the procurator-fiscal to make up his mind seven days before an inquiry that somebody or other might be affected was out of the question. It would be the duty of himself or his successor to issue the ordinary regulations after the passing of an Act of this kind, under which it would be provided that when from the papers before them there appeared a possibility that a question of anybody's innocence might or might not be raised then they should send an intimation to that person. ["Why not put it in the Bill."] The reason was that to do so would make the procurator-fiscal a Judge. Under the Act of 1895 there was a proviso that the examination of any person as a witness at any inquiry should not be a bar to any criminal proceeding against him and that no such person should be compelled to answer any question tending to show that he has been guilty of any offence. He thought when he had made an offer which completely satisfied the Grand Committee and when he had shown how very dangerous it would be before the inquiry was held to have information handed to the person that he was accused of negligence it ought to be quite sufficient.

* MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON said the object of the Amendment was to insure that there should be in the Bill itself some definite assurance of what the right hon. and learned Gentleman had just said. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had said that he would order the information to be given under certain circumstances. The reason they asked for this assurance was because they were firmly convinced that it was an entirely wrong and unconstitutional principle to say that any man in this country should be found guilty of an offence by a verdict of his countrymen, when he had not had previous notice of the charge. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said that he was not found guilty, that this was a mere civil inquiry and that the liability which attached to it was a civil liability. He did not know whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman intended seriously to assure the House that if a jury said that A. B. had died through the fault or negligence of C. D. they were not bringing in a verdict which at its lowest point amounted to the blame of culpable homicide against C. D.

MR. THOMAS SHAW: No, no.

*MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON said that he would address himself to the authorities. Ever since the right hon. Gentleman had denied this in the conference he himself had been studiously looking this matter up, and what he asserted was that when a man died through the fault or negligence of another man, the other man was open to a charge which at the lowest was culpable homicide. That was perfectly clear from the definition of culpable homicide, given by Hume. He could also give the right hon. Gentleman references from Alison, and he referred him particularly to the last great criminal work by the late Lord Advocate in this House.

MR. THOMAS SHAW: I agree.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON said he now understood the right hon. and learned Gentleman to agree that when a man caused the death of another, that he fell under the blame of culpable homicide.

MR. THOMAS SHAW: No, not at all.

*MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON: Then what does the right hon. and learned Gentleman agree to? He referred to a case in which it was stated that to put the blame on a man was sufficient. He submitted that by this Bill as it stood, they were actually blaming a person. The verdict in itself blamed the man, and said that he was in fault or guilty of negligence, as it might be. He put it on the authority of the decisions extant that when that was done the verdict at its lowest point amounted to *prima facie* evidence of culpable homicide, and where such blame was possible and where such blame attached to a man it was only reasonable that everything should be done to insure that the man likely to suffer such blame should have notice and information as to the inquiry. He hoped therefore the Amendment would be accepted.

*MR. MORTON hoped this Amendment would not be passed, because the procurator fiscal could not carry it out. It would be an extremely wrong thing if the procurator fiscal was to be allowed to cast any reflection upon a person by giving him notice unless there was something to justify it. Hon. Members should bear in mind that no action could be taken until the case was taken to another court. A coroner's court in England with all its powers could not hang a person. They found a verdict against him, and then the case went through the ordinary procedure. The working men of Scotland who wanted this Bill wanted it because they wished to know whether there was anybody to blame before they took proceedings. What they said was that they went to the courts and to considerable expense only to find they were wrong. He thought it would be altogether wrong to allow the procurator-fiscal to give notice. They wanted to have many of these inquiries. When in the City of London they commenced to make inquiries into the cause of fires, whether there was loss of life or not, it was found that fires were largely stopped. These inquiries ought to be held in the interest of everyone concerned and he hoped the hon. Member would not insist on his Amendment and so put an impediment in the way of these inquiries which were for the benefit of both employers and workmen.

Mr. COCHRANE said the hon. Member for Sutherland had stated that one of the reasons why he would not support the Amendment was that whatever verdict the jury might give no action could be taken, but that that verdict was connected with other legal actions which might be taken elsewhere. But though no further legal action might be taken what would be the state of a man's mind if a jury found that he was guilty of culpable homicide, when he was not present at the inquiry, and had no remedy and no opportunity of clearing himself of the charge? His position would be far more serious if he had no notice that such a charge was to be made, and no opportunity of refuting it. The right hon. and learned Gentleman agreed that before a charge was brought against an individual that individual should have notice, and the method which he suggested was that a letter should be written to the procurator-fiscal asking him to give him notice. If it were right that a man should have notice before a charge was brought against him, why not put it in the Bill? He would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman that unless he wanted to have a verdict of culpable homicide brought against him for keeping hon. Members in the House until Sunday morning he should meet them in a conciliatory spirit.

Mr. THOMAS SHAW said he did not think there could be any better evidence of his having done so than the way in which he had dealt with the House. He had already accepted two Amendments.

Mr. COCHRANE admitted that the right hon. Gentleman was a marvel of good temper under the strain and stress of circumstances, but he would like to press his good nature a little further. The right hon. Gentleman admitted there was substance in the argument brought forward by his hon. friend. Could he not meet it by introducing into the Bill an Amendment stating that where practicable the Procurator-fiscal should give notice to any person or persons likely to be affected? It could do no harm, and he thought it would remove a grievance.

Mr. THOMAS SHAW said that by the indulgence of the House he might be allowed to say that there seemed to be a point in the last observation of the hon. Gentleman which might remove a difficulty in the practical working of the Act. The House would understand that he totally dissented from the view of anything in the nature of a criminal inquiry at all. On the other hand he would communicate the view last presented by his hon. friend to the Lord Chancellor to see whether, if possible, without interfering with the practical and prompt working of the Bill they could adopt some words of the kind suggested. If it were not done the hon. Gentleman would understand it was because they believed it would kill the principle of the Bill. But they would very favourably consider it.

Mr. CLAUDE HAY asked the right hon. Gentleman whether in the communication he proposed to make to the Lord-Chancellor he would include in it the Amendment of the hon. Member for North-West Lanarkshire.

Mr. THOMAS SHAW: Certainly.

Mr. YOUNGER said he was quite willing to accept the right hon. Gentleman's offer, and would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed,—

"In Clause 3 to leave out "section 2 hereof" and insert 'this Act" (*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

Adjournment,—Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Whiteley,*)—put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at eight minutes after Six o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, 30th July, 1906.

Several Lords took the Oath.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Pontrefract Corporation Bill. Read 3ª, with the Amendments; further Amendments made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

Sutton District Water Bill. Read 3ª, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill. Read 3ª, with the Amendments; further Amendments made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [H.L.]; Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]; Tramways Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments.

Folkestone, Sandgate, and Hythe Tramways Bill [H.L.]; South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Local Government Provisional Order (Housing of Working Classes) Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendment agreed to.

Newburgh and North Fife Railway (Extension of Time) Order Confirmation Bill (No. 185); Paisley Roads Order Confirmation Bill (No. 186); Inverclyde Bequest Order Confirmation Bill (No. 187); Perth Corporation Gas Order Confirmation Bill, (No. 188). Read 1ª; to be printed; and (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899), deemed to have been read 2ª (The Lord Hamilton of Dalzell), and reported from the Committee.

Local Government Provisional Orders Gas Bill. Brought from the Commons. Read 3ª (according to order), with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill; Bacup Corporation Bill; Cork City Railways and Works Bill; Derby Gas Bill; Middlesex County Council (General Powers) Bill; St. John's (Westminster) Improvement Bill; Todmorden Corporation Bill; Tottenham and Edmonton Gas Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION.

Petition to be allowed to continue to give Church of England teaching in schools; of—

Teachers in non-provided schools of Higham Ferrers.

Read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

Petition against abolition of the voluntary school system; of—

Inhabitants of Burythorpe.

Read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

COLONIES: ANNUAL.

No. 488. Gold Coast: Report for 1905.

CHARITABLE DONATIONS AND BEQUESTS (IRELAND).

Sixty-first Annual Report of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland.

RAILWAY COMPANIES.

Returns of the capital, traffic, receipts, and working expenditure of the railway companies of the United Kingdom for the year 1905; with a general report thereon and summary tables for a series of years.

STATISTICS (COLONIES).

Statistical Tables relating to British Colonies, Possessions, and Protectorates. Part XXIX., 1904.

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

Fiftieth Report of His Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, with appendix.

PUBLIC WORKS (IRELAND).

Seventy-fourth Annual Report of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, with appendices, for the year ended March 31st, 1906.

INLAND REVENUE.

Forty-ninth Report of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Inland Revenue, for the year ended March 31st, 1906.

TRADE REPORTS: ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3684. Muscat.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD.

Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Local Government Board, 1905–1906.

Presented [by Command]; and ordered to lie on the Table.

NAVY (PAY).

List of exceptions to the King's Regulations as to pay, non-effective pay, and allowances, sanctioned by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, with the approval of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, pursuant to the Order in Council, dated December 19th, 1881, during the year 1905–1906.

ALKALI, ETC., WORKS REGULATION ACTS, 1881 AND 1892.

Forty-second Annual Report on Alkali, etc., Works by the chief inspector; proceedings during the year 1905.

METROPOLITAN WATER BOARD.

Annual Report of the Proceedings of the Metropolitan Water Board, and abstract of their accounts for the year ended March 31st, 1905.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP (PERIOD OF EMPLOYMENT).

Orders, dated July 24th, 1906, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in pursuance of Section 36 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901—

Revoking certain previous orders and granting a special exception for a period of one year as regards the hours of employment of women and young persons in certain classes of factories and workshops.

Revoking an Order of January 12th, 1884, and granting a special exception as regards the period of employment of women and young persons in factories in the county of London in which letterpress bookbinding is carried on.

LONDON CORPORATION.

Annual Accounts of the Chamberlain of London, for the year 1905.

CLERGY (WEST INDIES).

Return of the amount payable on January 5th, 1906, out of the Consolidated Fund for ecclesiastical purposes in the West Indies.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.

Return for the year ended March 31st, 1906, of the Army and Navy Officers permitted under Rule 2 of the regulations drawn up under section 6 of the Act to hold civil employment of profit under public departments.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act); and ordered to lie on the Table.

RATEABLE HEREDITAMENTS.

Return respecting: Laid before the House (pursuant to order of May 4th last), and to be printed. (No. 183.)

FATAL ACCIDENTS AND SUDDEN DEATHS INQUIRY (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Brought from the Commons and Read 1ª, and to be printed. (No. 184.)

THE SHIPBUILDING PROGRAMME.

LORD BRASSEY rose to call attention to the recommendations of the Admiralty Committee on Naval Reserves, and to the shipbuilding programme of the present year. The noble Lord said: My Lords, the questions which I have placed on the notice Paper relate to the

Reserves of the Navy. I will introduce them briefly in a few general observations.

This is no time to disarm. It is a time when every head of expenditure should be narrowly scrutinised. We see everywhere signs of impatience under the burdens of preparations for war. In countries despotically governed it is an undercurrent. In countries democratically governed it finds expression at the elections. In view of recent changes in the position of other Powers, demands for retrenchment are justified, even for the British Navy. We have to take care that retrenchment is carried out in such a manner as will leave our naval supremacy assured.

Can we reduce the Votes for shipbuilding? Can we reduce the Votes for the manning of the Navy? The answer to these questions must depend on comparisons. We have to consider how we stand as to ships, and how we stand as to manning. In ships ready for service, and more particularly in battleships and armoured cruisers, we hold a commanding position. Measuring progress in shipbuilding by the amounts voted we are equal to a two-Power standard with some margin. In the circumstances of the hour it is possible to postpone the laying down of a battleship. We possess incomparable resources for rapid and extensive building. There is some advantage in delay. The latest ships are the most up-to-date. It gives occasion for reflection when we see that none of the types laid down within the last ten—I may even say the last five—years are included in the programme of shipbuilding this year submitted to Parliament. It is not chimerical to hope that if we show ourselves in earnest in a policy of reduction our example may be followed. If other Powers continue to push forward construction we shall be bound to meet them. We shall do so with reluctance. In the enlargement of programmes of shipbuilding we have not been the aggressors. In the last two years we have cut down Navy Estimates by £5,000,000 and the Estimates for new works by £4,000,000. I will not pursue the point. Your Lordships are awaiting a statement from Lord Tweedmouth.

I turn from shipbuilding to manning. In manning, as in shipbuilding, we measure our requirements largely by comparisons. In the Estimates of the present session Parliament is asked to vote 129,000 men for the active ratings of the Navy, as against 52,000 for France and 40,000 for Germany. In fixing the numbers required for the manning of the Navy, we have to look, not only to comparisons but also to the list of our effective ships. If we take all the ships now on the list, and add all the ships we are likely to build in the next ten years, and if, further, we assume that, while all skilled ratings would be drawn from the permanent men, complements may be partly filled up from well-trained Reserves, it is evident that the permanent force is excessive in proportion to the number of effective up-to-date ships. We have relied too much on permanent men for manning the Navy in an emergency. In Reserves we are below both France and Germany.

Impressed with the necessity for dealing with the Reserves upon a comprehensive plan, the Admiralty in 1902 appointed a Committee, with Sir Edward Grey as chairman. It is to their recommendations that my questions refer. The Committee recommended that the Reserves of all classes should be reinforced—the stokers, the skilled ratings of electricians and signalmen, and the Reserves in the Colonies. They recommended that a force should be raised as a reserve to the marines. When Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, Sir John Fisher delivered a lecture showing how the Army might be utilised as a reserve for the manning of the Navy, and I should like to hear that something has been done on the lines advocated by Sir John Fisher.

Passing to the officers of the Reserve, various regulations have recently been approved, having for their object to secure a higher standard of efficiency. The officer of the mercantile marine has none of the advantages rightly afforded to cadets at Osborne and Dartmouth. The Admiralty should take up this important question. Every Reserve cadet should receive such an education as will enable him when called upon to do his duty as a naval officer. The premiums to shipowners for providing instructors for apprentices would be inconsiderable.

I have one more suggestion. The Reserves are growing beyond the administrative power of one central office. The admiral superintendent of the Reserves should be represented at the chief commercial ports by an officer of standing in the service, who, with the aid of a small staff, should keep in touch with shipowners, as to appointments to commissions and as to recruiting for Reserves of every class. My main purpose is to insist in general terms on the possibility of combining economy in the expenditure on manning with wider powers of expansion. I do not look for a reply from my noble friend on details, but I should be glad to have an assurance of his general concurrence. In conclusion, I may say that in creating Reserves for the Navy we achieve a double purpose; we are training up officers and men of the best stamp and quality for the mercantile marine; and there is a general testimony that they are needed.

EARL CAWDOR: My Lords, the speech of the noble Lord who has just sat down appears to divide itself into two parts, the latter part dealing more with the Reserves than the other questions of interest to-day. Your Lordships perhaps will pardon me if I pass away from the question of the Reserves, and deal with what appears to me to be the most important question we can have to discuss in this session of Parliament. I refer to the Shipbuilding Vote and the shipbuilding programme of the Government of the day. Though I do not wish for a moment to suggest that the question of Naval Reserves is not one of great and vital importance, I do suggest that the Shipbuilding Vote overshadows and surpasses it in importance.

It is very desirable that in the first instance your Lordships should appreciate quite clearly exactly the position of to-day with respect to the shipbuilding programme. I therefore make no apology for detailing it to your Lordships, and I will do so in as few words as I can. In November last, and again in March last, when the Naval Estimates were laid before the country, the minimum programme that was thought necessary in shipbuilding was as follows. We were to have laid down this year four battleships of the "Dreadnought" type, five seagoing torpedo boat destroyers, twelve coastal torpedo boat destroyers, and twelve submarines. In July, what do we find? We find that instead of four battleships we are to have but three; instead of five seagoing torpedo boat destroyers we are to have but two; and that instead of twelve submarines we are to have but eight. That makes a diminution in the shipbuilding programme as far as battleships are concerned of 25 per cent.; a diminution as far as those valuable sea-going torpedo boat destroyers are concerned of no less than 60 per cent.; and a diminution as far as submarines are concerned of no less than 33 per cent.

The Secretary to the Admiralty has told us what the programme for the year 1907–8 is to be. In 1907–8, instead of four battleships of the "Dreadnought" type which were to have been laid down, we are to have but two. The conditions with respect to the programme of battleships in 1907–8 are, I think, a little peculiar. We are to lay down two battleships instead of four, but we are not to lay down even those two battleships until quite late in the year. And for what reason? In order that we may emphasise the good faith of the British people, in order that we may induce foreign countries to believe, what apparently the Government do not think they would otherwise believe, that the people of Great Britain are in earnest in a desire for a reduction of armaments. I had never realised before that the good faith of the people of Great Britain needed bolstering up by such a scheme as that. And then we are told that if the proposals laid before The Hague Conference prove abortive we are to lay down the third battleship. That seems to me to be an extraordinary procedure with regard to what is supposed to be an amicable consideration of possible arrangements for the diminution of armaments.

I venture to think the proceedings of His Majesty's Government with regard to

The Hague Conference are a little complicated, and, may I say, a little contradictory. I have explained to your Lordships what is proposed to be done with respect to the Navy in order to emphasise the good faith of Great Britain. But what about the Army? Your Lordships will, I am sure, remember perfectly clearly the statement made but a short time ago by the Secretary of State for War. The right hon. Gentleman stated in another place that while the Government had been able to reduce considerably the cost of the Army, they had at the same time succeeded in increasing its striking efficiency by 50 per cent. Is that to be taken to The Hague Conference as well? Is that to be a method of emphasing the good faith of Great Britain and showing foreign countries a lead in the direction of armaments? Is it not an insult to the common sense of the country to tell them things of that kind? What foreign countries look to, and what they care about, is not what we are saving in cost; they look to what the striking power of this country is abroad. I think that a little less of these theatrical performances as far as the Conference at The Hague is concerned may lead to better results.

There is in one of the newspapers of the day a few words that seem to bear rather upon our idea of immediate reductions. I am alluding to a statement of what took place in January, 1792, when in the Speech from the Throne it was pointed out that the friendly assurances received from foreign Powers induced the King to think that some immediate reduction might safely be made in our naval and military establishments. Mr. Pitt sounded the note of security in language even more assured. He said—

> "Unquestionably there never was a time in the history of the country when from the situation of Europe we might more reasonably expect fifteen years of peace than we may at the present moment."

Before the year was out England was thrown into a struggle lasting over twenty years, and terminating only on the field of Waterloo. I merely mention this, my Lords, to show that even the best advised of the greatest administrators may sometimes make a mistake as to the position of Europe and as to the possibilities of safely cutting down the armaments for the protection of the country.

There is one other point I should like to press upon your Lordships with regard to the reductions that are now proposed. We are now dealing with battleships of an entirely new type. Every battleship of the "Dreadnonght" type is equivalent, at least, in armament to two of the best battleships afloat to-day. I do not think I am putting it too high, if high enough; and when you talk of striking off a battleship from your shipbuilding programme to-day you are striking off a "Dreadnought," which is equivalent, as I have said, to two of the best battleships now afloat. I beg your Lordships and the country to bear in mind that what we have got to get ahead in is the last and best fighting battleship in the world. It is no use counting up the number of smaller and out-of-date battleships we have got. We must, if this country is to be secure, be the foremost country in the world, with the strongest battleships. Ten or twelve years hence the country that owns the most "Dreadnoughts," or improved "Dreadnoughts," will be the country that will dominate the sea.

A great deal has been said about the Sea Lords. I venture with great humility to say that I think a great deal too much has been said about the action of the Sea Lords. I think we have been landed in a very evil precedent, by which His Majesty's Government shelter themselves without a shred of explanation behind their skilled advisers. We are told that the Sea Lords have recommended these reductions. I will not go behind that statement made distinctly and solemnly by the Prime Minister. May I quote his words —

> "The Sea Lords have had no pressure put upon them in this matter. On the contrary, taking the further survey of the situation as it now presents itself to them they have advised us that what we now propose is sufficient to maintain the strength and preserve all the power that is required for the British Navy. Not only so, but they recommended this to us, and they expressly asked that the House of Commons should be informed that it was their recommendation"—

and then the Prime Minister added—

> "In order, I suppose that they might get the credit for it."

My Lords, I know the Sea Lords pretty well, but I do not think that statement at the end is a worthy statement for the Prime Minister of this country. I accept, of course, the statement that these reductions were made on the recommendation of the Sea Lords; but knowing the Sea Lords as I do, I decline to accept, what is implied by that statement, that the Sea Lords changed their minds on the old conditions that they had to consider. I believe nothing of the kind. I can quite believe that there may have been fresh reasons and altered conditions which might have induced them to change their minds, but I deny altogether, as at present advised, that they could have changed their minds unless there was some change in the conditions to which they had to give consideration.

As to any change in conditions as far as building carried on by foreign nations is concerned, we practically have no information. We have the sort of nebulous statement made by the Secretary to the Admiralty that there is some reason to believe that there has not been that progress with foreign new programmes which the Admiralty had reason to anticipate. That phrase is practically the only explanation of any change that has taken place in the circumstances held to justify the reduction of twenty-five per cent. in the battleship building this year and of fifty per cent. next. It is impossible that these reductions can be justified upon that statement alone. There must be some further change in the conditions, some further change in the position of affairs as to which the Sea Lords were asked to give their consideration. I want to ask my noble friend the First Lord of the Admiralty three Questions. I ask him, first, did the Sea Lords initiate or originate this programme of reductions of their own accord, and if so, when? Secondly, had they submitted to them at any time any more drastic programme of reductions, and with what result? And, thirdly, had they before them at any time any intimation of any change of policy on the part of the Government as to the two-Power standard, and if so, what was the standard upon which they were instructed to work? I may be told that these are unusual questions.

LORD BRASSEY: Hear, hear!

EARL CAWDOR: But the position is an unusual one; it is distinctly an unusual position. Will the noble Lord who interrupted me tell me of a previous case in which the Government gave no explanation in another place or in this House of the reasons for a change in their programme and a grave reduction not only for one year, but for the following year, and sheltered themselves, without a shadow of an explanation, behind their skilled advisers? The Government have chosen to take that course. The country under these conditions has a right to know exactly what has happened. We have a right to press this matter also because the position is unfair as far as the Sea Lords are concerned, and I think we may claim that the matter should be cleared up.

The last of my three Questions I put to the noble Lord in consequence of the statement made by the Prime Minister in another place on Friday last. That statement is so important, that perhaps your Lordships will forgive me if I quote it word for word. The Prime Minister, speaking in the House of Commons on Friday last, said—

> "Our opinion is that the Naval Lords are right; and when you talk of a two-Power standard, after all you cannot keep quite out of your mind who the two-Powers are. When we have elaborate calculations made as to what France and Germany are building, is it really a very likely contingency that France and Germany should be allied and should go to war with us? I do not object to the two-Power standard as a rough guide, but this is a two-Power standard of almost a preposterous kind."

My Lords, that is a very momentous statement. I think it will be very difficult to exaggerate its immense importance. It means that the two-Power standard is discarded by His Majesty's Government. What is the two-Power standard? The two-Power standard that has been understood until to-day is that the Navy, upon whom we depend for the security of the country, must always be maintained so as to be strong enough to defeat any possible combination at sea by any two countries in the world. That is the battleship standard. I am not speaking of the cruiser standard. In cruisers, of course, we have to have a great deal higher percentage of force than that for the protection of our commerce and our Colonies. I am speaking for the moment of the battleship standard. We have always had, and always held that we must have, not only exactly a Fleet equivalent to those of any two other Powers in Europe, but that we must have a margin over and above that, and I think we have usually calculated something like ten per cent.

We had attained to that position. We had always under the late Government given instructions that what the Admiralty had to work to was that policy, and we had to assure Parliament and the country that we had attained to it. We have attained to it to-day, and under it I venture to say that the country has been feeling safe; but the Prime Minister in one sentence has cast that all aside. Such a standard in his view is a standard of almost a preposterous kind. If that be the view of His Majesty's Government, it is hardly likely that the instructions given to the Sea Lords since His Majesty's Government come into office were to work upon those lines. They were not likely to have been told to work up to a standard described as one of an almost preposterous kind. If not, surely we have a right to ask, and surely the country has a right to know, upon what standard the Sea Lords have been told to work in securing to us a Navy efficient for the purposes stated to be necessary by the Government of the day. We have no information of any sort or kind.

It seems clear, and I think the country should realise it, from the statement of the Prime Minister, that if an improbable, I admit, but not an impossible combination of foreign Powers was directed against this country, I mean such a combination as was quoted by the Prime Minister himself, a combination of France and Germany—the country should understand and realise that in the event of such a combination taking place the Government of the day are content that we should be powerless to defend our shores. There is no half way in this matter. Either the Navy is to be maintained strong enough to make us absolutely safe against any two Powers—I care not which they are—who might combine against us, or it is not. If you drop below the two-Power standard, what standard are you going to adopt? You must drop down and down. It is no use having half a fleet, and if you have not a fleet sufficient for the protection of the country, you may as well not have a fleet at all. I think we are entitled distinctly and absolutely to an answer from His Majesty's Government as to what standard it is to which they have instructed the Sea Lords to work.

I want to quote one more statement by the Prime Minister. He complained that it had been stated that he was weakening the Fleet. He said—

> "How are we weakening the Fleet? It is the old idea that by piling one strength upon another you get a greater result."

My Lords, I should have thought so. There is another old idea that two and two make four, and an old idea that, as far as I know, is generally accepted throughout the world; but I agree that it is quite a new idea, and a new idea started apparently by the Prime Minister himself, that the addition to or withdrawal from our building programme of one or two "Dreadnoughts" does not effect the strengthening or the weakening of the Fleet. I do not know to whom the Prime Minister was really addressing those words. It could hardly have been the House of Commons, and he could hardly have been insulting enough to have addressed them to the electors of this great country.

We are told that peace is best secured by diminishing armaments. Was there ever such a fallacy? It sounds well, but it is not true. No one, my Lords, doubts that my noble friend who sits beside me, Lord Lansdowne, has done as much as any man in this country in the direction of securing European peace. Does any one suggest for a moment that he would have been as successful as he has been in that line if we had not been strong at sea? These phrases about peace being secured by diminished armaments may sound well in some people's ears. The facts I believe to be that a strong British Fleet is the best safeguard you can have for European peace. I venture to say that "A strong man armed" should be the motto and the position of this country. Preparedness for war is, in our island home, the only real security for peace. Let it ever be remembered that our Navy is not in any sense an aggressive force; it is our defensive force. If you tamper with that, my Lords, you tamper with the security of the Empire.

*THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord TWEEDMOUTH): My Lords, we have heard two very different speeches to-day on this subject. My noble friend who opened this debate, than whom there is no man more acquainted with the Navy, no man who has given greater attention to it is better acquainted with its wants and with the wants of the country, has approved of the policy of His Majesty's Government. The noble Earl opposite, on the other hand, has denounced our policy and has said that it is without precedent, that it is dangerous ——

EARL CAWDOR: I did not say the policy was without precedent.

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: The noble Earl has denounced our policy and has said that it is dangerous, and that it is undoubtedly weakening us in the face of rival nations in Europe. I am quite prepared to meet that charge and to show that the proposals that are being made by His Majesty's Government are not such as in the existing condition of Europe, and in the existing building programmes of other nations, is dangerous to this country. I feel that I am entering into this contest to some extent with one hand tied behind my back, because I do not believe it to be either wise or prudent or good policy to go into minute details as to the comparative strength of our Navy and other navies, or to set the ships of various classes in our Navy against the ships of various classes in another. I do not think it is wise to brandish the strength of our Navy in the face of the rest of the world. It is not right to use the British Navy as a sort of shillelagh which you are to whirl around and say, "Here's a head, let's knock it." That is not the line that I propose to take. I believe that the Navy is a sharp and keen weapon, a weapon that is kept both sharp and keen, and which is ready for the purpose for which it is required, namely, the defence of our country, and not for aggression on any foreign country.

Earl Cawdor.

EARL CAWDOR: Hear, hear!

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: The noble Earl has, I think, adopted the course that he condemned in others by also bringing the Sea Lords very much into this discussion. For my part, I shall not do that. I consider that the Board of Admiralty as a whole, the Sea Lords and the civil members alike, are responsible for all that takes place; and for my own part, knowing the grave responsibility that lies upon me, I assure you that in considering these matters during the last few weeks I have given to them my very closest attention. I have had the advantage of the advice of many both within and without the Admiralty, and I am prepared, so far as is possible for one who has only been for seven months at the Admiralty, to take the responsibility on myself of saying that I believe the proposals of His Majesty's Government at this time do not lead to danger, but are perfectly consonant with the best interests of our country.

The noble Lord asked me three questions which he said were somewhat unusual. I think they were. But still I will answer them. He first asked, Did the Sea Lords initiate the new programme of their own accord? My Lords, the Sea Lords, along with their colleagues in the Admiralty, considered the whole situation as it was between March and July, and together unanimously came to the conclusion that they could recommend this particular reduction in the programme. The noble Earl next asked, Had they submitted to them any more drastic proposals? My Lords, they had no proposals of any sort or kind submitted to them. They were asked simply to review the situation and make their own proposals. The question of a change of standard never was brought before them at all. I have said that I do not think it wise to go into the details of the comparative strength either of Fleets or of ships belonging to different countries. I believe all that is necessary can be found in the Dilke Return, and I believe that every man from that Return can judge for himself what the relative strengths of the British Fleet and other fleets now are. But, my Lords, the Board as a whole accept this policy, and think it right to adopt a policy of economy so long as the full sea supremacy of our country can be maintained.

The Board have been very severely criticised, and the Sea Lords most of all, for their decision in July to change the programme which was put forward in March at the time of the statement on the Estimates. Whether the Admiralty was right or wrong with regard to that is a question of the consideration of circumstances. There is certainly neither precedent nor good sense in the idea that because a particular programme has once been put forward there is, therefore, never to be any change from that particular programme; and I say that it is against all rules of economy to say that a great department is obliged to spend up to an estimate that has been made at an early date before all the circumstances of the case had been considered, instead of revising it if it thinks it necessary. That course, after all, has the precedent of previous Boards; it has been the course taken by three successive Boards in three successive years when the First Lords were Lord Selborne, Lord Cawdor, and myself. In the last year that Lord Selborne was First Lord of the Admiralty six armoured ships were included in the programme; one was dropped. In the programme of last year, for which the noble Earl opposite was responsible, five armoured ships were in that programme, and on consideration one was dropped. This year, again, four armoured ships were in the programme, and after full consideration one was dropped.

I would remind you of this, and it is, I think, an important consideration, that year after year these armoured ships are getting more complex, more costly, and more and more of an experiment. If error there be, there was error with the late Boards as well as with the present Board, for the course they adopted was exactly the same. As a matter of fact, I contend that there was blame with none of the Boards for the course they took. I believe that they all took a wise course, and one that was justified by the change of circumstances. The business of the Admiralty is at the beginning of the year to provide for what seems to be the necessities of the year. I would wish to insist that it is a wise thing to take your programme year by year and not attempt to go beyond the needs and the necessities of the particular year. It is impossible to forecast what the changes and delays in the programmes of foreign nations may be, and it must be year by year the duty of the Admiralty to consider those changes and those delays before they decide on what their own eventual programme is to be. That I believe to be sound.

Now, my Lords, the Admiralty do not desire to spend money unnecessarily, and when they came to consider the great changes and the great delays that had taken place in foreign building during this year they arrived at the conclusion that it was wise and right to reduce the programme as it stood when the noble Earl left office. It was proposed, as the noble Earl said, to build four armoured ships, five ocean-going destroyers, twelve coastal destroyers, and twelve submarines. The outlook then was that France was going to lay down several very large battleships; the United States were going to lay down two new great battleships, besides two that had before been carried. Russia was going to lay down one first class battleship and two armoured cruisers; and Germany was going to lay down two very large battleships and one armoured cruiser.

It was in view of this knowledge that the programme was originally formed. But from week to week and from month to month we got reports of delay in the commencement of this new construction, and of the dropping of these proposed ships. Neither in France nor in the United States have any new keels been laid down. Germany for the first time has failed to fulfil her programme, and the delay in those German essels has been more than four months; and only this very morning I have had information that the first of the two great battleships proposed to be laid down by Germany will not be laid down till the month of September next. The same thing has taken place in the United States. In France, instead of six new battleships to be completed two a year, they are not to be completed until the end of 1912, or at the rate of only one a year instead of two. In Russia there has been a reduction in the proposed vote for new construction of £2,500,000. In consequence it was decided to drop one of our own big battleships and, further, there were dropped three ocean-going destroyers and four submarines.

But I wish to make it perfectly clear that in lieu of those vessels a new vessel is to be laid down. It is true it is not to be laid down till early next year, but I will give the House a description of it. It is to be laid down at Pembroke Dockyard very early in the financial year 1907–8. It is an improved "Scout," and has been designed after the experience of the "Gem" and the "Scout" class. It includes the turbine machinery of the "Amethyst," and full advantage will be taken of the oil-fuel experiences of the last few years in vessels of all classes. The vessel will have a very much increased radius, and will be able to steam over 2,000 knots. She will be a very fast vessel and will have much heavier armaments and a greater radius of action than that of the "Scout," and being designed for the same speed will be much superior to third-class cruisers in this respect. She is to be fitted with a double bottom, and will be fully capable of service on distant foreign stations; so work that is now carried out by smaller types of cruisers will be done by this. That I believe to be a very important vessel.

There is good reason also for the postponement of the ocean-going destroyers and submarines. The complexity and difficulty of the ocean-going destroyers is very great, and the Admiralty desire to have greater experience of their action and work before they lay down so large a number as was proposed. With regard to the submarines also, a new type is now being developed, and it is not thought desirable to start twelve submarines this year. Eight are quite enough with our present knowledge, and we had much better wait until the new type is developed and we have the benefit of the knowledge thereby gained.

But, besides the facts that I have tried to bring before you with regard to the progress of building amongst foreign nations, there is also this consideration. We have proved in the most striking manner this year the great and immediate efficiency of His Majesty's Navy. On three different occasions we have carried out considerable manœuvres. First, there was the mobilisation in February of the scouts, destroyers, and torpedo boats, 110 in all; they carried out considerable manœuvres and operations in bad weather with the greatest success and with very small defects. There were also the manœuvres at Lagos, which lasted from February 15th to March 1st, in which twenty-nine battleships and eighteen cruisers took part, and which again proved that the Fleet was ready for action at a moment's notice. Again, we had the grand manœuvres between June 12th and July 2nd, in which no less than 319 ships took part, and which were remarkable for their success and for the rapidity of mobilisation which it was found possible to effect in the nucleus crews of the reserve ships. Those ships performed a record in mobilisation, for of all those vessels the longest in getting mobilised took only three hours, and the shortest forty minutes. That, my Lords, gave proof of how ready the Fleet was to go to sea, how quickly it could be mobilised, and how speedily the reserves could be brought on board ship.

I now come to the question of the national advantage of endeavouring in some way to reduce the huge expenditure of this country. That expenditure has increased by half during the past ten years, and, most of all, the defence service expenditure has increased to something like £61,000,000 a year, without taking into consideration the Works account or the cost of our Army in India. Surely it is a desirable thing, and an object that should be aimed at by all parties in this House and in the country, to reduce these great charges that weigh so heavily on the people. The noble Earl was rather sarcastic about The Hague Conference.

Earl CAWDOR: Not about The Hague Conference, but only about the operations of His Majesty's Government with regard to that Conference.

***Lord TWEEDMOUTH**: I think the noble Earl looked upon those who support The Hague Conference, and who think that something may be got from the meeting of nations at such a Conference, as in the nature of ideal dreamers.

EARL CAWDOR: Oh, no, I did not.

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: At any rate, that is an opinion which is held, and it is one against which I protest. The noble Viscount opposite, Lord Goschen, in 1899, before the last Hague Conference, said—

> "We have been compelled to increase our expenditure, as other nations have increased theirs, not pressing on more than they. As they have increased, so have we increased. I have now to state on behalf of His Majesty's Government, that similarly if the other great naval powers should be prepared to diminish their programme of shipbuilding, we should be prepared on our side to meet such a procedure by modifying ours."

VISCOUNT GOSCHEN: Hear, hear!

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: The noble Viscount continued—

> "The difficulties of adjustment are no doubt immense, but our desire that the conference should succeed in lightening the tremendous burden which now weighs down all European nations is sincere. But if Europe comes to no agreement, and if the hopes entertained by the Czar should not be realised, the programme which I have submitted to the House must stand."

Those are words with which I desire entirely to associate myself. It is quite true that it is suggested that for the programme of 1907–8 in the first instance only two battleships should be laid down, and that the third should be laid down if the proceedings of the Hague Conference come to nothing. It seems to me that this country will go to that Conference with a good face and with a good record, for it can show that successive Governments have year by year diminished the Naval Estimates of this country by some £6,500,000, that they have each in their turn done something to reduce the building programme of the Navy, and that they are prepared still further to extend that reduction if other countries are willing to join them and to follow suit. I think we shall be able to put that case very strongly before the Hague Conference, and for my part I hope we shall have some success in the representations that we shall make there.

Let me now turn to the other question that was raised by my noble friend, Lord Brassey—the question of the Naval Reserves. That is a very important and a very intricate subject to deal with. A strong Committee was appointed in 1902 to examine the question, and many of the recommendations of that Committee have since been carried out. At that time the condition of things was very different. There were then an immense number of ships which it was supposed were to be manned in time of war. The number of ships has been greatly diminished, and the conditions, therefore, are very different. Two of the things that Sir Edward Grey's Committee recommended were the strengthening of the Fleet Reserve, and the better training of the Royal Naval Reserve. The Fleet Reserve, which consists partly of men who have been on the shorter period of engagement in the Navy—they are engaged for twelve years, five years on active service and seven years in the Reserve—has greatly increased since that time. They were something over 5,000 at the time the Committee sat in 1902; they are now upwards of 15,000, and are increasing every day. Sir Edward Grey's Committee also strongly recommended the establishment of Naval Volunteers. There are now 4,200 Naval Volunteers, and they are a very effective body.

The difficulty that arises is that there are two opinions as to the proportion that the Reserve should bear to the active men in the Naval service. Sir Edward Grey's Committee put that number as high as fifty per cent. Naval opinion now takes a very much lower view and talks about fifteen or twenty per cent. I think there is a general agreement that the Royal Fleet Reserve is the best Reserve for the Navy and is the one on which we can best depend on account of the men having received their training in the Naval Service itself. But, after all, the main and most important part of naval seamen must be the men of long service, because the work of a seaman now has become so intricate, so complex, I might almost say so scientific, that it requires long training to ensure success. Consequently the number of men who are at any time in the Navy on comparatively short service or non-continuous service, cannot be a very large one, and, therefore, beyond a certain number we cannot get

Royal Fleet Reserve men from this source, but they are increasing. They will increase, and every encouragement will be given to them.

With regard to the Royal Naval Reserve, considerable changes have been made. It was before I became First Lord that the decision was arrived at. They have been given an entirely new system of training. Instead of being trained at shore batteries and on training ships, with the exception of a small number during the next four years which are to be used for men who, having engaged on the old system, have not completed their term of service, and are unwilling to serve under the new conditions, they will in future be entirely trained on board seagoing ships, and will, instead of doing their fourteen days a year on shore or in the training ships, be trained twenty-eight days every second year in sea-going ships, and principally in the nucleus ships in reserve in the various ports round the United Kingdom. Entry into the Royal Naval Reserve has been for the time arrested, but for my part I am strongly in favour of maintaining the Royal Naval Reserve, and so far as I am concerned, I would not be a party to its abolition, though undoubtedly its number must be reduced, and will be reduced, I should think, to some extent by the more strict conditions of service which have been imposed. The suspension of entry has now continued for about a year and a half, and a waste is going on at the rate of about 8 per cent. a year. I think that within a very short time it will be possible and desirable to re-open the entries to the Royal Naval Reserve both of officers and of men. I do not say exactly under what conditions, but with the idea at any rate of increasing considerably the number of stokers that will be available for the Reserve. I think I have answered the questions put to me by Lord Brassey. In conclusion I would say, as I began, that I do feel the responsibility which rests upon me in agreeing and being a party to the reduction that has been made, and I firmly believe that that reduction will not lead to any damage to our country.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: My Lords, I hope your Lordships will excuse me, if, like my noble friend, Lord Cawdor, I address the few remarks with which I shall trouble the House to that part of the noble Lord's speech which refers to the shipbuilding programme. Although I fully admit the great importance of the question of Reserves, I will defer till some other occasion any remarks I may have to make upon that subject. Anyone who has listened to the speech which has just been delivered by the First Lord of the Admiralty, and who has read the speeches which were made by his two colleagues on the shipbuilding programme in the other House of Parliament, can hardly fail to have been impressed by the difference of tone adopted. In the other House the great question was economy, and what was produced and flaunted before the House was the part which the Naval Lords have played in this matter.

The Naval Lords, by a very unfortunate course on the part of the Prime Minister, were brought out and placed in very clear contradistinction to the other Members of the Board of Admiralty. I need hardly say that that is entirely contrary to the whole theory and practice of the Board of Admiralty during, at all events, the last thirty years. The Secretary to the Admiralty and the Prime Minister were both well aware of this, for they said that they knew it was inconvenient and for many reasons undesirable, and that they only did it because of very exceptional circumstances. To-night the noble Lord took quite a different course. He separated himself entirely from those colleagues. He said, and I am sure that anyone who knows anything of Naval affairs and of the Board of Admiralty will cordially agree with him, that the Board of Admiralty is one and indivisible, and that the First Lord is the person who is responsible to Parliament and to the country for the action of that Board.

How can you reconcile that with what was said in the other House? What was the reason why a totally different statement was made in that House? The Prime Minister said it was an exceptional case. His reason for introducing the Naval Lords was that he wished to throw upon them the responsibility for the reduction which was being made, to assure the country that it was they who were primarily responsible for it, and he went so far as to say that they had asked him to state that to the House of Commons. If the naval Members of the Board of Admiralty made that statement I am sure that the First Lord himself could not have been aware of it, because he knows as well as anyone how improper it is to put forward professional advisers and throw upon them the responsibility for a programme. Those of your Lordships who read the papers on Saturday morning will have seen that it is said, more especially in the Radical Press, that we are perfectly safe because this is the programme of the Naval Lords. I confess that this is rather an undignified and undeserved position in which to place my noble friend.

In the statement we have listened to to-night we have heard a variety of circumstances in justification for the reduction in the programme which were not stated in the other House of Parliament. The noble Lord has stated them in some detail with regard to the naval proposals of two or three other countries whose rogrammes he has learned are very much in arrear. Those who have no official information and who are merely private Members of this House of course accept that statement, and moreover the First Lord of the Admiralty has means of forming a judgment which are not accessible to other Members of this House. At the same time one cannot help reminding him that in cutting off one "Dreadnought" at a time when we have unfortunately probably lost the "Montagu" we are weakening the Navy of this country.

Further, I do not understand why the programme of 1907–8 was introduced in the other House. The noble Lord stated to-night that he did not go on any standard, that he gave up standards, and that his intention was to proceed from year to year according to the information he received. If that is so, why was the programme of 1907-8 laid before the other House of Parliament? We remember what the noble Earl the Under-Secretary of State for War said in this House the other day. He said that the mandate was economy, and he reminded us, in speaking on the Army Estimates, that economy and the cutting down of expenditure had been the first principle which His Majesty's Government had observed. Of course, in this way it may have been desirable to promise future economies to the other House, but that is not in accordance with the statement which has been made to us to-night. I do not understand how you can tell now what the circumstances of next year will be. You have the Hague Conference, and you do not even know what the result of it will be. You say that if the Hague Conference proves unsuccessful you will lay down another ship. But can the noble Lord inform us how it is known already that the fourth ship can be cut off?

The noble Lord gave the Hague Conference as one of the reasons for being additionally anxious to spend as little on the Fleet as he could. Does the noble Lord really believe that anything he spends this year will have any effect on the Hague Conference? Does he suppose that Germany or France are going to alter their programme because he lays down one battleship less? In reference to this matter I regret most bitterly the use that has been made of the names of the Naval Lords. I hope my noble friend will point out to his colleagues what an indiscretion, to say the least of it, they have committed. The noble Lord has told us that no pressure of any kind or sort was laid upon them. Does he assure us, too, that these reductions were suggested by them, for that is what the Prime Minister's words come to? The Prime Minister did not mean merely that the Naval Lords acquiesced in certain reductions, but he said that they had recommended them, and that they had expressly asked that the House of Commons might be informed of this, in order, to use the Prime Minister's exact words, that they might get the credit for it. I must say it does surprise me very much to hear that the Naval Lords asked that any such assurance should be given to the House of Commons.

There are many noble Lords in this House who are identified with the Navy, and who have been connected at various times with Boards of Admiralty. I should like to ask whether any of them remember any case in which a Naval Lord ever asked that anything he had done or recommended might be laid before the House of Commons? This statement was made in Parliament and relied upon, and the public rely upon it. The public is relying at this very moment for their safety upon the acceptance of a programme which, as they have been assured, has been laid down by the Naval Lords. One might almost ask that Papers should be laid on the Table. Your Lordships all know that when a Minister relies upon a statement he is bound to prove it if called upon to do so. Of course, it would be absurd in this case to move that any Papers should be laid on the Table, because everyone who knows anything about the Admiralty is aware that it would be contrary to the whole principle and practice of the Admiralty and to public policy to do so; but what I wish to impress upon your Lordships is that the very fact that a statement of this sort has been made which it is impossible for Ministers to substantiate shows how improper it was for it ever to have been made.

*LORD ELLENBOROUGH: My Lords, the First Lord of the Admiralty has not convinced me by the reasons he has given for the reductions in the shipbuilding programme that have been made, and I am particularly anxious about the fate of the vessel whose existence is to depend on the Hague Conference. But the chief anxiety that I feel on this question is due to the opinions held by the Secretary to the Admiralty and published when he was sitting on the Commission appointed to inquire into our food supply in time of war. He then expressed the opinion that if all private property at sea not contraband were exempted from capture or destruction by belligerents all the difficulties which that Committee were appointed to consider would disappear and all proposed remedies would become unnecessary. As if food would not at once be declared contraband of war by any nation which found itself at war with us! I confess that when the present Government was formed I was sorry to see a person holding such opinions given a post at the Admiralty. I had hoped that a position would have been found for him inland. The manner in which he has lately dealt with the Sea Lords, as reported in the newspapers, has greatly increased my anxiety. The recent Conference held in the Royal Gallery of this Palace and the Hague Conference are, I think, institutions that have the greatest possible use in preserving peace and in dealing with international law and difficulties which may arise while peace is still existing. But in war their resolutions are of no value.

I think it would be more civil if our newspapers would use the term "protection of our food supply in time of war" instead of "command of the sea." We do not want the command of the sea in order to threaten or hurt anybody. We merely mean to ensure it for the purpose of feeding ourselves. The majority which the Government obtained at the last election was partly due to Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion for taxation of foreign food. At the present moment we are entirely dependent for our food supply in time of war on our Navy alone. If we have no Navy we shall have no bread. If we have too small a Navy it is as if we had none at all. We are told that if the resolution at the Hague is passed it is to be considered equivalent to a third battleship. It is doubtful what action will be taken on that resolution by foreign Powers. It will probably be used as a blind. In war the Hague Conference resolutions would be of no value. It is true they might be made into paper boats, but are we to fill up blanks in our line-of-battle with paper boats?

Friendly relations with other Powers are not sufficient reasons for reducing armaments. Those friendly relations are chiefly due to the fact that we are believed to be possessed of sufficient power to be able to assist a friend in time of need. We can make a quarrel in a quarter of an hour, but we cannot build a battleship and get her ready for sea in less than fifteen or eighteen months, by which time the war might be over. I hope people in this country will not continue to boast of their ability to beat Germany in shipbuilding. Germany has not yet taken her coat off in this matter, and when she does we may be surprised at the result. The slackening off of shipbuilding on our part will have the opposite effect to that looked for. It will cause other countries to strain every nerve to get level with us. Therefore I submit that these reductions do not increase the chance of maintaining peace.

*LORD AMPTHILL: My Lords, I desire in the fewest possible words to put a question to His Majesty's Government, a question which has the object of removing the uncertainty which I am sure has been left in the minds of my noble friends on this side of the House by the speech of the First Lord of the Admiralty. The burden of the noble Lord's speech was that the reduction of the shipbuilding programme was merely a matter of ordinary annual routine, a thing that has been done in prevous years on more than one occasion. But His Majesty's Government in another place claimed unusual credit for this reduction, and treated it as part of a new policy, a policy of reduction of armaments which was to be an example to other countries.

What we want to know on this side of the House is whether there is a new policy or not. According to the Prime Minister, there is a new policy which is to be an example to the other nations of the world. But according to the First Lord of the Admiralty, as we understand him, there is no new policy; the reductions which have been ordered are merely part of the annual routine, which may be corrected or altered according to circumstances. His Majesty's Government cannot have it both ways. It is on this point then that many noble Lords on this side of the House would like to have a clear answer. Is there a new policy or is there not; and if there is a new policy, what is that policy and how far is the reduction to proceed? Are we to go so far in reduction and setting an example to other countries that we abandon the policy of the two-Power standard, or is reduction to proceed so gradually that the policy of the two-Power standard will be maintained? I venture, with all due deference, to ask His Majesty's Government to give us an assurance on that point.

VISCOUNT GOSCHEN: My Lords, when not many days ago we had a debate in this House upon the reduction in the Army and were confronted by the champions of the "Blue-water" school, I did not anticipate that in a very few days the question would be again before your Lordships—this time, whether the force on that blue water should be reduced or not. Personally I did not believe in the rumours that the Navy was going to be reduced, but we are now confronted by the fact that the shipbuilding programme has been materially curtailed. I hope the noble Lord will clearly answer the question which has been put to him by my noble friend behind me, whether this means a change in policy. We have to look not only at the actual reduction in the Estimates, but also at the speeches in which that reduction was explained in the House of Commons. It was pointed out very clearly just now by my noble friend Lord Camperdown that the tone of the speeches and the course of the debate in the House of Commons were totally different from the speeches and the course of the debate in your Lordships' House to-night. I think I may say, with all friendliness to His Majesty's Government, that they have very much mismanaged the explanation of the reduction. They have mismanaged it in the House of Commons, and they have a difficulty in putting it right in this House.

Why was the explanation which has now been given by my noble friend Lord Tweedmouth not given in the House of Commons? Why did they not explain that it was mainly due to information from other countries with reference to the shipbuilding of those countries? Why was it not explained that it was no great policy but scientific reasons that had actuated the Board of Admiralty in recommending the postponement of three destroyers and a certain number of submarines? So far as I know, Mr. Robertson never hinted at it in the House of Commons. The line he took up was that the Admiralty were determined to effect a reduction, and he gave no explanation. If I had spoken before my noble friend the First Lord of the Admiralty I had intended asking him why the reductions in these two items were proposed. I think the noble Lord has given a perfectly adequate explanation, but it is a scientific explanation. This is not a great reduction which is to play a great *role* when the Hague Conference meets; it is because they are not ready with their designs that they have postponed this part of the programme.

Then again as to battleships. A battleship is to be struck off for the reasons which the noble Lord explained, not because we desire to retard the progress of our strength, but because there have been reductions by other Powers. And yet the Government talk about giving a lead. The whole question is involved in a perfect fog, and the difficulties are heightened by the extraordinary message said to have been sent by the Naval Lords to the House of Commons. When have officers, naval or military, ever desired to place themselves in communication with the House of Commons? I cannot think of any previous First Sea Lord or Second Sea Lord who would have wished to send a message to the House of Commons that they desired to reduce the Navy Estimates. Did not the First Lord of the Admiralty warn them and say, "It is an unprecedented course. I really cannot convey such a message to the House of Commons." If he did the Naval Lords were severely to blame for requesting such a message to be sent to the House of Commons.

In what a position does the Government statement put the Naval Lords? It is supposed that they, without any pressure, simply out of political considerations and after surveying the field of Europe and the existing conditions, made to the Board of Admiralty a recommendation for reductions.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: We held meetings of the Board at which the whole matter was brought forward. Undoubtedly I brought forward the desirability of making reductions, all the circumstances were surveyed, and all came unanimously to the conclusion announced.

VISCOUNT GOSCHEN: I am glad to have elicited the statement that the Government did put before them the desirability of cutting down Estimates.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: Of economy. I take the whole responsibility.

VISCOUNT GOSCHEN: I am grateful to my noble friend for candidly telling us the circumstances. They put an entirely different construction upon what has happened. It is a matter so important that I do not regret going over the subject which has been dealt with by my noble friends. I do not wish to haggle about a single ship and a reduction that may or may not be justified, but we have to consider not only the reductions, but the language in which that course has been defended by the Prime Minister, and the right hon. Gentleman's view as to our naval policy. My noble friend Lord Camperdown has alluded to the absence of any explanation as to the reductions next year. Why should the Government state what they proposed to do in 1907–8 before they know what other Powers are going to do?

It is a new policy deliberately to change the programme with a contingent arrangement for the addition of another ship. There is a vague proposition in reference to the Hague Conference, and two forces appear to be operating upon the Government—the desire for economy and the desire to be able to claim successfully the position of being first in the reduction of armaments. I am not encouraged to hope much from the Hague Conference, and if the First Lord would give half an hour to a conversation with Sir J. Fisher, an unrivalled expert on naval policy, upon his reminiscences of a previous conference it would be time well spent.

Another question which has cropped up is the two-Power standard, and some doubt has been expressed as to whether the policy of the Government in this respect is being adhered to in the true sense. I cannot believe that the First Lord would depart one jot from it. It would be wrong to work out the system with reference to the strength of two naval Powers merely without reference to all the changes that have taken place in Europe, and the contingencies that might arise. The naval policy of this country must be shaped, not simply in relation to the naval sterngth of any two Powers, but in proportion to the naval sterngth of the world. Not, of course, that our Navy should be equal to all others—that would be absurd—but having regard to the fact that nations, though they might not become our adversaries, might in the event of war prove very uncomfortable neutrals. New dangers beset battleships from mines and submarines, and Japan lost two ships in one day from mines. Such considerations must affect the naval strength of a country such as ours, and such disasters would affect this country more than any other Power in Europe. We run a greater risk, for our national existence depends upon our naval strength.

The Prime Minister has expressed the opinion that the rivalry between nations is a rivalry of grandeur, and he used the word "swagger." The idea that nations are recklessly spending money out of pure rivalry shows ignorance of the true state of affairs. France would be ready enough to reduce her armaments, naval and military, if she only could, but she is not going in the Hague Conference to undertake to do so unless there are developments which she at any rate does not expect. This unfortunate expenditure all over Europe is not caused by any desire for glory or by vanity, but from a consideration of international relationships. Has Austria, for whose misfortunes we have every sympathy, kept up her army for swagger? Her army is being kept up for national exstence, in order to avoid the perils which, Heaven forbid, should assail her, but which are not so far removed from the political horizon that she can herself undertake to reduce her armaments.

With regard to Germany I should like to say a few frank and friendly words. If there is an idea that Germany is arming against ourselves I think it is a mistake; if it is thought that Germany is arming against France, or Russia, or any particular Power I believe that is also a mistake. Why does Germany push on her naval expansion, which France will plead compels her to do the same? Not for aggression, but from a settled policy. She requires more territory for her teeming millions. She feels that she must have colonies, that she must expand, as other growing countries must expand, that she must have outlets for her commerce, and that she must have sea power like us to hold her own against every possible effort to limit her colonial expansion or paralyse her action. Her Ministers have no desire for war. But they have an Imperial German policy. Is it likely that anything that will happen at the Hague Conference will arres; what they consider to be their mission—what the Emperor considers to be a mission placed upon himself to expand the German power? Those who think so are living in a fool's paradise.

I wish as much as any Member of your Lordships' House, as much as any democratic Member of Parliament, as much as any of those who dream of universal peace, that I could believe with Tennyson in the time—

> "When the war drum throbs no longer and
> the battle flags were flurled
> In the Parliament of man, the federation of
> the world."

At all events, let us look to it that the white ensign of the British Fleet remains without question and without doubt unharmed over that Fleet. I hope it will not be said when observations such as I have made are placed before the public that they are pessimistic or gloomy. Sometimes the cold water of common sense is almost as necessary as enthusiasm. I can admire enthusiasm, and I admire the democracy which, knowing little of foreign diplomacy and the struggles of the nations for supremacy, think that war merely means either the glory of a certain class or heavy taxation, and through ignorance plead for a smaller Navy; but as I said in another debate last week, it is not for the leaders of a Party, not for a man like the Prime Minister to encourage them in Utopian hopes that the mere calling together of a conference will make it unnecessary to continue that steady progress, that building up to a standard, that building up to all the requirements of the case which I fear for many years must be the fate of this country.

*LORD EVERSLEY: My Lords, I hope as a newcomer to this House that I may be allowed to address your Lordships on the important subject now before you. I have myself in the past been not infrequently connected with the Admiralty in an official capacity and during the past two years I have taken an active part in pressing a reduction on the Government, and in urging that there should be in consequence a reduction in taxation.

The noble Viscount who has just addressed the House speaks with very great authority on this subject. He was twice at the Admiralty for very long periods, once in the first administration of Mr. Gladstone, when economy was the order of the day, and when the Navy was administered for less than £10,000,000 a year. I was then his colleague at the Admiralty; and served under him. His last experience of the Navy was from 1895 to 1900, when a very different order of things prevailed, and when the expenditure upon the Navy was lavish in the highest degree. I think I am right in saying that while the noble Viscount presided over the Admiralty he added every year no less than two millions a year to the expenses of administration. I do not propose to find fault with him. All I wish to do is to call his attention to that period when he was presiding at the Admiralty, and to ask him to consider what has happened between then and now which may tend to a more moderate expenditure.

The expenditure upon the Navy has increased since Lord Goschen presided over the Board by no less than eight millions a year. Expenditure on the Army has increased by no less than ten millions a year; the two together amounting to an increase of eighteen millions a year in the seven years. That is taking the date 1898, immediately before the war in South Africa. Now I invite the noble Viscount and the noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition, who presided at that time over the Army, to consider the expenditure then and the point which it has now reached, and whether circumstances in the state of Europe have not occurred which would justify a considerable reduction at this moment.

Many things of the greatest importance have happened during the last three years bearing on this subject. In the first place, we have had the collapse of Russia. When I look back at the speeches of Lord Goschen, made between the years 1895 and 1900, I observe that he almost invariably defended the great increases which he made in the Navy on the ground of the increase in the Russian Navy; and I think I may claim also that the great increase in the Army of late years has been due to the fear of Russia. There was the fear of the invasion of India on the part of Russia through Afghanistan. But during the last three years the power of Russia has collapsed. Russia has been defeated in the Far East, her navy has absolutely disappeared, her ships have either been sunk or captured by the Japanese. We have therefore this state of things, that the naval power of Russia has disappeared, and everybody, I think, admits that it must be many years—some people say ten and others a much longer period—before Russia's power can be revived, and before there can be any attempt either to invade India or even to resuscitate her Navy.

But other important things have occurred. First among them is that which the noble Marquess opposite has been responsible for, and which I venture to think will be one of his principal claims to fame in history—namely, the Agreement which has been come to with France under which all matters in dispute have been settled, and every difficulty between us and that Power removed. All questions of jealousy as regards our position in Egypt have been removed, as also have all questions of jealousy between ourselves and France in Morocco. That seems to me a very important matter, tending to justify a reconsideration of our expenditure upon the Navy and Army. But other important matters still have occurred. There has been the Agreement with Japan, the immediate effect of which has been that our position in the Far East as regards our Navy has been reassured. We have been enabled to recall the whole of the five battleships which were maintained in those waters, and they are now concentrated at home.

Further, there has been a very great and important change in policy in Naval administration, for which I have nothing but praise—the change carried out by Lord Selborne and Admiral Fisher, and under which the whole of our powerful vessels have been concentrated in Home waters or in the Mediterranean within easy touch of these shores. It was discovered that the cruisers on which we relied to defend our commerce were of no value in time of war as against the more modern armoured cruisers, with the result that the greater part of them were recalled, and the late Prime Minister boasted that by a courageous stroke of the pen they were struck off the Navy List. The result has been that all our powerful vessels have been concentrated at home, and I do not hesitate to say what I think was also affirmed by the late Government, that the strength of the Navy has been nearly doubled by this operation—that is to say, the effective strength of the Navy for purposes of offence and defence against the only Powers which it would be likely to me at the present time.

There is yet one other important matter to which I do not think sufficient attention has been called of late in the Press, and that is the result of the experiences of the naval war between Russia and Japan as to the comparative value of our Fleet with that of other Powers. I think it has been admitted by every expert who has written upon the subject that the result of the experiences in the late war is to show the very high value which attaches to battleships of large size and great power in comparison with smaller battleships. The battleships of large size proved in the late war to be of the greatest and highest value. The smaller battleships are relegated into the background, and it has been proved that the presence, in a great fleet of battleships, of an inferior type of coast defence vessels was rather an embarrassment to the Fleet than a source of strength.

Let me ask the House to consider what the effect of this experience is upon the value of our vessels as compared with those of France and Germany. The wisdom of our own naval constructors in building battleships of 12,000, 14,000, and 15,000 tons as compared with the very much smaller vessels constructed by France and Germany, has been proved. At the present moment we may divide the battleships of the world into two classes—the smaller type of battleship averaging about 11,000 tons, and the larger battleships averaging 14,000, or 15,000 tons. The policy of Germany has been to build small battleships and to arm them with comparatively light guns and with secondary batteries. The policy of our Admiralty during the last ten years has been to build large battleships armed with the most powerful guns, and the result of that policy is that whereas at the present moment Germany has not a single battleship of the large type over 13,000 tons this country has thirty-seven such vessels averaging no less than 14,800. France at the same time has only four vessels of 13,000 tons and those not quite completed. All the rest of her vessels are under that size, and average about 11,000 tons. I say that this is a condition of things which is very satisfactory to this country. As regards armoured cruisers, the position is even stronger. England has fourteen armoured cruisers of the large size averaging 13,000 tons; France has only four averaging 12,000 tons, and Germany has one with a tonnage of 10,400 tons.

In view of all these facts, it does seem to me that the Admiralty of this country is wise in holding its hand, and that it is possible to make some reduction in the great expenditure upon our Navy. The noble Viscount who has just sat down seems to be averse to any reduction whatever. I think that public opinion during the general election manifested itself strongly in favour of a reduction of expenditure. Although the war in South Africa has been concluded for something like three or four years, we are still under the burden of the taxation which was imposed for the purposes of that war. The income-tax stands at 1s. in the £.—an unprecedented rate, I believe, in time of peace—and all the taxes which were imposed upon tea, sugar, beer, tobacco, and spirits with the intention of making the labouring classes contribute—and very properly—towards the war still remain unrepealed, with the single exception of 1d. upon tea. In these circumstances it does seem to me desirable that the country should consider the possibility of reducing its armaments. I believe it can do so with perfect safety in consideration of the changed circumstances which I have brought under the notice of your Lordships. The noble Viscount opposite seemed to think that the two-Power standard was going to be abandoned. I did not understand from the speeches of my noble friend Lord Tweedmouth in this House, or of Mr. Robertson in the House of Commons, that there was any idea of abandoning the two-Power standard.

EARL CAWDOR: The Prime Minister's speech.

*LORD EVERSLEY: The fact is that the two-Power standard at the present moment has been largely exceeded. I believe that never in the history of the country has the naval power of Great Britain been so superior to that of other Powers. My noble friend Lord Tweedmouth, with great justice, disclaimed the task of making comparisons with other Powers. I think that is a very proper position for the First Lord of the Admiralty to take, but I do not see why those behind him who have not the same responsibility should not express their views upon this subject. For my part I do not hesitate to say, and I am confirmed in that view by many naval men with whom I have discussed the matter, that never at any time has the Navy of this country been so superior to those of other Powers whose navies could be brought against us. I can well understand that the Naval Lords of the Admiralty, under the peculiar circumstances of the present case, should wish it to be understood that they fully and thoroughly assent to the policy of their Board. I did not, however, understand my noble friend Lord Tweedmouth to shelter himself or the Government behind that fact. Although it is undesirable as a general rule that the head of either service should quote his expert advisers, yet I think that in the particular circumstances of the present case it was desirable that this should be done.

My noble friend Lord Goschen also alluded to the Hague Conference. I think that the action His Majesty's Government are taking with regard to that Conference is a wise one. I do not understand that it differs very substantially from the line which the noble Viscount himself took in 1900 with reference to the first Conference at the Hague.

VISCOUNT GOSCHEN: But I am now guided by the experience of the previous Conference and the difficulties which were encountered. Moreover, we did not reduce before the Conference.

*LORD EVERSLEY: I contend that there is no substantial difference between the course which the noble Viscount then took and the course which the present Government are taking with reference to the forthcoming Conference. I hope that the proposals of the present Government will be successful. I have no doubt very great difficulties will be encountered, especially on the part of Germany, but at the same time I think it is the duty of His Majesty's Government to make these proposals. With one part of the speech of the noble Viscount I fully agree. I do not think we need be under the impression that the great increase in the German Navy is directed specially against this country, We must recollect that Germany has become a great commercial Power with a vast mercantile marine. She is dependent for one third of her food on foreign supplies. She has ambitions of a colonial Empire in many parts of the world, and I think we may not unreasonably suppose that her Ministers consider a strong Navy a matter of great importance. I do not see the smallest reason for thinking that the German Navy is intended to be a rival of our own; nor do I consider that there is any possible comparison at the present moment between the German Fleet and our own. I am one of those who believe that the strength of the country does not depend on armaments alone. I believe that sound finance and light taxation, on which credit is founded, are at least as important as the building of large numbers of new ships which experience four or five years hence may show to be obsolete.

IRRIGATION IN CEYLON.

*LORD STANMORE rose to move for correspondence between the Colonial Office and the Governor of Ceylon on the subject of irrigation works in that island. The noble Lord said: My Lords, I understand that my noble friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies is willing to give the Papers which I have asked for, and therefore it is not necessary for me to do more than explain in a few words why I wish to have them.

The great irrigation works which prevailed in Ceylon in ancient times fell into disuse, and when England succeeded to the possession of Ceylon very little attention was paid to them. They were, however, still maintained in a fashion until the year 1833, when a Commission was sent out from England to make recommendations with regard to the government of that island, and among other things they made an unfortunate recommendation which completely upset the whole of the native regulations with regard to irrigation at that time. The Government did not become aware for a long time afterwards of the mischief they had done, but when they did become alive to it they at once set to work to remedy the evil. The work initiated by Sir H. Ward was continued by Sir W. Gregory, and in 1887 a Board was instituted which it was supposed would get rid of all the evils that existed, and the Board has done a great deal of good work during the last twenty years. The Board has now been abolished or is about to be abolished, and I have grave apprehensions that its abolition will restore many of the evils which its establishment was intended to remedy. I therefore beg to move for these Papers, and if they justify the opinion I have expressed I shall take further action in the matter at some subsequent date.

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty for correspondence between the Colonial Office and the Governor of Ceylon on the subject of irrigation works in that island."—(*Lord Stanmore.*)

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (The Earl of ELGIN): My Lords, in replying to the noble Lord I have to say that there is no disposition either in the Colony or in the Colonial Office to overlook the great services which he performed for irrigation during his administration of the affairs of Ceylon. The noble Lord took the matter up at a time when the finances of Ceylon were in a very different state from what they are now, and carried out his policy with a courage which we do not forget.

The real reason for the change which has taken place in recent times is that the state of the Colony now, especially in the matter of finance, is very different from what it was then. I believe that the noble Lord at the time would have been very glad if he could have established a department for the management of this matter, but, even if that is not so, at any rate that is what has been done now, and the only reason for the dissolution of the Board which he quite properl established to carry out the work at the time when he was Governor is that it is now possible to make this an ordinary part of the management of government in the usual way. There is no disposition whatever to do other than carry on the work of irrigation, and the Governor has every expectation that by the present arrangements he will be able to do so. I will not detain your Lordships further, as the noble Lord has stated that when he gets the Papers he may return to the matter later on. I propose to lay a very exhaustive Report on irrigation in the library, and I shall be quite willing to present to Parliament the latest Ordinance on the subject and any despatches bearing upon it.

On Question, Motion agreed, to and ordered accordingly.

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER.

The Lords following were named of the Select Committee—M. Cholmondeley, E. Carlisle, E. Lytton, E. Plymouth, L. Stanmore.

The Committee to meet on Wednesday next at Twelve o'clock, and to appoint their own chairman.

POST OFFICE (LITERATURE FOR THE BLIND) BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

THE EARL OF GRANARD: My Lords, the object to this Bill is to facilitate the transmission by post of books and papers impressed for the use of the blind. The Bill has already passed the other House without opposition, and I sincerely trust your Lordships may see your way to give it a Second Reading.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl of Granard.*)

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow.

LECKHAMPTON HILL RIOTS.

*EARL RUSSELL rose to ask His Majesty's Government whether it was proposed to reconsider the sentences passed by Mr. Justice Lawrence on July 6th, at the Gloucestershire Assizes, in connection with the rioting at Leckhampton Hill. The noble Earl said: My Lords, since I put this question on the Paper I understand that the matter has been mentioned in another place. What I wish is to ask whether these sentences are having the consideration of His Majesty's Government, and, if so, to urge that a speedy decision is desirable as the men have already been twenty-four days in prison.

I do not know whether the House are familiar with the circumstances, but the dispute arose out of an assertion of a right of way. It was not a case of mob violence or of any desire to destroy property in a wanton manner. There were altogether eight prisoners tried, convicted, and sentenced; and in particular I should like to call the attention of His Majesty's Government to one of them—a man named Barrett. This man, according to the evidence, took no part either in the rioting or in the actual demolition. I am informed that he simply made a speech to the crowd, the object of which was to invite them not to riot but to disperse peaceably, and he himself was not there when the violent proceedings took place. I will quote a few words from the summing up of Mr. Justice Lawrence to show your Lordships the spirit in which this matter was placed before the jury—

> "The Judge, in summing up, said that what irritated him more than anything was the man who got up and made a speech when there was no occasion for it. There were some people who, when they saw an eminence, could not help getting on to it like a goat and making speeches. This reminded him of a great statesman who, whenever he stopped at a railway station, could not refrain from getting out of the train and making speeches. Barrett was one of that class of persons."

I am told that this does not at all represent the attitude of this particular defendant, and if the Home Office on investigation should come to that conclusion I do urge that they should come to it soon, because the man has been sentenced to four months imprisonment and has been in prison twenty-four days.

EARL BEAUCHAMP: My Lords, the answer to the question put to His Majesty Government by the noble Earl is in the affirmative. The matter is under consideration and representations with regard to it have been received by the Secretary of State. At the same time the noble Earl will not expect me to give him any hint of the decision to which the Secretary of State is likely to arrive. But I may tell the noble Earl that he is now in communication with the Judge who tried the case and hopes to be able to announce his decision before very long. I will see that what the noble Earl has said with regard to the special case of Barrett is brought to the attention of the Home Secretary.

LOUPING ILL AND BRAXY.

THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND: My Lords, I rise to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (1) Whether the Departmental Committee appointed to inquire into louping ill and braxy continues to exist for the purpose of further research; (2) If so, who are the members composing the Committee; (3) Where and by whom is the experimental work of the Committee to be carried on; (4) From what source are the expenses of further research or experiments to be met.

In putting these questions I should like to express the great indebtedness which the North of England feels to the noble Earl and his predecessors at the Board of Agriculture for the zeal that has been displayed in this matter, which is of extreme importance to sheep masters in the North. The inquiry has done something to comfort them, and has acted as a makeweight against the very unfortunate treatment they received with regard to sheep scab. I should like to make a small addition to my questions and ask whether it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to give facilities to the tenant farmers for drenches in order that they may test the theory put forward by those who have conducted the inquiry. It is, of course, of great importance that we should be perfectly certain that this remedy is in point of fact a *bona fide* remedy, and I trust that His Majesty's Government will give all assistance possible to that end.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES (Earl CARRINGTON): My Lords, the noble Duke will remember that the Departmental Committee was appointed in 1901 by Mr. Hanbury, and that it consisted of Professor Hamilton, of Aberdeen University, and others. The noble Duke was kind enough to provide the accommodation and the necessary facilities for the investigation of the disease, and I gladly take the first public opportunity that the Board have had of expressing their thanks to the noble Duke for his generosity in giving those facilities, as well as for the public spirit and liberality that he has shown. The noble Duke asks where and by whom the experimental work of the Committee is to be carried on. The Committee presented their Report in April of last year. It has been printed and laid before Parliament, and it contains a large amount of very valuable and useful information. The Board are also very much indebted to Professor Hamilton for the energy he devoted to the work. I may say that he gave up three years of his time to the investigation of this disease, which has been so often fatal in different parts of England. Their Report having been presented, the Committee technically have ceased to exist; but in view of one portion of the Report, with regard to facilities being given for the universal drenching of sheep, the Board have thought it desirable that arrangements should be made for trials with the proposed drench to be made on sheep suffering from these diseases. We have £100 still left in hand, and it is proposed to offer to Professor Hamilton this sum in order that the tests and experiments may still be carried on under his auspices. Up to this moment we have not heard whether he is able to meet us on that point, but if he does he will no doubt wish to have the advice and co-operation of his colleagues on the Committee. As regards facilities for drenching, perhaps the noble Duke will allow me to make some inquiries upon that point, and to send him privately what information I obtain. I can assure him that everything will be done by the Department to facilitate the continuance of these experiments, which we owe entirely to the generosity and the liberality of the noble Duke himself.

CHARITABLE LOAN SOCIETIES (IRELAND) BILL.

Read 2a (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow.

REVENUE BILL.

Read 2a (according to order), Committee negatived; Bill to be read 3a to-morrow.

FERTILISERS AND FEEDING STUFFS BILL.

Order of the day read for the House going into Committee.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee."—(*Earl Carrington.*)

*LORD CLIFFORD OF CHUDLEIGH: My Lords, before the Motion is put I wish to make a protest against the rapidity with which this Bill is being proceeded with. It was read a second time on Friday, and to-day we are taking the Committee Stage, with two pages of Amendments to be introduced by the noble Earl in charge of the Bill. I cannot myself see why, with an Autumn session before us, there should be any need for this very great celerity.

EARL CARRINGTON: I can assure the noble Lord and the House that there really has been no undue haste in this matter. It is most desirable that the Bill should become law before the recess; otherwise there will be considerable delay. The Bill cannot take effect before January 1st next year, but there are a great many technical matters which have to be dealt with by the Board before the Bill can take effect. There is no wish in any way to rush the Bill, but it is in the public interest that your Lordships should permit it to go through as speedily as possible.

Lord BURGHCLERE: My Lords, I wish to emphasise what my noble friend has said as to the desirability of this Bill being passed before the adjournment, but I cannot help at the same time reverting for a moment to what was said in the discussion on the business of the House which was initiated by the noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition some time ago. Lord Lansdowne on that occasion pointed out that it would be much more convenient for this House if some Bills were first introduced here, and I ventured on that occasion to point out that it would be exceedingly advantageous if some of the Departmental Bills were introduced into your Lordships' House during the early part of the session, when we are by no means over-burdened with business. If this Bill had been introduced in your Lordships' House in the early part of the session it could have been fully discussed and referred to the Standing Committee, one of the most important bodies to which such Bills could be referred. This is a matter of procedure, and I hope that steps will be taken to introduce some Bills of this description in your Lordships' House in the first instance.

The LORD PRIVY SEAL (The Marquess of Ripon): My Lords, I do not think the complaint of my noble friend is quite justified in respect to the period at which this Bill was introduced in the House of Commons. I am informed that it was introduced in that House on March 6th. My n ble friend has been in the House of Commons much more recently than I have, and knows quite well the difficulty of proceeding with smaller measures. That, no doubt, is the reason why the Bill has come up to us so late.

Earl Carrington.

Lord BURGHCLERE: As a matter of personal explanation I wish to say that I did not bring any charge against the Government as to the period at which the Bill was brought up from the House of Commons. I merely said it would have been better if it had been introduced first into this House.

On Question, Motion agreed to.

House in Committee (according to Order).

Clause 1:—

Earl CARRINGTON moved to delete the words "that is to say, the actual percentage of tribasic phosphate of lime which has been dissolved or rendered soluble." He explained that it was proposed at a subsequent stage to insert a definition of the percentage of soluble and insoluble phosphates.

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, to leave out from the word 'phosphates' in line 10, to the word 'insoluble' in line 12."—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On question, Amendment agreed to.

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 2:—

Drafting Amendments agreed to.

Clause 2, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 3:—

Earl CARRINGTON moved to amend Sub-section 2 (which provides that "an official sampler shall, at the request of the purchaser and on payment by him of the required fee, and may, without any such request, take samples for analysis") by substituting the words "a sample" for the word "samples."

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 16, to leave out the word 'samples' and to insert the words 'a sample.'"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

LORD BURGHCLERE said a great many of the Amendments which came after turned on the word sample and the way in which the sample was to be sent to the analyst. He thought it would simplify matters if the noble Earl would explain the process to the House.

EARL CARRINGTON said that the series of Amendments on the Paper were designed to carry out an undertaking given in the Standing Committee, that they would provide in the Act itself for a tripartite division of sample instead of leaving the matter to be dealt with by regulation.

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

EARL CARRINGTON moved the insertion of a new sub-section to provide that where a sample had been taken with a view to the institution of any civil or criminal proceedings, the person taking the sample should divide it into three parts and cause each part to be marked, sealed, and fastened up, and should deliver or send by post two parts to the agricultural analyst and one part to the seller.

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 21, after the word 'later to insert as a new sub-section:—(3) Where a sample has been taken with a view to the institution of any civil or criminal proceeding, the person taking the sample shall divide the sample into three parts, and shall cause each part to be marked, sealed, and fastened up, and shall deliver or send by post two parts to the agricultural analyst and one part to the seller."—*(Earl Carrington.)*

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

EARL CARRINGTON moved to delete the words "shall divide the sample into two and;" and to insert two new sub-sections.

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, lines 23 and 24, to leave out the words 'shall divide the sample into two and,' and to insert '(a) if the sample has not been divided into parts and the parts marked, sealed, and fastened up as hereinbefore mentioned, shall send a copy of the certificate of his analysis to the person who submitted the sample for analysis; and (b) if the sample has been so divided into parts.'"—*(Earl Carrington.)*

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

EARL CARRINGTON moved an Amendment to provide that the agricultural analyst to whom a sample was submitted should send a certificate of his analysis in all cases to the seller. He said this Amendment was proposed in order to give effect to the promise made in the Standing Committee that in every case a copy of the analyst's certificate should be transmitted to the vendor of the article analysed.

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 28, after 'and' to insert 'in every case to the seller and.'"—*(Earl Carrington.)*

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

EARL CARRINGTON moved a proviso to the effect that if the agricultural analyst did not know the name and address of the seller he should send the certificate intended for the seller to the purchaser to be by him forwarded to the seller.

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 30, after the word 'analysis,' to insert the words 'provided that if the agricultural analyst does not know the name and address of the seller, he shall send the certificate intended for the seller to the purchaser, to be by him forwarded to the seller.'"—*(Earl Carrington.)*

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 39, after the word 'witness,' to insert the words 'provided that this sub-section shall not apply (a) where the sample has been taken otherwise than in the prescribed manner; or (b) where the sample has not been divided into parts, and the parts marked, sealed, and fastened up as hereinbefore mentioned.'"—*(Earl Carrington.)*

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

EARL CARRINGTON explained, with regard to his next Amendment, that it was agreed on the Second Reading in the House of Commons that the Board should not authorise the institution of criminal proceedings except after a second analysis had been made by the chief analyst. An Amendment was to be inserted subsequently to this effect, and the present Amendment was consequential thereon.

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 40, after the word 'proceeding,' to insert the words 'other than a proceeding which cannot be instituted until an analysis has been made and a certificate given by the chief analyst.'"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

*Lord CLIFFORD of CHUDLEIGH: I take it that this will refer to every prosecution.

Earl CARRINGTON: No criminal prosecution can be undertaken except after a second analysis made by the chief analyst. That is a protection which is thought desirable.

*Lord CLIFFORD of CHUDLEIGH said this would add considerably to the delay and expense. The county councils had experienced difficulty in getting agriculturists to avail themselves of the Act, and if before a county council could enter into a prosecution it was necessary, not only to have an analysis made by the official appointed by themselves with the sanction of the Board of Agriculture, but, in addition, to have a second analysis from the chief analyst, the Act would, he was afraid, become a dead letter.

Earl CARRINGTON said that this provision was agreed to on the Second Reading of the Bill in the House of Commons, and he hoped the noble Lord would not persist in his opposition.

*Lord CLIFFORD of CHUDLEIGH said he made the more point of his objection in view of an Amendment which he intended moving to Clause 6, deleting the provision that a prosecution for an offence under the section should not be instituted except with the consent of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries. He did not think this should be a necessary condition precedent to a prosecution.

Earl CARRINGTON admitted that there was a great deal in what his noble friend had said, but as this course had been agreed to in the House of Commons he hoped the Amendment would be allowed.

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Consequential Amendments agreed to.

Clause 3, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 4.

Amendment moved—

"In page 4, line 26, after 'him' to insert the words 'or at his request.'"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 4, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 5 agreed to.

Clause 6

*Lord CLIFFORD of CHUDLEIGH, in moving to omit subsection (3), said that this Amendment was strongly supported by the county councils of England, who not unnaturally felt as they had been selected for a great many purposes—for many more than they thought they ought to have been—as the vehicles by which various legislation should be carried out, and as they were the authority to institute prosecutions in the case of the adulteration of food and in regard to false weights and measures, that in this particular instance, where it was only a question of whether or no they should prosecute a person who was selling manure and foodstuffs in a fraudulent manner, it was rather hard that they should be obliged to get the consent of the Board of Agriculture in a proceeding to which there was no analogy. The only case which was at all analogous was in regard to the Rivers Pollution Act, where, in dealing with manufacturers, they were obliged to get the consent of the Local Government Board before instituting any prosecution. But in that case there was a very marked difference. There was, or might be, not only an enormous interference with trade, but, what was still more objectionable, a partial interference with the trade in one part of the country and not with a similar trade in another part. Under these circumstances it was particularly necessary that the Local Government Board should have some control over the prosecutions, but he was unable to see that there was any analogous necessity in the present case. In addition to that, the county councils felt that this provision would cause an enormous amount of delay and difficulty and that anything which would put difficulties in the way of the carrying out of the Act would practically defeat, to a very large extent, the good which they hoped would accrue from the Measure.

Amendment moved—

"To leave out subsection (3)."—(*Lord Clifford of Chudleigh*).

LORD BURGHCLERE hoped his noble friend the President of the Board of Agriculture would not accede to the Amendment just moved. This clause had been inserted in consequence of many discussions in the Departmental Committee on whose Report the present Bill was founded. It was inserted at the wish of the traders themselves, and as a guarantee to them to a certain extent that the prosecutions under the Act would not be taken frivolously. It was a matter of the highest importance to the trade of the country that this section should be retained, and he sincerely trusted that the Amendment would not be accepted.

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY said he would not have taken part in the discussion except for a communication which he had received from the county council of Durham, of which for several years he was a Member, asking him to put forward their opinion that this clause should be eliminated for the reasons which had already been given by the mover of the Amendment. The county council of Durham had carefully considered this matter, and had come to the conclusion that as a similar provision was not required in regard to prosecutions for the sale of adulterated human food, they were at a loss to understand why it should be necessary in regard to cattle food. He had no doubt that the President of the Board of Agriculture would explain this point, which at present they could not understand. They suggested that the noble Earl should insert in the place of the present clause a section which they had drafted. He could not expect the noble Earl to accept the proposed clause straight away, or to do more than to promise to consider it, but he would read the proposed clause and ask his noble friend to postpone his final decision concerning it until the Report stage. The clause proposed by the county council of Durham was as follows—

"Prosecutions for an offence under this section may be instituted as well before a Court having jurisdiction in the place where the fertiliser of the soil or food for cattle or poultry was sampled as before a Court having jurisdiction in the place where the offence is alleged to have been committed."

Their object was to be able to prosecute in two places—first, in the place where the article was originally sold, and secondly, in the place where it was retailed. At the present moment it was possible to prosecute only in the place where it was originally sold.

THE EARL OF MAYO hoped the noble Earl in charge of the Bill would not accept the Amendment, because there was great danger of frivolous prosecutions being instituted, especially in the country from which he came. There was no doubt that manufacturers must be protected, and it was much better that the central body who really had the care of agriculture and of farmers in their hands, should decide whether prosecutions should be undertaken. Therefore, to avoid frivolous prosecutions, he hoped the noble Earl would be firm, and refuse to accept the Amendment.

THE EARL OF ONSLOW said that this matter came before him when he was at the Board of Agriculture, and it was then made very clear that there would be grave risk of frivolous prosecutions unless some central authority were empowered to intervene. Having had some experience of the officials of the Board of Agriculture, he did not think that the power of refusing or of consenting to prosecutions could be in better hands than theirs. Therefore, he would vote with the noble Earl against the Amendment.

EARL CARRINGTON: At first sight there seems to be a great deal in what the noble Marquess and the noble Lord below the gangway have said, but I think a little consideration will show that the arguments the other way are so overwhelming that the House will be disposed to leave the clause as it stands. When a similar Amendment was proposed in the House of Commons, the matter was well threshed out, and the Amendment withdrawn without any division being taken. Under the law as it stands, criminal proceedings may be instituted by a person aggrieved, or by any body or association authorised by the Board, and by the Council of a County or borough. Several agricultural witnesses and the trade witnesses without exception made representations to Lord Burghclere's Committee as to the damaging effect which criminal proceedings would have on a trader's credit. Some of these fertiliser merchants are very big men, and have a great reputation in the country, and it would be a dreadful thing if some of them were, by means of a frivolous or malicious prosecution, put into the dock, because it must be remembered that these are criminal proceedings. It would be an uncommonly hard thing to put these men into the dock, possibly as the result of a frivolous prosecution. The traders urged that even if acquitted, great injury would be done to their business, and that therefore it was very necessary that the consent of the Board should be required in all cases. Leading members of the trade—and one must consider them a little—are quite content with the Bill as it stands, and regard it as a fair compromise between the conflicting interests, and their co-operation, I need hardly say, is most important for the efficient working of the Bill. Therefore I most respectfully hope the House will be willing to leave the matter as it stands.

*LORD CLIFFORD OF CHUDLEIGH said that as the sense of the House appeared to be against the Amendment, he would ask leave to withdraw it.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

EARL CARRINGTON moved to insert after "Fisheries" in line 3, the words, "And the Board shall not give such consent until the part of the sample retained by the agricultural analyst has been analysed and a certificate of analysis given by the chief analyst." He stated that the Amendment was proposed in pursuance of an undertaking which had been given.

Amendment moved—

"In page 6, line 3, after the word 'Fisheries," to insert the words 'and the Board shall not give such consent until the part of the sample retained by the agricultural analyst has been analysed and a certificate of analysis given by the chief analyst.'"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 6, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 7:—

Amendment moved—

"In page 6, line 14, to leave out from the word 'Act' to the word 'he' in line 19."—*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 7, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 8 agreed to.

Clause 9:—

EARL CARRINGTON moved to add the following: "But the proceedings may be taken as well before a Court having jurisdiction in the place where the purchaser of the article to which the invoice or description relates, resides or carries on business as before a Court having jurisdiction in the place where the invoice or description was given." He said that the Amendment was moved in order to obviate any difficulty that might arise owing to a conflict between the English and the Irish jurisdiction.

Amendment moved—

"In page 7, line 9, at the end, to add the words, 'But the proceedings may be taken as well before a Court having jurisdiction in the place where the purchaser of the article to which the invoice or description relates resides or carries on business as before a Court having jurisdiction in the place where the invoice or description was given.'"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 9, as Amended, agreed to.

Clause 10 :—

Amendment moved—

"In page 7, line 16, to leave out from the word 'citric' to the end of line 17, and to insert the words 'acid or other solvent of the prescribed strength.'"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

*LORD CLIFFORD OF CHUDLEIGH asked why the words, "of the prescribed strength" were to be substituted for the words, "of the strength to be prescribed." The Bill itself did not prescribe any strength; he took it that the strength was to be prescribed in the regulations.

EARL CARRINGTON: I am afraid I can hardly see the difference between "the strength to be prescribed," and the "prescribed strength."

*LORD CLIFFORD OF CHUDLEIGH thought the expression already in the Bill was better than that now proposed to be inserted.

EARL CARRINGTON: It is more or less a verbal Amendment, and I hope the noble Lord will not object to it. I understand that "prescribed" also means prescribed by the Board of Agriculture. That is always the case.

On Question, Amendment agreed to,

Amendment moved—

"In line 17, after the word 'prescribed' to insert the words 'and the percentage of soluble phosphates and percentage of insoluble phosphates mean respectively the percentage of tribasic phosphate of lime which has been, and that which has not been rendered soluble.'"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 10, as amended, agreed to.

Remaining Clauses agreed to.

Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received to-morrow, and Bill to be printed as amended. (No. 189.)

POST OFFICE SITES BILL.

Reported, without Amendment, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow.

OPEN SPACES BILL.

House in Committee (according to order.)

Clause 1:—

THE EARL OF MEATH pointed out that the purpose of the Bill was to consolidate the enactments relating to open spaces. Among those Acts was the Local Government Act, 1888, in Clause 1 of which the words "administrative county" were used, and in Clause 31 of which was to be found the expression "county boroughs." He thought it must be by an oversight that the words, "administrative," and "county," had been omitted from the present Bill, because in certain counties there were two or more county councils, and if the words were not inserted, those administrative county councils and certain county boroughs might be excluded from the purview of the Act. He therefore moved the Amendment of which he had given notice for the purpose of ensuring that administrative county councils and county boroughs should not be omitted from the Act.

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, line 8, after the first word, 'any,' to insert the word 'administrative,' and after the second 'any' to insert the word 'county'"—(*The Earl of Meath.*)

EARL CARRINGTON: I do not think the Amendment of the noble Earl is at all necessary. The words were suggested some time ago by the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association, and they have been carefully considered by the legal advisers of the Board as well as by Parliamentary Counsel, and everybody is agreed that the words in the Bill are in proper form and include the councils of administrative counties. The words are really not necessary. There are, in fact, no county councils except the councils of administrative counties. The term used is the usual one; it appears in numerous Acts, and no question has ever been raised as to the words "admintrative," and "county." It is not necessary or even proper to refer separately to county boroughs, because a county borough is a municipal borough.

THE EARL OF MEATH said he was not a lawyer, and of course accepted the noble Earl's statement that it was not the intention of His Majesty's Government to exclude the authorities to which he had referred. On that assurance he would not press the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 1 agreed to.

Clause 2:—

EARL CARRINGTON moved to insert after the word "discharged" the words "either absolutely or if the grant was for a term of years or other limited interest during the continuance of that interest." He said that the Amendment was to provide for a case where an open space was leased to the local authority for a limited period, at the end of which it would revert to the trustees or owners. While the local authority had the open space any special rate levied by the trustees under private Acts was suspended, as the local authority would maintain the open space, but when the local authority's lease came to end the trustee's power to levy a special rate must revive. The Amendment was really in the nature of a drafting Amendment.

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 3, after the word 'discharged,' to insert the words 'either absolutely, or if the grant was for a term of years or other limited interest during the continuance of that interest.'"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 2, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 3 to 13 agreed to.

Clause 14:—

THE EARL OF MEATH said that his object in moving the insertion of the words "or acquisition" was to carry out the purport of the Memorandum attached to the Bill, which stated, *inter alia*, that the purpose of the measure was to remove inconsistencies Under the Bill as it stood, a county council would be able to give money to support or to contribute to the support of open spaces outside their own area, but they would have no power to assist in the acquisition of such open spaces. That seemed to be a somewhat ridiculous position. It was very desirable, under certain circumstances, that a county council should be able to acquire as well as to support or to contribute to the support of such open spaces. He might instance, as an illustration, county council A, with a thickly populated district, on the borders of county council B, whose area was thinly populated. Supposing it were necessary to provide an open space for the congested district of county council A, and that county council A had no land suitable for the purpose, while just over the border in the area of county council B a very suitable site came into the market. Under the Bill county council A would not be able to assist in acquiring that open space which would be largely used by its own ratepayers, and county council B would have no stimulus to do so as very few of its ratepayers would benefit thereby; whereas if county council A was able to offer a substantial sum towards the purchase price the open space would very likely be secured. This was no hypothetical case. Such an instance had occurred within his own knowledge. Largely through steps taken by the organisation with which he was connected it was possible for boroughs to purchase lands outside their own areas; the power had been used with good results, and they desired to see the same power now extended to county councils.

Amendment moved—

"In page 8, line 38, after the word 'support,' to insert the words 'or acquisition.'"—(*The Earl of Meath.*)

EARL CARRINGTON: I am afraid I cannot accept this Amendment. I cannot accept the word "acquisition" as well as "support." The proposal involves a substantial extension of the power given to county councils by existing Acts to contribute to the support of recreation grounds provided by private persons or authorities; it proposes to enable them to find the money for the purchase of such grounds without necessarily having any control over their management. I think my noble friend will see that even if it is desirable in itself, which I do not wish now to argue, it is inadmissible on the ground on which other proposed Amendments have been ruled out of order, namely, that it is beyond the scope of a consolidating measure. I have twice stated that I propose that this measure should be a consolidating measure, and that nothing fresh should be introduced into it.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 14 agreed to.

Clauses 15 and 16 agreed to.

Clause 17 :—

The Earl of MEATH moved the insertion of the following new paragraph—

"In the case of the City of London, out of the metage on grain duty or otherwise, or out of the consolidated rate of the City."

He pointed out that under the Open Spaces Act, 1881, Section 12, the Corporation of the City of London were entitled to defray the expenses of carrying out the Act out of the metage on grain duty or otherwise, and if this was a consolidation Bill surely those words ought now to be inserted. The City of London, although one of the authorities to which the measure applied, had no power under the Bill of spending a penny, which, he thought, was a very inconsistent position. If it were said that the metage on grain had practically ceased, he would ask what about the words "or otherwise?" Why should the City of London be excluded from all further power of obtaining open spaces? When one remembered what they had done in the past in this direction it seemed very invidious that the City should be precluded from being able to carry on their beneficent work. The House would be aware of the splendid work of the City of London in the purchase of that, perhaps, finest of the parks of the world—Epping Forest—of the magnificent beeches at Burnham, and of large parks such as those at Finsbury and Ham, besides numerous other open spaces. This being a consolidating measure, he thought they were entitled to ask that the words of the Act of 1881 should be inserted, and that the City of London should not be treated differently from every other borough in the Metropolis. Every Metropolitan borough council would be able to acquire open spaces; the City of London alone would be excluded.

Amendment moved—

"In page 10, line 22, after paragraph (*e*) to insert the following new paragraph:—'(*f*) In the case of the City of London, out of the metage on grain duty or otherwise, or out of the consolidated rate of the City.'"—(*The Earl of Meath.*)

Earl CARRINGTON: I quite agree with everything the noble Earl has said about the good work of the City of London in regard to parks and open spaces, but there is one fatal objection to the Amendment, and that is that it imposes a charge on the rates, and therefore cannot possibly be inserted in the House of Lords. I think that disposes of the Amendment of my noble friend; it is not possible for us to accept it.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 17 agreed to.

Remaining clauses agreed to.

Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow, and Bill to be printed as amended. (No. 190.)

LABOURERS (IRELAND) BILL.

House in Committee (according to Order).

Clauses 1, 2, and 3, agreed to.

Clause 4 :—

Lord ORANMORE and BROWNE moved to omit Clause 4, the object of which was to substitute fourteen days for one month as the period within which answers should be given to notices served under the Act. He explained that in 1883, when the first Labourers Act was passed, it was necessary to insert three notices in the local papers for three successive weeks; in addition to that, notice was served on the owner, to whom a month was given in which to make an answer. It was now proposed to give the owner only a fortnight. This period, in his opinion, was quite insufficient. Under the Act of 1883 there were five methods of serving the notice. First, the notice could be served personally on the person required to be served; secondly, if such person was abroad, or could not be found, his agent might be served for him; thirdly, if he had no agent, or the agent could not be found, the notice might be served or left on the premises; fourthly, in lieu of any of the foregoing methods the notice might be left at the usual or last-known place of abode of the person required to be served; or fifthly, the notice might be served by post in a prepaid letter addressed to him at his usual or last-known place of abode. It was quite evident that the district council would naturally choose the method which was the least trouble to itself. Even under the existing law it was quite possible that a notice might fail to reach its destination before the statutory period had elapsed, and if that was the only reason against the proposed change he thought it was a very sufficient one. But in addition it had to be remembered that the local authority must state whether they intended to acquire land by purchase or by lease for ninety-nine years. In the case of a limited owner this made a great deal of difference, as it was very necessary that he should have advice on the subject, as it was quite possible that money might have to be paid into Court, and it might be extremely difficult for him to get it out. In addition, trustees might have to be consulted who were scattered over different parts of the country; they would have to write one to another, and they naturally would not decide without consulting their legal adviser. Under these circumstances a fortnight would very soon pass, and it seemed to him that that was a very good reason why the present limit should be adhered to. It should not be forgotten that His Majesty's Government had expressed the hope that as the result of this Bill, within the short space of two or three years no less than 25,000 new labourers cottages would be erected. During the whole period since the first Act was passed in 1883, only 17,000 cottages had been erected, so that it was expected that at least 50 per cent. more would be erected within a very short time. From this it would be readily understood that in various parts of Ireland a considerable amount of ground would be required for the purpose, and many landowners and land agents would be much occupied in considering whether or not they could accept the applications that were made to them. That being so, it was only reasonable that the time limit should be left as it at present stood. He knew that His Majesty's Government were very anxious to do all that they could to expedite matters under the Bill, and he was sure that no one on the Opposition side of the House would object to helping them as much as possible in that respect; but justice ought to be done to all parties concerned, and, after all, one month in which to consider the question was not a very long time. He begged to move.

Amendment moved—

"To leave out Clause 4."—(*Lord Oranmore and Browne.*)

THE EARL OF ARRAN said that although theoretically this clause might accelerate the working of the Act, it would only do so by a short time, and in practice it would give rise not only to very great inconvenience but sometimes to great injustice. He would remind their Lordships that while a month was a very short time to wait, a fortnight was a very short time in which to work. Owing to the peculiar conditions which existed in Ireland, great difficulties might ensue. On many estates, and particularly on small estates, there was no single resident agent. On the contrary, many agents had for their sole business the management of a large number of small estates situated a long way from their own place of residence. Owing to this, and to the fact that each estate had many calls upon the agent, it would very often be impossible, or at any rate extremely inconvenient and difficult, for the agent to be able to draft answers to the notices in time. He hoped the Government would agree to the omission of the clause.

LORD DENMAN said he was glad to hear that the Bill on the whole met with approval from noble Lords opposite, and that they desired to expedite its passage. He regretted, however, that the Government were unable to accept the Amendment which had been moved. He would point out that the owner would really have a great deal more than fourteen days, as there would probably be quite six weeks before the inspector would be called upon to decide in any particular case. The whole object of the Bill was to save time and expense, and this was one of the provisions by which the Government hoped to accelerate the working of the Act. There were precedents for such a course being taken in the Public Health Acts both of England and of Ireland, and he did not think the arguments which the noble Lord had advanced were sufficient to warrant the Government in departing from those precedents.

LORD ASHBOURNE said that this was not a question of precedent, but of the best way of securing justice. The labourers' code was not a code of yesterday. The first Act was introduced in 1883, and since then there had been nine or ten Acts of Parliament, and a month had been the time given for the notices. For what reasons did the Government wish to make such a brand-new departure? There was no six weeks in the business at all; the answers had to be given within a fortnight, and if they were not given within a fortnight the person was shut out. Surely it was reasonable that the existing law should be allowed to stand in this respect. It had worked no inconvenience. He was all in favour of rapidity, but rapidity could be purchased too dearly. People were entitled to an opportunity of knowing what was being done and what was proposed, and as the existing law had worked fairly well, and no case whatever had been made out for such a change, he hoped the Amendment would be agreed to.

LORD HEMPHILL hoped the House would not agree to the Amendment. The great object of the Bill was to expedite proceedings under the Labourers Act. As had already been observed since 1883 only 17,000 odd labourers cottages had been built. That was the strongest argument for the passage of the present Bill as it stood. It was a monstrous thing that in twenty-three or twenty-four years, throughout the whole of Ireland, where there was so much poverty, and where there were such wretched habitations for the poor, only 17,000 odd cottages had been built. This Bill had been very elaborately considered by the Standing Committee of the other House upon which all the representatives from Ireland, with a few exceptions, had had an opportunity of stating their opinions upon this important subject, and the Bill had come before their Lordships' House without, he believed, this point having been even advocated by the representatives of the landlords in another place. If a fortnight would not answer the purpose, neither would a month. If a landowner had not a resident agent, or if the agent was not on the spot, or could not easily be got at, a month would not be any more security than fourteen days. The initiatory delay was the thing to be deprecated, and though no great principle was involved in the Amendment, it only showed the inclination on the part of some noble Lords to throw difficulties in the way—[Cries of "No, no."]—of passing this Bill, which was generally admitted by both sides of the House to be a most remedial measure.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: My Lords, when we reach the other side of the Irish Channel, we become aware that we have to deal with Irish time. In the course of this brief conversation, we have had two striking examples of what constitutes Irish time in the minds of some noble Lords connected with that country. We were told in the first place that although this clause says that fourteen days are to be substituted for one month, yet fourteen days is in effect equivalent to six weeks. It has not been explained how, by some Procrustean process, the fourteen days can be stretched into a period of six weeks. Then came the observations of the noble and learned Lord opposite, who told us that if this Amendment was pressed, your Lordships would be standing between the labourers of Ireland and the great and undoubted advantages which this Bill places within their reach. The noble and learned Lord argued that there really was no difference between fourteen days and a month. That is the second illustration.

LORD HEMPHILL: I meant practically.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: Now I ask your Lordships to recollect for a moment that under the law as it now stands these notices can be served by forwarding them by post in a prepaid letter addressed to the usual or last known place of abode of the person who is to be served. Is it any wonderful or impossible assumption that there may be some cases in which these missives do not at once reach their destination? Is it not reasonable, therefore, on the part of my noble friend behind me to ask that at least one month should be allowed as the time within which an answer should be made to these notices? I ask your Lordships to recollect that this Bill—which we do not in the least desire to impede or obstruct—does nevertheless very considerably interfere with private rights. It is surely right and proper that that interference should take place under reasonable conditions, which will not be resented by the persons affected by the transaction. I must say that the suggestion of my noble friend behind me that the present term of one month should be allowed to stand, instead of being shortened to fourteen days as is proposed by the Bill, seems to me to be a very proper one, and if he goes to a division I shall certainly vote with him.

LORD KILLANIN thought it was a pity that the House should commence their deliberations upon an Irish Bill by a difference of opinion about a comparatively small matter. Therefore, he suggested that as a settlement of the matter they should split the difference, and that the clause should be so amended as to substitute twenty-one for fourteen days.

*THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (The EARL of CREWE): My Lords, I agree with the noble Lord, Lord Killanin, that this is not a matter of first-rate importance, but I am afraid I cannot agree with him that the rough and ready method he suggested of splitting the difference is particularly applicable to this case. The reason that we are obliged to stand by the period in the Bill is that it forms part of the general principle embodied in the measure, of attempting to accelerate the procedure under the Labourers Acts as far as we possibly can. I think my noble and learned friend was a little misunderstood when he evoked the cries from noble Lords opposite, because although we most cordially accept the assurances of the noble Marquess that he does not at all wish to obstruct the passage of this Bill, yet on the other hand some of the Amendments on the Paper would, if carried, undoubtedly have the effect of retarding the procedure under it. Relying partly on the fact which no noble Lord opposite attempted to gainsay, that there are precedents under the Public Health Acts for the precise procedure which we propose, I am afraid, if noble Lords opposite persist in the Amendment, we must take the sense of the House upon it.

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY said he would not have intervened in the discussion had it not been for the remark of the noble Earl, that certain Amendments had been placed on the Paper with the object of retarding the progress of the Bill.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: I did not say they had been placed on the Paper with that object, but that they would have that effect.

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY said he could not agree with the noble Earl on that point. Many of his noble friends, especially those from Ireland, who had studied this question, viewed with approval the desire of the Government to provide sanitary houses for the labouring classes in Ireland, and the Government had their sincere goodwill in the efforts they were making. But in conferring benefits upon one class of the community, care should be taken that no injustice was inflicted upon another class. Undoubtedly the present Bill, unless it was very carefully safeguarded, might be the means of inflicting great injustice upon one class while conferring benefit upon another. The noble and learned Lord for whose remarks the noble Earl had just apologised——

*THE EARL OF CREWE: Oh no; I did not apologise; on the contrary, I entirely endorsed the observations of my noble and learned friend.

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY said that the noble and learned Lord had pointed out that during the time the Labourers Acts had been in operation only 17,000 cottages had been erected. It was no use denying the fact that that comparatively small number was due to the great caution of various unions in different parts of Ireland, but he hoped that under the new circumstances in which the occupier, on terms agreeable to himself and his landlord, would be made the owner of his holding, that number would be very largely increased. He believed that in the future the unions which had looked with a certain amount of apprehension on these Acts would adopt a more favourable view. With regard to the substitution of fourteen days for a month, he thought that when it was remembered how very dilatory some Irishmen were in negotiating their own affairs, it would be admitted that a month was a very short time. This would be the more realised if noble Lords considered the slow progress that was being made under the last Land Purchase Act. He agreed that landowners must co-operate with their agents in considering the details of these transactions, which agents were generally concerned with a large number of properties. Therefore, he thought that a month was a very short time in which to require answers to be made to the notices, and under these circumstances he was glad to hear that the Leader of the Opposition would support the Amendment.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN did not think that because a month had been allowed in all former Acts that was any particular reason why it should be included in the present Bill. The real object of this measure was to satisfy a want which previous Acts of Parliament had left unsatisfied. It was generally admitted that one of the reasons why former Acts had been only very partial successes was the dilatory nature of the proceedings under them. If he thought that any real injustice would be done to anybody by shortening the period to fourteen days, he would vote in favour of the Amendment, but he could not think that any real injustice would be inflicted. It seemed to him that if an owner or his agent, or his solicitor, or whoever managed the property, could not be found in a fortnight, the probability was that he would never be found at all. Reference had been made to the dilatory manner in which Irishmen conducted their own business affairs. He did not altogether agree with the remark, but if landlords had been dilatory in managing their own affairs, he failed to see why the labourers should suffer for i

THE EARL OF MAYO pointed out that there was a danger in shortening the period in question. If a limited owner was concerned, and the proceedings went forward, and the purchase money was paid to the wrong person in consequence of the proceedings being conducted in a hurry, the district council might suffer by there being brought against them an action, and by their having to pay the money to the proper person. Therefore, he thought that if there was a little less hurry in the initial stages the whole business might go through better eventually. The noble Earl the President of the Council had said that the Opposition were delaying the Bill, but the noble Lord in charge of the measure had stated that there would be more time available than the fortnight, because the inspector would take at least six weeks. He could not quite see how those two statements could be made to agree. But even if the inspector was to take six weeks, that had nothing to do with the service of the notice. The answer had to be made to the notice within fourteen days. He thought that a month was much better, and that the longer period would facilitate the carrying out of the provisions of the notice, and also prevent the district council, in the case of a limited owner, being compelled to indulge in the luxury of a lawsuit.

On Question whether the clause to be left out shall stand part of the Bill, their Lordships divided:—Contents, 32; Not-Contents, 78.

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Clause 4 accordingly disagreed to.

Clause 5 agreed to.

Clause 6:—

LORD ASHBOURNE said that it might be a convenience to their Lordships and enable the House to follow the meaning of the Amendments he had placed on the Paper, if he stated generally their bearing on the first three sub-sections of the Clause. Clause 6 was an important section, and had naturally attracted a great deal of attention, and doubtless given some anxiety to the Government. The proposal was that the inspector of the Local Government Board should go down and make an examination; then having made his Report he was to have power to make a Provisional Order. He (Lord Ashbourne) did not think it wise or reasonable that the inspector's decision should be called by so important a name as a Provisional Order. That, however, was merely a verbal point, but he thought it would be desirable, in the final form of the Bill, to give the order some less grandiose name. Then the suggestion was that the Local Government Board, if anyone was dissatisfied, should read the Report and the evidence furnished by the inspector, and decide what should be done in regard to the compulsory taking of the land involved in the case. The section dealt entirely with the question of the compulsory taking of land against the will of the owners. Up to the present there had been a much more serious method of determining these questions. It used to be by means of a Provisional Order which had to pass through Parliament, and then the Privy Council, presided over by the Lord Chancellor, with the assistance of some of the Judges of the High Court, dealt with the question. By this Bill it was proposed to get rid of the Privy Council and the important machinery previously in force. He did not question that proposal, because he admitted that the machinery was unnecessarily strong, and put the parties to considerable expense in bringing the persons concerned, and their witnesses, from every part of Ireland up to Dublin. Still, it was necessary to provide some kind of real appeal for the parties whose land was to be compulsorily taken against their wish. He had indicated on the Second Reading that it ought to be within the option of the parties to have their case heard before a judge. He then stated, and it was embodied in the Amendments he had placed on the Paper, that a county court judge might supply the requisite machinery. He was aware that a judge of assize had been suggested, and the point was well worth consideration, though personally he believed that the suggestion he himself had put forward was the soundest solution. It had been pointed out in another place that the judge of assize sat only twice in the year, and that, as it was desirable to enable appeals to be taken more frequently, the county court judge, who sat much oftener than the judge of assize, would form a more desirable tribunal. This would not necessitate any very great change in the substance of those proposals. All that he desired was that there should be a full appeal. An appeal meant that the parties should be heard, and their witnesses examined, and that the tribunal should have an opportunity of giving a decision. It was not suggested that the Local Government Board were to do any of those things, nor could they without bringing the parties and the witnesses to Dublin, and if that were to be allowed or required there was no purpose served in getting rid of the Privy Council. If the Government thought it desirable to retain the present clause, believing that some parties might be satisfied with the decision of the Local Government Board, it was not for him to say that they should not be allowed to do so, but at the same time if the parties wanted to have a judicial decision, they should have an opportunity of saying that they would not be satisfied unless a judge heard their case and decided upon both their law and their facts. Anyone could go to the Local Government Board if they were satisfied with the Board's reading of the Report and the evidence, and the making of any further inquiry they might direct. But if the parties were not satisfied with that, it was only fair and reasonable that they should have an opportunity of going to the county court judge. If the Government recognised the reasonableness of his suggestions, perhaps they would indicate how they proposed to deal with them, and he would be very glad to meet them if possible.

LORD DENMAN hoped that the suggestion he was about to make would meet with the approval, or at any rate the agreement, of noble Lords opposite. He still adhered to what he had stated on the Second Reading of the Bill with regard to the Local Government Board; the Government still thought that that would have been a cheap and quick tribunal, and one which would have decided equitably on the points brought before them. However, for the purpose of expediting the passage of the Bill, and also to avoid the suspicion that they desired to do any injustice to any class—which was very far from being the case—they were willing to go a long way to meet the views of noble Lords opposite. What they suggested was that the Local Government

Board inspector should first of all give his decision as before, and that if a person felt himself aggrieved by the decision, he should have the alternative of himself deciding whether he should appeal to the Local Government Board or to the county court judge. He hoped that noble Lords opposite would realise that the Government had gone a long way in making that concession, and that they would be able to accept the proposal. In that case he had prepared a considerable number of Amendments which would be consequential upon the acceptance of the suggestion he had made; no useful purpose would be served by going through those Amendments at the present stage, but if it suited the convenience of the House he would move them *en bloc*, and they could then be printed so that on the further stage of the Bill noble Lords opposite would have an opportunity of seeing whether they went far enough to meet their views.

LORD ASHBOURNE thought that what the noble Lord had said was very reasonable, and that his proposal to move the Amendments *en bloc*, and have them inserted in the Bill, would be for the convenience of the House. They would then appear in the reprint of the measure, and would thus facilitate the consideration of the Bill.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: I understand the noble and learned Lord withdraws his Amendments down to line 20.

LORD ASHBOURNE: Yes, in favour of those to be introduced by the Government.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: Does the noble Lord in charge of the Bill move the Amendments to which he has referred?

LORD DENMAN: Yes.

Amendments moved accordingly and agreed to.

LORD ASHBOURNE moved to insert at the end of sub-clause (4) of Clause 6 the words, "Unless it appears that the particular holding or estate has been selected for an indirect purpose."

Lord Denman.

He said that this Amendment was of an entirely different character from those to which he had referred in his previous remarks. The sub-section dealt with a very slender matter, and he was really at a loss to understand how it got into the Bill at all. Having taken some part in the administration of the previous Acts, he did not think the Government could have had present in their minds what had been the common action in reference to these cases. The section did very little in reference to the administration of the law, but having been inserted it might lead to grave misconception, and therefore in order to prevent any misunderstanding he thought that the words he had proposed should be added. He suggested for the consideration of the Government that it might be wiser to strike out the sub-section altogether, and if they preferred to do that rather than accept the words he had suggested, he would be quite prepared to adopt that course, and move accordingly.

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 30, after the second word 'scheme,' to insert the words 'unless it appears that the particular holding or estate has been selected for an indirect purpose.'"—(*Lord Ashbourne.*)

LORD DENMAN regretted that the Government were unable to accept the Amendment. It was with the greatest diffidence that he ventured to criticise the wording of an Amendment proposed by the noble and learned Lord, but he submitted that the words suggested were somewhat vague. It might be difficult for the court to settle a point of law if raised in connection with the words "for an indirect purpose." He pointed out further that the Amendment would introduce a new element into the clause. The sub-section provided that a scheme should not be disallowed merely on the ground that agricultural labourers were not required for the cultivation or management of the holding or estate a portion of which it was proposed to acquire for the purpose of the scheme. The Amendment introduced a proposal which could only be properly dealt with by a new clause or a new sub-section. The noble and learned Lord had suggested as an alternative that the Government might accept a new clause, but he regretted that he was unable to agree to that proposal.

LORD ASHBOURNE said that he would be sorry to divide the House on a question which he had already indicated was of a very slender character. He did not think the sub-section made any advance in the law, and the only reason he had suggested the addition of these words was in order to prevent any misunderstanding. But as the Government's peace of mind appeared to hang very much on the retention of the sub-section, he would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

LORD ASHBOURNE then moved to omit Sub-clause (5), which provided that where a petition had been presented and not withdrawn and the Local Government Board were of opinion that the ground or grounds on which such petition was presented was or were frivolous or vexatious, the Board might make an order for the payment by the petitioner of the reasonable costs, charges and expenses of the district council incurred in opposing such petition, and an order respecting costs should be enforceable as if it were an order of the High Court. He pointed out that this sub-clause was not in the original Bill as introduced by the Government, and was an entire departure from previous enactments in reference to costs. Under previous Labourers Acts it was enacted that provision should be made for the payment of the costs of a person who objected in defence of his property. That was perfectly reasonable, but this sub-clause went further, and provided that anyone who presented a petition to the Local Government Board, if the Board came to the conclusion that the act was frivolous or vexatious, might be grievously amerced in costs. That was an entire reversal of the whole principle of the law in reference to these matters. If a man's land was going to be compulsorily taken, he had a perfect right to present a petition saying that he objected, and giving his reasons. The Government had already wisely accepted an Amendment enabling the person affected to have the question threshed out before a County Court Judge. The County Court Judge would deal with the costs at the hearing before himself. This provision, however, suggested that the Local Government Board should deal with the costs. But there would not be one farthing of costs incurred before the Local Government Board, because they would not see the parties or examine the witnesses; there was no hearing at all, and there was nothing in regard to which costs could be incurred. A report was sent up to the Board by their own Inspector, together with the evidence given before him, and then, in some back room of the Customs House, they came to their decision as to what should be done. The sub-section was an entire departure from all previous enactments in reference to the compulsory taking of land, and therefore he hoped the Government would accede to his Amendment.

Amendment moved—

"To leave out sub-section (5)."—(*Lord Ashbourne.*)

*THE EARL OF CREWE: The argument that the noble and learned Lord has presented certainly deserves some consideration, and if he will agree to let the question stand over until the Report stage, I will ask my right hon. friend the Chief Secretary if he can see his way to meet the noble Lord's wishes.

LORD ASHBOURNE said that the noble Earl had views as to rapidity. He himself was a much more tranquil person, but with a view to rapidity he thought it would be better for the noble Earl to agree to the Amendment, omitting the sub-section, and consider between then and the Report stage whether he would give notice to replace it. That would lead to both speed and accuracy.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: I am quite willing to adopt that course.

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 6, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 7 and 8 agreed to.

Clause 9:—

LORD KILLANIN moved to insert the words "with the concurrence of the county council," so that in cases where a district council had neglected to make an adequate improvement scheme under the Act, the concurrence of the county council should be necessary before the Local Government Board could require the district council to make and carry out such a scheme. He thought that the clause as it stood gave a very large power to the Local Government Board, and enabled them practically to take the law completely into their own hands, and to act in a very peremptory way, wholly regardless of local feeling. Under the clause as it stood, where a district council had refused to take action, or to carry out an improvement scheme, the Local Government Board, without consulting any other local authority, were to be allowed to take the place of the district council. He was aware that in the past some district councils had been very backward in undertaking improvement schemes which they ought to have undertaken, and this Bill had been brought in to remedy that. In many cases the reason why improvement schemes had not been undertaken was that previous Labourers Acts had been very inefficient and very expensive. Under the present Bill, however, if a district council refused to undertake an improvement scheme, he thought it would be clear that they must be in the wrong, and he was all in favour of the Local Government Board initiating proceedings. But his proposal was that before they actually took the law into their own hands, and wholly disregarded all local feeling, and possibly acted in spite of local feeling, so far as they had an opportunity of testing it through the district council, the matter should be laid before the county council. Having served on his own county council since its inauguration, he had no doubt that if an improvement scheme were brought before the county council, it would be adopted, and its adoption by the council would make the measure more popular, and it would not have the appearance of having been forced on the locality by the Local Government Board regardless of local feeling. Moreover, if the scheme had the concurrence of the county council, it would put to shame the district council and would act as an incentive to make the district council undertake such a scheme. It might be said that the county council had not much connection with this matter, but from the very next clause it would be seen that the county council was intimately concerned in the matter of funds. The county councils were very important bodies, and much more responsible than the district councils, and if their concurrence was obtained a scheme would probably be carried out much more amicably and in a less peremptory manner.

Amendment moved—

"In page 5, line 5, after the word 'may,' to insert the words 'with the concurrence of the county council.'"—(*Lord Killanin.*)

LORD DENMAN said that there was not much likelihood of the Local Government Board either overriding local opinion or acting in a peremptory manner in this matter. The county councils had nothing whatever to do with the administration of the Labourers Acts; in fact, throughout the Bill the term "county council" was scarcely mentioned except in connection with money grants.

LORD KILLANIN: That is a very important question.

LORD DENMAN agreed that it was important, but it was purely a book-keeping transaction. The county councils had no training such as would qualify them for administering or for interfering in any way with the Labourers Acts. The clause enabled the Local Government Board, where the district council had neglected their duty, to compel them to erect cottages. He understood that in some parts of Ireland hitherto the district councils had not fulfilled their duties very well in these respects, and it was very necessary to give the Local Government Board the powers suggested in this clause. He hoped the noble Lord would not press the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 9 agreed to.

Clause 10 agreed to.

Clause 11 :—

LORD DUNBOYNE, who had placed on the Paper a series of Amendments to Clause 11, said he understood that in an amended form the Government were prepared to accept them. By inadvertence he had omitted to give notice of an Amendment to Sub-section (3), but possibly if he called attention to it the noble Lord in charge of the Bill would himself amend the clause. Sub-section (3) provided that a memorandum of the amount paid under Sub-section (2) should be endorsed on the instrument creating the mortgage or charge. In many cases that would be absolutely impossible, because charges were often created by will or deeds which were not in the possession of the person for whose benefit the charge was made; therefore he would be unable to produce the document to have a memorandum endorsed upon it. The sub-section as it stood was mandatory, and he suggested either that it should be omitted altogether, as it was really unnecessary, or that the words "when practicable" should be inserted. With regard to the other Amendments of which he had given notice, he was willing to move them in the terms which had been suggested to him. If the Amendments were accepted, Sub-section (2) would become a proviso of Sub-section (1), and would provide that "the amount of the compensation may, if he consents, be paid to the person entitled to the mortgage;" Sub-section (3) would be omitted altogether or the words "when practicable" inserted; and after Sub-section 4 the following new sub-section would be inserted: "A copy of the receipt should on the request of any persons entitled to any estate or interest in the land in respect of which the purchase money or compensation is paid be furnished by the council at their expense to that person." By the permission of the House he would move the Amendments in that form.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: I think it would be more convenient if the noble Lord would move the Amendments one by one.

LORD ASHBOURNE pointed out that the procedure suggested by the noble Lord, (Lord Dunboyne), would be somewhat confusing, inasmuch as the Amendments now suggested were Amendments of other Amendments on the Paper, and the House had really nothing to go upon. He understood that the noble Lord who moved the Amendments and the noble Lord in charge of the Bill had had some conversation on the matter. The clause dealt with an extremely technical though not very large question, and he could quite understand that the noble Lord in charge of the Bill had consulted with the draughtsman as to the particular phraseology he would wish to employ. Under these circumstances, he suggested that the Amendments should be put in a connected form and incorporated in the Bill so that the House might see them in print to-morrow.

LORD DENMAN said the clause dealt with some extremely technical matters, and he was glad the Government had been able to come to an agreement with the noble Lord, Lord Dunboyne. As to the omission of sub-section (3), no notice had been given of the proposal, and he would prefer to leave it to a later stage of the Bill. As to the suggestion of the noble and learned Lord, he had given Lord Dunboyne a copy of the agreed clause, and doubtless the noble Lord would be willing to read it in a connected form.

LORD DUNBOYNE thought the best plan would be for him to put the Amendments into writing and move them on Report.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: I think the most convenient course would be for the noble Lord to hand in his Amendments; they could then be inserted *pro forma*, and would appear in the reprint of the Bill.

Amendments moved accordingly, and agreed to.

LORD ASHBOURNE: What has become of sub-section (3)?

*THE EARL OF CREWE: It is still in the Bill, as far as I am aware.

*Lord CLONBROCK in moving the omission of sub-section (9) said it was a decidedly unusual course to fetter the discretion of an arbitrator in determining the amount of compensation to be paid in the event of a purchase being decided upon. It was true that, since the properties to be acquired were small, the amounts of compensation awarded would also be small, and the difference whether compulsion was taken into account or not comparatively insignificant, but it would set up a most dangerous precedent in regard to land in Ireland. This was especially the case, since from a statement made by the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, in describing the Commission he proposed to appoint to inquire into congestion, it appeared decidedly probable that the taking of land compulsorily on a much larger scale for the purpose of relieving congestion was in contemplation. Under these circumstances the sub-clause would afford a most dangerous precedent, and he moved its omission.

Amendment moved—

"To leave out sub-clause 9."—(*Lord Clonbrock.*)

The Earl of ARRAN said that the question raised by this sub-clause was dealt with by several noble Lords in the Second Reading debate, and great emphasis was then laid upon the fact that it would set up a very dangerous precedent; it was also stated that the principle involved, whether good or bad, was of too far reaching a character to be properly argued on the minor subject to which it was here applied. In Ireland the question of compulsory purchase was in the air not only in regard to sites for labourers' cottages, but also in connection with whole estates. Though the question of compulsory purchase might be a bad or a good thing, it should at any rate be argued from the extreme possibilities which it might engender. As had been pointed out a precedent had been created under the Labourers Allotment Act in England, and all those interested in Ireland would be grateful for this kindly warning, because if this principle had been brought in in another Bill which dealt with it in a small way, it was right and proper that the precedent should be checked in order that it might be dealt with upon a larger and more general basis. He sincerely hoped the Government would agree to his noble friend's Amendment and if they did not he hoped it would be pressed to a division.

Lord DENMAN said this Amendment dealt with a small matter and with small plots of land. The Earl of Arran had mentioned that they had a precedent for this proposal in the Local Government Act 1894 in England, and His Majesty's Government could not see why the precedent should not be followed in the particular case. If the noble Lord pressed his Amendment, as he believed was his intention, the Government would be forced to go to a division.

*Lord CLONBROCK called the attention of the House to sub-clause (3) of Clause 10 of the Act of 1894 which provided that—

"The arbitrator, in fixing rent or other compensation, shall take into consideration all the circumstances connected with the land and the use to which it might otherwise be put by the owner during the term of hiring, and any depreciations of the value to the tenant of the residue of his holding caused by the withdrawal from the holding of the land hired by the Parish Council."

In that case any loss to the owner, apart from the value of the land compulsorily taken, was allowed for. No provision of that kind occurred in the Bill before the House. He could not, therefore, consider it as a real precedent, and he further objected to a precedent being drawn from what appeared in an English Act. They had often, in pleading fair play and justice to Irish landlords, urged comparisons between their position and the position of the English landlords. In such case they had been invariably told that the condition of the two countries was so different that no comparison could be instituted. Now they were told that an English precedent must be followed. It came, therefore, to this: that in anything favourable to the landowners' interest, the cases were completely different, but in anything detrimental to that interest they were absolutely parallel. He did not know how this provision had got into the Act of 1894. As it referred only to small areas it probably slipped in without being noticed, and at the time did not attract much interest as a precedent, because at that period there was no prospect of a Labourers Act being introduced into this country. He believed there was such a prospect now, judging from what had fallen from the President of the Local Government Board, and he would commend that to the attention of noble Lords who were not connected with Ireland. He thought this was a most dangerous precedent to introduce into the question of Irish land, and he should therefore press his Motion to leave out this sub-section.

*LORD ZOUCHE OF HARYNGWORTH said that from the humble standpoint of an English Member he should like to endorse what had been said about the dangerous nature of this precedent. They were now discussing an Irish Bill, and one that related entirely to Irish affairs. As had just been said by the noble Lord who represented the Government this was a very small matter and dealt only with a small area. He wished to point out, however, that that was a very dangerous argument, and such precedents had sometimes been pushed to very extreme limits. It seemed to him that in modern legislation the great danger was that of establishing precedents upon small issues. Sometimes they were established in Private Bill legislation, and it was quite possible that in this way they might find them in an Irish Bill. The House was aware that there was very considerable negotiations in regard to private legislation in this House where vast quantities of property were taken for railways and public improvements. He did not, however, think there was any precedent for saying that an arbitrator should be absolutely forbidden from giving any allowance for compulsory purchase. It might be that sometimes he had been given a discretion under the particular circumstances, but he thought he was right in saying that the general law imposed no restriction upon an arbitrator in determining whether he would allow anything for compulsory purchase and what it should be. He therefore hoped that the Amendment would be supported by the House. However small the precedent might be now it was likely to lead to serious and complicated results which were not apparent at the present moment.

LORD HEMPHILL said that on the merits of the case he would ask noble Lords opposite why the landlord or owner should not be satisfied with the actual value of the land taken; he did not see why this artificial bonus should be added. Some of their Lordships at all events were aware that this practice of giving 10 per cent. for compulsory purchase in regard to the compensation given by arbitrators and by juries when a railway company took land, had gradually crept in by degrees, and some years ago in Ireland the judges used to tell the jury that they were not bound to give the 10 per cent. But the practice arose; and latterly in charging juries, although there was no statutory authority for adding this 10 per cent. the judges were in the habit of telling juries that they would be at liberty to take into account the circumstance that the owner of the land was not a free agent, but that the land was taken from them by the force of the Act of Parliament. But apart from that, the ordinary man did not appear to realise that the acre or half acre of land that was taken for a labourer's cottage in point of fact was only worth about £30 in the market, and why should the labourer be called upon to pay £3 more in order to give the landord £33, the £3 being imposed as a sort of punishment for the local authority taking the land, or as a bonus to the selling landlord? He would much prefer that this question should be considered on its own merits, and not with reference to the precedent which was so very aptly referred to by the noble Lord on the Ministerial bench. He was rather astonished to hear the noble Lord from the cross benches use the argument that because in the distant future a very large question might arise namely, as to whether land should be taken by compulsion under the Land Purchase Acts from the landlords, that in anticipation of that question they should now do what was unjust in dealing with this very small and paltry matter of the labourers cottages. It would be sufficient to deal with that question whenever it arose, and it would be a very bad argument to refer to what had been done in this particular Act of Parliament on public, local and imperial grounds, and upon grounds of humanity to lift the labourers in Ireland from the slough of despond in which they were at the present time. He could assure their Lordships from considerable experience in Ireland, that there was no question in which the masses were more vitally interested than this attempt to facilitate the provision of cottages for labourers. This Bill would not go very far assuming that it became law to-morrow. There was no question in which the people of Ireland were more vitally interested. All noble Lords who had had any experience of Ireland knew perfectly well that some of these habitations of the labourers in every part of Ireland, and more especially in the south and west, were very little better than pigsties.

*LORD CLONBROCK said he had never said a word about this 10 per cent.; all he said was that the arbitrator should not be fettered in cases where he thought he should give more. He wished to remind the House that this was not a question affecting only the landlords, because very often the tenant on whose land the cottage was going to be erected would suffer very severely by it; the value of his farm would be reduced, and he might also suffer great inconvenience in other ways. Under this Amendment compensation would be paid to him as well as to the landlord. It was true that it was a small case, and was not a matter of great imporence in this particular instance, but it nevertheless required attention.

LORD DUNRAVEN assured the House that this Amendment was not going to make any material difference to the labouring population in Ireland. He ventured to say that there was a sound common-sense reason why arbitrators should be allowed to make an additional allowance where land was taken compulsorily. If they compelled a man to sell land, or to sell anything else, they put him to considerable inconvenience and expense in finding some other investment for his money; therefore, if a man was an unwilling seller, it was not unreasonable that an arbitrator should have an opportunity of giving him something in addition, in order to compensate the owner for the time and trouble and expense which he would be put to in finding some other investment.

THE EARL OF ARRAN thought that many of the arguments which had been brought forward upon this subject would be more appropriate when the question was brought up upon a larger basis. Sufficient attention had not, in his opinion, been called to this very large principle, and it was entirely wrong that such a principle should be allowed to worm its way by a sort of back-door process into legislation of this kind instead of being properly fought out.

LORD JOICEY said he happened to be a Member of the House of Commons when the Act of 1894 was passed. That Act was only passed after a very close and difficult discussion, and the House of Commons came to the conclusion hat it was desirable in dealing with very small holdings that such a charge as this should not be put upon the land. The case was very similar here, and he could not see why the House should not accept this proposal when it was an accepted principle already in regard to English legislation. There was a great similarity in dealing with the very poorest cottagers of Ireland and the very poor agricultural tenants of England. He did not think there was any argument which could be used in this House which ought to induce their Lordships to depart from the principle which had been already laid down in the Act of 1894.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: It has been suggested that this question should be dealt with in reference to the merits of the case rather than in regard to precedents. I should like to ask upon the merits of the case why the court is to be precluded from allowing any addition to the purchase money in consideration of the fact that the transaction is a compulsory one. The noble and learned Lord told us that the value of these holdings was about £30 an acre, but I do not know what reason there is why the owner should be compelled to sell a single acre at the *pro rata* price of the whole. Surely it is fair in a case of this kind to take into consideration the fact that the owner is compelled to sell, not the whole of his property, but a fraction of it, which may from his point of view be very inconveniently situated. There might be a most inconvenient severance, and the use and amenities of the rest of the holdings may be very considerably interfered with by the appropriation of a small part of it. Why, under these conditions, are we to say that in no circumstances is there to be any addition made on the ground of compulsion? I should like to remind your Lordships that this principle is not unknown to us in English legislation. In our earlier Land Acts it was enacted that if a tenant was compulsorily deprived of his holding by his landlord, that tenant should receive compensation for disturbance. That is the same principle, and unless I am very much mistaken, a Bill which is now before Parliament which has received a great deal of approval from His Majesty's Government, contains a recognition of the same principle in a very emphatic form. Just one word as to precedent. Many speakers have relied upon the alleged precedent of the Local Government Act of 1894. As Lord Cronbrock has already pointed out to the House, that Act contains this most important qualification, and I will read it again to the House—

> "The arbitrator, in fixing rent or other compensation, shall take into consideration all the circumstances connected with the land, and the use to which it might otherwise be put by the owner during the term of hiring, and any depreciation of the value to the tenant of the residue of his holding, caused by the withdrawal from the holding of the land hired by the Parish Council."

That is the principle for which my noble friends are contending, and I would say that if the Government really are determned to resist the Amendment of my noble friend, I hope, at any rate, that they will agree to some other words which will be upon all-fours with the words of the English Act.

*The Earl of CREWE: The debate on this Amendment has been devoted to two entirely different subjects. In the first place, it has been devoted to the question of how far precedents are being followed, and on the other hand, to how far the words in the Bill are justified by the precise merits of the case. As regards the precedent of the Act of 1894, although I think it is of considerable value in coming to a determination on this question, it is by no means the only consideration which affected the Government in introducing this provision into the Bill. The noble Marquis who spoke last I think somewhat overstated the effect of the qualification which exists in that Bill. In speaking of the damage which the landlord was likely to sustain, he used the word "severance." Now there is nothing whatever that I am aware of in this Bill to prevent extra compensation being given on grounds of severance by the arbitrator. The case is similar in regard to other indirect damage which may be sustained, and it is simply on this one question of 10 per cent. in relation to compulsory purchase that the precedent of the Act of 1894 is followed. The noble Earl, Lord Dunraven, based his argument in favour of this Amendment on the circumstance that the vendor under this Act must always be taken to be an unwilling seller. I should think in a large proportion of instances that is by no means the case. In many cases the sale is a great advantage to the estate, and if some extra payment is to be made on account of the alleged compulsion, I confess I am not able to understand the reason for it. There is no doubt that this ten per cent. has been put on in certain cases, and it is very familiar to all those of your Lordships who sit in the Committee rooms upstairs. It does not, however, possess the sanctity of the Ten Commandments, and in this country it has been very much abused. I believe there have been many instances where the ten per cent. has been given as a mere matter of form, where no compensation was morally claimable on the grounds of compulsory acquisition. Under these circumstances I am afraid that we cannot accept the Amendment which has been moved by the noble Lord, and we must divide the House against it.

Lord LONDONDERRY said the noble Earl had not proved that there was anything of the kind referred to in the Bill which he was asking the House to accept. He reminded the House that under the various Bills which had been passed, the land had passed into the possession of occupiers, and in taking the course they were adopting that night they were defending those who had recently purchased their holdings, and were declining to allow them to have taken from them compulsorily their land which they had just acquired on favourable terms under the Purchase Acts. He ventured to say that those who were taking advantage of the principles of the Bill two or three years ago, were anxiously waiting for the time to come when they would become owners of their holdings, and they would look forward with great dismay at having signed agreements and afterwards finding that before they had actually acquired their holdings, it was possible that portions of them might be taken from them for the purpose of labourers cottages. Therefore, in taking the action they did that night, the Opposition were guarding the interests of those who were to be the future owners of the land which they occupied. It was all very well to say that 10 per cent. had not always been the custom in Ireland. It always had been the custom, and it had been an understood thing, and if that was so, and if it had been so for years past, and had been recognised not as one of the Ten Commandmants, but as an unwritten law why was the arbitrator to be arbitrarily forbidden from giving what he thought was right in the case of disputes in order to recoup those whose land was compulsorily taken from them. He believed that everybody regretted parting with their land, and he thought the landowners of Ireland in acquiescing in the sale of their land as they had done had taken that course because they thought it was in the interests of the country, and the sacrifices they had made were extremely great. When they were told that they were to introduce still more compulsory taking of land than at present existed, he must utterly decline to associate himself with any measure which would have such an effect. He trusted the day was far distant when they would see the principle of the compulsory sale of land extended throughout Ireland, and it would always be quoted to their discredit if they allowed a clause such as this to pass without criticism, or without showing their disapproval of it. Those who held land in Ireland would regret it in the future if they allowed this proposal to become law.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE said the noble Lord had rather suggested that by this Amendment they were claiming something that was unfair. He said that whatever percentage was given would only be given in cases of compulsory purchase, and that hundreds of cases would not be compulsory at all. Not one single case that was not compulsory would come under the proposal which this Amendment put forward. Therefore he claimed that the custom would not apply. He wished to enforce what had been said before, that they were not asking for 10 per cent. and they were not asking for anything except that the arbitrators should be allowed to judge whether something should be given or not. He did not think that that was an unreasonable thing at all to ask for.

On Question, whether the sub-section proposed to be left out stand part of the clause, their Lordships divided:—Contents, 32; not-contents, 86.

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Annaly, L.
Ardilaun, L.
Ashbourne, L.
Barnard, L.
Barrymore, L.
Chaworth, L. (*E. Meath.*)
Clifford of Chudleigh, L.
Clonbrock, L.
Cloncurry, L.
Colchester, L.
De Freyne, L.
Deramore, L.
Digby, L.
Dunboyne, L.
Ellenborough, L.
Forester, L.
Gormanston, L. (*V. Gormanston.*)
Hatherton, L.
Hylton, L.
Inchiquin, L.
Kelvin, L.
Kenry, L. (*E. Dunraven and Mount-Earl.*)
Kenyon, L.
Killanin, L.
Kinnaird, L.
Kintore, L. (*E. Kintore.*)
Knaresborough, L.
Langford, L.
Lawrence, L.
Leith of Fyvie, L.
Macnaghten, L.
Massy, L.
Middleton, L.
Newton, L.
Oranmore and Browne, L.
Ponsonby, L. (*E. Bessborough.*)
Ranfurly, L. (*E. Ranfurly.*)
Rathdonnell, L.
Revelstoke, L.
Robertson, L.
Rosmead, L.
St. Oswald, L.
Sanderson, L.
Silchester, L. (*E. Longford.*)
Somerhill, L. (*M. Clanricarde.*)
Stewart of Garlies, L. (*E. Galloway.*)
Sudley, L. (*E. Arran.*) [*Teller.*]
Ventry, L.
Zouche of Haryngworth, L.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE said he considered that sub-clause 11 was more iniquitous than the one which had just been thrown out. The sub-clause as it stood would work as follows: They would sell a plot of land, and it would be taken from them compulsorily, the price would be fixed, and then when the whole thing had gone through the ordinary official channels, the money would be paid into Court and it would then be the duty of the vendor to get that money out of the Court after proving title. He would not, however, get his costs from the district council, or at any rate, he could not get more of his costs from the district council than £10. He thought that was an iniquitous proposal. They might be told that this was a very small transaction, and that the district council in the public interest ought not to be allowed to spend more than £10 in costs. It would, however, cost a vendor very much more, because he would have to prove title in regard to that one part of his estate, and he would have to prove title every time one of those small plots was sold. He could not understand from what motive of justice this provision had been put into the Bill. He had obtained a couple of opinions from distinguished lawyers in Dublin upon this point, and one of them, Mr. Connor, K.C., said he considered that this limitation of costs was absolutely unjust, because it cost just as much to prove title for £100 as it did for 10s. Surely, if land was to be taken compulsorily, the least that could be done was to see that the owner was indemnified as to costs. If the owner had to spend perhaps £150 in order to get £100 out of Court, that was an absolute denial of justice. The other opinion went to show that it was utterly impossible that the costs in these cases would not exceed £10. The only possible result of this sub-clause, as far as he could see, would be, that there would be numbers of small sums paid into Court, and it would not be worth the while of landowners to pay the costs. He did not ask that the whole costs should always be paid to the vendor, but he did not think he would be acting unreasonably by asking that the matter should be left to the discretion of the Court.

Amendment moved—

"In page 7, line 41, after the word 'pounds,' to insert 'unless the Court shall otherwise order.'"—(*The Earl of Donoughmore.*)

LORD DENMAN said that a similar Amendment was moved in another place and refused, and therefore it was only consistent that he should raise some objection to it now. He did so more particularly on the grounds that he had stated before, namely, that the whole object of this Bill was to reduce the expense of these proceedings. What would happen was that the district councils would be mulcted in considerable sums when they might not have been at any great fault in the matter, and it was because the Government wanted to reduce the expenditure that they could not accept the Amendment of the noble Lord in this case. It was not a matter to which the Government attached any very great importance, but at the same time he respectfully asked the noble Lord not to press this particular Amendment upon the House.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE said his case for pressing this Amendment was furnished by the speech which had just been delivered. The object of this clause, it was claimed, was to make it cheaper for the district councils, and the extra cost over £10 was to come out of the landlord's pocket. That was a great injustice, and he should certainly press the Amendment.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: I am not surprised that the noble Earl presses this Amendment, and we shall not resist it. I may say, however, that so far as I was concerned, I was not greatly impressed by the authority of the two distinguished gentlemen whose opinions the noble Earl read to the House. They were the opinions of two gentlemen belonging to the legal profession, and I think the House will agree with me that that argument, coming from the source it did, is not a very strong one, because the desire and temptation to cheapen this kind of procedure appeals less to the legal profession than to any other. We will not, however, resist the noble Earl's Amendment.

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 11, as amended, agreed to.

LORD CLONBROCK said the object of the new clause he proposed was to provide that a person should be disqualified for being elected a member of the district council if he was the tenant to that council in respect of a cottage on any land provided under the Labourers Acts. He thought their Lordships would readily see that it was necessary to introduce a disqualification of this kind, because such a case had arisen. He begged to move the new clause standing in his name.

New clause—

"A person shall be disqualified for being elected, or chosen, or being a member of a district council if he is the tenant to that council of a cottage or any land provided under the Labourers Acts. If any such person shall become such tenant when a member of any such council his seat shall be, *ipso facto*, vacated."—(*Lord Clonbrock.*)

Brought up and read 1^a.

Moved, "That the clause be read 2^a."

LORD DENMAN said the Government were not in a position to accept this Amendment because there did not appear to be any precedent for it. They had, during the debate, been frequently warned of the danger of accepting proposals without precedents, but the noble Lord by this Amendment would be creating a precedent.

LORD DUNRAVEN said it would disqualify the whole countryside.

LORD CLONBROCK said that under the circumstances he would not press his Amendment.

New clause, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 12 agreed to.

Clause 13:—

LORD MAYO said that this clause provided that the Lord Chancellor's salary was to be reduced by £3,000. He wished to ask the Government if any arrangement had been made for this under the financial provisions of this Bill. The sum might be put upon the Development Grant, and he should like to know therefore that this sum had been secured for the Bill.

Lord DENMAN said he understood that one of the judgeships had already been suspended. It was £3,000 a year. Another would be suspended shortly, and the Lord Chancellor's salary would be reduced by £2,000 or £3,000. He understood that the assent of the Lord Chancellor had already been obtained to the reduction. He did not think there was any fear whatever of the sum in question coming out of the Irish Development Grant.

Clause 13 agreed to.

Clauses 15, 16 and 17 agreed to.

Clause 18 :—

The Marquess of LONDONDERRY said there was annually paid in Ireland £36,811, called the Exchequer contribution, in aid of the cost of building labourers cottages. Under that grant £2,466 was paid to Antrim, £2,026 to county Down, £1,074 to county Armagh, and £811 to County Fermanagh. He did not think those four counties had taken advantage of the grants allotted to them, but it was rather hard upon them now by this Bill to deduct £6,000 a year from the grant it was proposed to distribute. To a certain extent the counties had only themselves to blame, but, knowing that part of Ireland very well from experience, he thought these counties ought not to be thus deprived under a Bill which was intended to benefit the labourers. Undoubtedly agriculture in that part of Ulster was being steadily developed. Farming there was of an extremely high class, and he thought it would be an improvement if the labourers were given the advantages intended for them. If the noble Lord responsible for the measure would consider the question before it came up on report and consider how these counties were going to be deprived in the future, he would be perfectly satisfied.

*The Earl of CREWE said he was afraid he could not give an answer to the noble Marquses which would be considered satisfactory. All attempts to alter the financial provisions of the Bill in any way would really be fatal to it. This matter was discussed at full length by Lord Dunraven upon the Second Reading of the Bill, and it was generally admitted that the Government, in adopting such a form of allocation, had done their best to arrive at an equitable solution of the question. As matters now stood, the residue of the exchequer contribution was divided between the different counties in proportion to their shares of the Irish Probate Grant. That depended upon the extent of roads in the area, a fact which clearly could have no bearing upon the question of the provision of labourers' houses. It certainly did seem generally equitable that, in considering how the provision was to be divided in the future, some account should be taken, in allowing cottages to be built on a cheaper scale, of the previous operations of such counties as had already built them. If that were not done there would be a marked injustice to counties which had gone to considerable expense, which after all could not be recouped. It was generally agreed that they could not devote any portion of this grant to recouping counties which had built in the past. The only way in which they could be recouped was by the plan in the clause under consideration. When the noble Lord said this was hard upon the four counties, he dared to say that it might be in a sense. They had very large arrears to make up, and it was possible that fewer cottages might be built there than otherwise, but on the other hand, they would under the Bill get the full benefit of the extremely reasonable terms which it provided, and he therefore hoped that there would not be much reason for the labourers in those counties to suffer any real detriment by the allocation proposed.

The Marquess of LONDONDERRY said the noble Earl talked about counties being recouped, but there was no question in his mind about their being recouped. He understood that, owing to a smaller number of cottages being built in Ulster and elsewhere, that the greater part of the grant would be taken away. Antrim, instead of receiving £2,466, would receive about £400; County Down, instead of receiving £2,206, about £300, and he believed that the other counties would receive sums reduced in proportion. It was not a question of recouping them, but one of their receiving so much less.

*The Earl of CREWE said that, when he spoke of recouping, he spoke of recouping those counties which had already built cottages, and not of the four counties in question. They could not be recouped. They were being deprived of a certain share of their grant.

Clause 18 agreed to.

Clause 19:—

The Earl of DONOUGHMORE proposed to leave out the words "or by a son of any such labourer" in line 35 on page 10. The inclusion of those words in the clause could, to his mind, only have two results. They would enable labourers—and they were cute enough to find out very quickly how—to avoid the proviso which followed at the end of the clause which was put in in another place by His Majesty's Government. All the labourer had to do was to give up his tenancy to his son. There was a far more serious result which the retention of the words might have. It might result in a lot of people getting the benefit of the Acts who were not agricultural labourers at all, and that was not the object of the Labourers Act. The local postman, the attendant at the local workhouse, or the artisan working in the town close by might say he wanted the benefits of the section because he was the son of a labourer. Thus they would have a large increase of uneconomic holdings without the compensating advantage of getting labourers back to the land. He hoped the Government would see their way to take the words out of the clause.

Amendment moved—

> "In page 10, line 35, to leave out the words 'or by the son of any such labourer.'"—(*The Earl of Donoughmore.*)

Lord DENMAN said the words should stand as they appeared in the Bill. There were instances where labourers might be old and beyond work, and where their sons would have to work for them; it was rather hard to say that they should be excluded from the benefits of the Bill. It was not a matter of great importance, however, and they had no intention of dividing the House upon it. Still, he hoped the noble Earl would allow the clause to remain as it stood.

Earl DONOUGHMORE: I would rather have it out.

The Earl of CREWE: I am sorry to see the noble Earl is not more devoted to the hereditary principle.

The Earl of DONOUGHMORE I apologise to the noble Earl for becoming a Radical.

On Question, Amendment negatived.

The Earl of DONOUGHMORE said he now wished to ask their Lordships to put back in the Bill a provision originally included. The provision read—

> "And that the applicant has paid all rent due by him in respect of such tenancy."

He thought it was reasonable to say that a man should not receive the benefits of the clause unless he had paid his rent up to date like an honest man. He found some difficulty in imagining why the words were struck out. It had been put before him that the landlord would look after himself, but he did not think that His Majesty's Government would be moved by such a motive. He thought such a case necessitated the inclusion of the words which were originally in the Bill, and he therefore begged to move that they be inserted.

Amendment moved—

> "In page 10, line 37, after the word 'made to insert the words 'and that the applicant has paid all rent due by him in respect of such tenancy.'"—(*The Earl of Donoughmore.*)

*The Earl of CREWE said he did not propose to resist the action of the noble Lord in the matter, though he did not think the clause, as it stood, by any means unreasonable.

On Question, Amendment agreed to

Clause 19, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 20 to 23 agreed to.

Clause 24:—

LORD INCHIQUIN said that Clause 24 was an extraordinary one. Some 25,000 cottages were proposed to be built and placed on portions of land to be taken from various estates, and in them were to be placed labourers not necessarily from the estate on which they stood. These labourers were to be given the right to cut turf on the estate on which their cottages stood. The estate might mean 20,000 or 30,000 acres, and a part of it might be miles away from the cottage, and yet the labourer was to be given the right to go and cut turf without asking the landlord's or anybody's leave. The tenants had to ask the landlord's sanction unless the right was part of their agreement when they took over the tenancy. The clause gave the tenant of every district cottage the right to cut turf on the estate on which the cottage happened to stand. Surely that must be a mistake. It had certainly been put into the Bill without consideration. A great many bogs in Ireland were small, and there was already barely sufficient to support the cottagers in them, yet they were giving these thousands of additional men the right to cut. The Amendment he had put down on the Paper left it open to the owners to give permission. He was told that some mistake had been made, and that the clause only referred to estates bought under the Land Purchase Act. If that was so, neither the clause nor the Bill said anything about it. As the Bill stood, it was the most bare-faced robbery that he had ever seen. It was merely taking the bog and giving it to an outside man, whom the owner had not placed on his land and whom probably he did not want. It seemed to him a most unfair proceeding altogether, and he was strongly opposed to it unless some explanation could be given. It would only make the clause exceedingly involved, and would involve Amendments further on to make it apply only to estates bought under the Land Purchase Act. He hoped the Government would see their way to make some alteration to meet the case.

Amendment moved—

"In page 11, line 39, after 'Council' insert 'Provided that the owner of the estate has consented to his being so deemed."—*(Lord Inchiquin.)*

LORD DENMAN said he hoped to be able to meet the case by the insertion of the words—

"In cases of estates sold under the Land Purchase Act."

LORD INCHIQUIN: That will require an addition as well, and I prefer practically the same words placed at the commencement of the Clause.

LORD DENMAN: As we are all agreed upon the principle, could we not settle it at a later stage to-morrow?

LORD INCHIQUIN: It will require a further Amendment after the word "allotment." You will have to put in "on such estate." Perhaps the noble Lord will redraft the whole thing.

LORD DENMAN: I will undertake to do so.

LORD ASHBOURNE said he was not sure that the Government had any clear idea in their own mind as to what was meant. Where was the turf to come from and who owned it? He could quite understand that a man wanted turf to light his fire, and everyone wanted to give it him, but he wanted to know the meaning of the clause as it stood. Who was the owner of the property in which the turbary was to be found? It was certainly not the District Council, which had only bought an acre of land. It must therefore be the proprietor of the surrounding property. His noble friend said it was reasonable to give the owner of the surrounding property whose turf it was proposed to take an opportunity of looking in and saying whether he agreed. It was a reasonable proposal made in no spirit of hostility to any poor labourer getting turf.

*THE EARL OF CREWE said he gathered that the noble Lord was satisfied with the Government's proposal.

LORD INCHIQUIN: Not entirely.

*THE EARL OF CREWE said that provision was made whereby the tenant of the district council would be able to get his share of whatever turf was going on the estate; but if the landlord sold direct to the tenant he could make such arrangements as he pleased.

LORD ASHBOURNE said he was not sure that he had made his meaning clear. He was afraid that there was no clear idea underlying the cunning hands of the draftsman when he put in these five lines. He could understand that if the district council became the owners of the estate, they got not only the cottage and the acre of land, but the turbary as their own property; but that was not the question. The clause only dealt with the narrow case of the district council having acquired the cottage and the acre of land, and they suggested that somebody was to provide that acre of land and the turbary. His noble friend did not object to the benevolence of the idea, but he wanted the owner to have a look in before it was decided.

LORD CLONBROCK said that a man, on selling his property, including turbary to his tenants, might keep a large portion of a bog in his own hands, for snipe shooting and other purposes. It ought to be made clear that the tenant of a labourers cottage should not have the right to go and cut turf there.

THE EARL OF MAYO: Might we have the exact words of the Government's proposal?

LORD DENMAN: May I bring them up on Report?

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN said that when a certain amount of turbary went to a certain amount of holding, a portion of that holding was taken for the labourer with a portion of turbary. He did not know whether that was the idea of the Bill, but it seemed to him a rather sensible idea.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE: I understand the noble Lord withdraws?

LORD ASHBOURNE said he did not think it would do the Government any harm to consider the Amendment and see if they could not make the clause better on Report.

LORD BARRYMORE said that the simplest and most natural way would be to cut the clause out altogether for the present and to bring up a new clause on report so that they could understand and agree to it.

THE EARL OF CREWE: We have said all the time that we will accept the Amendment.

LORD INCHIQUIN: I am not quite satisfied.

THE EARL OF CREWE: The noble Lord is not satisfied with his own Amendment.

LORD INCHIQUIN: I am quite willing to accept it for the time being and to have the clause re-drafted. The clause is a bad one. I have consulted two or three legal minds, and they are unable to understand it.

LORD ASHBOURNE said it was a question of bringing meaning out of obscure words. His noble friend wished to bring some order out of chaos. His Amendment did that, and, if it did not quite carry out the view of the Government, they could look at it and suggest further words.

THE EARL OF CREWE: That is just the course we propose.

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 24, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 25:

THE EARL OF MAYO said that under Section 3 of the Labourers Act (Ireland) 1886, no site could be taken compulsorily unless land immediately adjoined or was accessible from an existing road. There were hundreds of farms throughout the country that were not accessible from the public roads, and of course it was not fair to cut them out of the Bill. He hardly thought it would be fair to leave the words "over which a public or private right of way exists." because that might mean only a footpath. He thought his Amendment to add the words "for carts and other vehicles" would be perfectly fair. It would be a great injustice to a farmer to have labourers cottages put right inside the farm a long way from the high road and where there was no right of way except for a footpath, and if the words he proposed were added, it would make it much easier and save disagreements, fights, and most likely broken heads.

Amendment moved—

"In page 12, line 5, after the word 'exists' to insert the words 'for carts and other vehicles.'"—(*The Earl of Mayo*).

Lord DENMAN said the Government recognised the fairness of what the noble Lord had said, and they would be glad to accept the Amendment.

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 25, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 26 and 27 agreed to.

The Earl of DONOUGHMORE hoped the Government would view favourably the new clause he had down on the Paper. They did not want a survey or any elaborate paraphernalia. What they wanted was either a sheet of the Ordnance Map with a red mark showing where it was proposed that the cottage should be or a tracing of the map. A rough plan would enable them to see where it was proposed that the site should be taken and would save them going to the Union; which was very often a considerable distance from the agent's office. It would save time, and he hoped the Government would give them the provision which would considerably oil the wheels of the Bill.

New Clause—

"The notice of any proposed scheme served upon the owner or occupier of any land proposed to be taken otherwise than by agreement shall have attached thereto a map or plan, sufficient to enable the person so served to identify the portion of land proposed to be so taken.'"—(*The Earl of Donoughmore.*)

Brought up, and read 1^a.

Moved, That the Clause be read 2^a."

Lord DENMAN said it was possible the proposal might add a certain amount to the cost, but it was a matter of no great moment; and the Government would be prepared to accept the clause.

On Question, put and agreed to.

Clause read 2^a. and added to the Bill.

Clause 28:—

Lord KILLANIN proposed to leave out sub-section (2). He said that the first sub-section of the clause provided that the district council should make regulations with respect to the letting of cottages and allotments under the Labourers Acts and for preventing any undue preference in the letting thereof, and generally for carrying the provision of such Acts into effect. The second subsection went on to say that preference should be given to agricultural labourers who had signed on their own behalf the representation on which the scheme was founded, or on whose behalf that representation was made. He could not see, even if there was some merit in the proposal, why Parliament should take upon itself to tell the district council whom to prefer. What did Parliament know about the circumstances of the case or the character of the applicants? As the section stood a man of the very worst character in the district might receive preference. The matter should be left to the discretion of the district councils. His Amendment was decidedly on the Liberal side, and he therefore hoped the Government would accept it. If they did not, he would not press it.

Amendment moved—

"To leave out sub-section (2)." —(*Lord Killanin.*)

Lord DENMAN said he was afraid the Government could not accept the Amendment. He was informed that the sub-section was most essential to the working of the Bill. It was framed for the purpose of enabling those labourers who really needed them to get cottages, and he hoped, as the Government had conceded a good deal, the noble Lord would not press his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Clause 28 agreed to.

Clause 29 agreed to.

Clause 30:—

Lord ASHBOURNE thought there would be no controversy about the small Amendments he had put down on the Paper to Clause 30. The clause enabled the Local Government Board to make regulations. He did not object; but he wished to insert words to provide against any complaint concerning anything in the numerous clauses.

Amendments moved—

"In page 13, line 18, after the word 'may,' to insert the words 'subject to the provisions of this Act,'; In page 13, line 20, after the word 'may,' to insert the words 'the Local Government Board, after consultation with the President of the Incorporated Law Society, may make rules on the subject, as aforesaid.'"—(*Lord Ashbourne.*)

Lord DENMAN said that on behalf of the Government he accepted both the Amendments proposed.

On Question, Amendments agreed to.

Clause 30, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 31:—

Lord ASHBOURNE said his next Amendment was really consequential.

Amendment moved—

"In page 13, line 32, to leave out the words 'of an inspector.'"—(*Lord Ashbourne.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 31, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 32 agreed to.

Clause 33:—

The Earl of MAYO said he could not understand what sub-section (2) of clause 33 meant. It would extend a most pernicious system, which he was sorry to say existed in some parts of Ireland. He could not see any case where it was absolutely necessary that a man should be told he could have a garden half of which was forty yards away and the other half a mile away. He imagined that a labourer would like to have a garden adjoining his cottage, and therefore he should like the Government to accept his Amendment or give some strong reason why the words were placed in the Bill. They did not want tenants who had bought their land to have labourers with a plot here and a plot there.

Amendment moved—

"In page 14, line 14, to leave out the words 'whether they adjoin or not.'"—(*The Earl of Mayo.*)

Lord DENMAN said he could understand the noble Earl's objection to several or possibly many plots, and he had a suggestion to make which he thought would meet this objection If they struck out the words "or more" after the word "two" it would read "two parcels of land whether they adjoin or not." He hoped that would meet the objection the noble Earl had taken to the clause.

Lord ASHBOURNE said there was no vestige of principle in that suggestion. The whole point of the objection was that the plot of land should be one. Surely it was not desirable that it should be split, and be in two places. The greatest struggle of the Congested District Boards had been to get facilities for the union of small farms, and if they began by saying that the small allotment to a cottage might be divided and be in two places, he did not see on what principle they were to stand. It would not be wise or prudent.

Lord HEMPHILL said it was not always possible to have the whole acre immediately adjoining the cottage, and the object of the clause was that in those cases they might still carry out the policy of the Bill and give an acre of ground to the labourer where the whole acre could not be given in one plot; there was therefore a provision by which there might be half an acre adjoining the house and the other half acre in some convenient place on the estate. The clause, as it originally stood, was too vague and general, but no injustice would result from it as proposed to be amended by the noble Lord on the Front Bench. That clearly was the object of the clause, because otherwise they might defeat the whole policy of the Bill, which was to give a labourer an acre of land in order that he might eke out his subsistence.

THE EARL OF MAYO said they did not wish to defeat the policy of the Bill in any way; they were speaking in the interests of the labourer. There were 25,000 cottages to be built; and supposing there were 15,000 with half an acre of allotment distant from them, it would not be at all right. The long summer evening was the only time the labourer had got to work, and if they had two plots the second plot would remain derelict. They wanted to keep the labourer's land round his cottage. He should therefore like to adhere to his Amendment. He could not agree to leave out the words "or more."

***THE EARL OF CREWE** asked if he might make one more appeal to the noble Lord not to press his Amendment. He yielded to nobody in his dislike of excessive sub-divisions of land, but the provision was designed to meet the case where it was not possible at the most convenient spot to put down a house to find a full acre of land. The noble Lord seemed to conclude that the remaining portion would necessarily be placed at an extreme end of an immense estate. It was more likely to be as near as possible. In the interests of the landlords, it surely must be to the advantage of the estates that as many alternative sites as possible should be available. If they insisted upon the full acre of land being always attached to the house, they would greatly limit the choice of sites, and district councils would be compelled to apply for sites not so agreeable to noble Lords and other landlords in Ireland as if this simple form of division to which he could not see that any mischief could attach were adopted. He should like to appeal strongly to the noble Earl not to press his Amendment.

***LORD LANSDOWNE** said the subsection seemed a somewhat doubtful one, but he thought it was desirable to retain in it a certain amount of elasticity. He understood that the Government were ready to leave out the words "or more;" that undoubtedly to some extent met the requirements of his noble friend; and, considering that on other points the noble Lords had met them not unfairly, he should counsel his noble friend to withdraw.

Amendment by leave, withdrawn.

***LORD LANSDOWNE** asked how it was proposed to deal with the Bill on the morrow. There were, he said, a good many clauses to be amended, and they would like to know what opportunities they would have of considering them before the Bill was further advanced.

LORD DENMAN said it was hoped they might take both the Report and Third Reading Stages on the morrow. It was getting rather late, and, unless they did so, it would be very difficult to get the Royal Assent in Friday.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE said that the Report Stage might be taken at the beginning of the sitting, and the Third Reading at the end. That would give them an opportunity of studying the clauses, and they would not lose a day.

LORD DENMAN: We shall be glad to accept the suggestion of the noble Earl.

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (The Marquess of RIPON) said they were most anxious to meet the noble Earl, but could the Bill be taken at the commencement of the sitting, before the other business which was now down

LORD ASHBOURNE said they were all anxious to do what they could to facilitate the passage of the Bill. He believed that notice had to be given of Amendments made on the Third Reading, but he suggested that the Amendments might be handed to the clerk at the Table, who might get them printed in a couple of hours. He asked if the Bill would be circulated on the morrow.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON said he thought the Bill could and would be circulated by the time the House met. That would give noble Lords an opportunity of considering it during the sitting.

Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow, and Bill to be printed as amended. (No. 191.)

DEAN FOREST BILL.

House in Committee (according to Order).

Bill reported without Amendment: Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3^a to-morrow.

DOGS BILL.

House in Committee (according to Order).

Clause 1:—

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, lines 1 and 2, to leave out Sub-section 4."—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

*LORD CLIFFORD OF CHUDLEIGH said the Amendment he desired to move was one desiredby several county councils, particularly those in which there were large dairies, and where the chasing of cows might produce injury at some distant date. The second section of the Dogs Act of 1871 provided that a Court of Summary Jurisdiction might take cognizance of a complaint that a dog was dangerous and was not kept under proper control. If it appeared to such Court of Summary Jurisdiction that such dog was dangerous the Court might make an order directing that it should be kept under control or destroyed, and, if a person failed to comply with that order, he should be liable to a penalty not exceeding 20s. for every day he so failed. It was admitted in the case of sheep that it was very necessary that the clause should be passed, and they asked that a dog which was seen chasing cattle might be considered to be a dangerous dog and might come under Section 2 of the Act of 1871.

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, line 3, to leave out the word 'sheep' and insert the word 'cattle.'"—(*Lord Clifford of Chudleigh.*)

LORD BARNARD suggested that, instead of saying cattle included horses, mules, asses, sheep, goats, and swine, they should adopt the words used in the title and speak of live stock.

*LORD CLIFFORD observed that he believed the definition given of "cattle" was almost word for word the definition given in Webster's dictionary.

EARL CARRINGTON said he must ask the House to leave the word "cattle" and not to substitute the words "live stock." He could not accept the Amendment, but perhaps the noble Lord would allow the clause to read "where a dog is proved to have injured cattle or chased sheep." If that would satisfy the noble Lord, he would be pleased to have the words put in.

LORD CLIFFORD: It is not quite what I wish, but I shall be pleased, under the circumstances, to accept it.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, line 3, to leave out the words 'chased or' and to insert the words 'injure cattle or chased."—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 2, agreed to.

Clause 3:—

A NOBLE LORD asked whether fox-hounds were included in the regulations. He foresaw some difficulty unless they were excluded. He was in full sympathy with the object of Sub-section (b), and he understood there were Departmental reasons for pressing it forward, but he should like the House to have a little more time to consider it. He also asked how they were going to prevent dogs from straying. Dogs were not infrequently let loose for the purposes of protection, and he should be glad to know how it was proposed to prevent that.

EARL CARRINGTON said that foxhounds and all sporting dogs would naturally be exempted from wearing collars. If a dog was a stray dog, the police took it up, and, if nobody claimed it within seven days, they put it into a lethal chamber, where it received merciful and perhaps deserved death. Dogs let out at night without chains upon them came under the category of stray dogs.

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 9, after the word 'dog,' to insert the words 'so seized.'"—(*Earl Beauchamp.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Amendment moved—

"To insert (6) The chief officer of police of a police area shall keep, or cause to be kept, one or more registers of all dogs seized under this section in that area which are not transferred to an establishment for the reception of stray dogs. The register shall contain a brief description of the dog, the date of seizure, and particulars as to the manner in which the dog is disposed of, and every such register shall be open to inspection at all reasonable times by any member of the public on payment of a fee of one shilling. (7) The police shall not dispose of any dog seized under this section by transferring it to an establishment for the reception of stray dogs unless a register is kept for that establishment containing such particulars as to dogs received in the establishment as are above mentioned, and such register is open to inspection by the public on payment of a fee not exceeding one shilling."—(*Earl Carrington.*)

LORD BURGHCLERE said he should like some provision beng put in the Bill for lethal chambers.

EARL CARRINGTON: I cannot do that, but I can assure the noble Lord that where there is no lethal chamber there is always a gun and pistol.

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Amendment moved—

"In lines 27 and 28 to leave out the words 'arising from the sale, or received from the owner, of any dog in pursuance of,' and to insert the words 'received by the police under.'"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Drafting Amendments made.

Clauses 3 and 4 agreed to.

Clause 5:—

Amendment moved—

"In page 4, line 11, to leave out the word "are duly complied with on the part of' and to insert the words 'apply in the case.'"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Cause 5, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 6:—

Amendment moved—

"In page 4, line 23, after 'any' to insert the words 'head of."—(*Earl Carrington.*)

LORD CLIFFORD asked for an explanation as to the necessity of the Amendment, remarking that it did not make the clause read at all well. It did not sound anatomically correct.

EARL CARRINGTON said it was perfectly true that it sounded odd, but it was found in previous Acts of Parliament, and they ought to have the same phraseology.

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 6, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 7:—

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN asked if the noble Lord in charge of the Bill would admit an Amendment so that the name and address of an owner of a dog might be inscribed on the collar in Gaelic characters. He saw that a little lower down there was a similar Amendment to the effect that in Ireland the name and address of the owner might be inscribed on the collar in Irish characters. He wondered why Ireland was to be put in front of Scotland, and where the Scottish Members of Parliament were when the matter was discussed in the House of Commons. He asked whether the noble Lord would have any objection to the insertion of an Amendment to that effect.

Earl CARRINGTON said he had had no demand for the Amendment, but, if the noble Earl was really serious and was expressing the wish of his fellow countrymen, he did not see any great objection to it.

The Earl of CAMPERDOWN: As the noble Lord says he has no objection to it I do not propose to move.

Clause 7 agreed to.

Clause 8:—

Drafting Amendments agreed to.

Amendment moved—

"In page 4, line 19, after paragraph (*c*), to insert the following paragraph '(*d*) Orders under Section 2 of this Act may permit the name and address of the owner of the dog to be inscribed in Irish characters.'"—(*Earl Carrington.*)

Lord ASHBOURNE asked the noble Earl to give a sketch of how the Amendment came to be moved in the House of Commons. He asked if it were a brand-new idea, whether the Government divided upon it, and whether it was suggested that there should be a Royal Commission to inquire into the matter.

Earl CARRINGTON said it was rather difficult to explain, but he believed that the last Government got rather into difficulties with their Irish supporters by refusing to allow people to put their names in Irish upon their bread carts. Since the present Government came into power, that difficulty had been met.

Lord ASHBOURNE: I believe that the noble Earl is not right up to date.

Earl CARRINGTON said he was informed it was so. The Amendment seemed very harmless, and it was moved because Irish Members in another place urged that there were districts in Ireland in which the Irish language was spoken and used. They pleaded for this small concession, and he could not see that there was any great objection to it.

***Lord LANSDOWNE** asked if the noble Earl was quite sure the Amendment was so harmless as he supposed. The object of the Amendment, under which dogs were to be decorated with collars and labels, was to enable the police to identify owners of dogs. Was the noble Earl quite satisfied that in all parts of Ireland there was sufficient knowledge of the Gaelic language among the police to enable them to decipher the mysterious inscription with which the unfortunate dogs would be labelled. Unless it were so, the Amendment was far from harmless.

Earl CARRINGTON said he was informed that the Royal Irish Constabulary did not speak Irish and could not read it. It therefore seemed very evident that if an Irishman put an Irish name upon the collar of his dog, the police would not be able to read it or to trace the owner, but would keep the dog for seven days, and then would put it into a lethal chamber or shoot it through the head. The object of the Bill was to get rid of stray dogs, and he did not think any better plan could be adopted in Ireland than to allow the Amendment to go through.

***Lord LANSDOWNE** said they had to provide against the Amendment in the interests of the dog. It was very hard that the dog should be taken from its "public resort" to the lethal chamber simply because the owner chose to have his name inscribed upon its collar in characters which could not be read.

The Earl of DONOUGHMORE pointed out that the very reason just put forward by his noble friend was the reason given by the Department of Agriculture in another place for refusing the Amendment. It refused the Amendment in the interests of the dog.

Earl CARRINGTON said the fact of a dog having an address and the name of a man upon its collar in an unknown language did not make the dog less of a stray dog. If the dog were not claimed within seven days, it would be shot through the head and a very good thing too.

On Question, Amendment negatived.

New clause:—

"In this Act the expression 'cattle' includes horses, mules, asses, sheep, goats and swine."—(*Earl Carrington.*)

On Question, new clause agreed to, and added to the Bill.

BILL OF EXCHANGE ACT (1882) AMENDMENT BILL.

Read 3^a (according to order), and passed.

ISLE OF MAN (CUSTOMS) BILL.

Read 3^a (according to order), and passed.

DEANERY OF MANCHESTER BILL.

Order of the day for Second Reading read.

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (The MARQUESS OF RIPON) said the Bill was one for the purpose of regulating the salary of the Dean of Manchester, and it resulted from the sale of the late deanery producing a larger sum than was necessary for the erection of a new deanery. The Bill provided for the disposal of the surplus. It was agreed to by the present dean, and any surplus which might be found after having paid the new salary would be devoted to the purposes of the Cathedral.

On Question, Bill read 2^a (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow.

CROWN LANDS BILL.

Read 2^a (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Education (England and Wales) Bill. Brought from the Commons; read 1^a; to be printed; and to be read 2^a on Wednesday next. (The Lord President [*E. Crewe*]). (No. 182.)

House adjourned at a quarter before One o'clock a.m. till a quarter past Four o'clock p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 30th July, 1906.

The House met at quarter before Three of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Macclesfield and District Tramways Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Poole Corporation Water Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

County of Durham Electric Power Supply (recommitted) Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered.

Ordered, That Standing Orders 223 and 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)—(King's consent signified).

Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]. Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered To-morrow.

London Squares and Enclosures Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table.

Buckhaven, Methill, and Innerleven Burgh Extension Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to; Paisley Gas and Water Provisional Order Bill, without Amendment.

Ground Game Bill, Pontefract Corporation Bill; Sutton District Water Bill; Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill; with Amendments.

Amendments to—Crediton Gas Bill [Lords]; Kent Electric Power Bill [Lords]; Truro Gas Bill [Lords]; Havana United Railways and Regla Warehouses Bill [Lords]; without Amendment.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Paisley Roads Order Confirmation Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [Lords]; Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords]; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords]; Tramways Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Inverclyde Bequest Order Confirmation Bill; Perth Corporation Gas Order Confirmation Bill. Considered; read the third time, and passed.

Glasgow and South Western Railway Order Confirmation Bill [Lords] (by Order). Order Read, for resuming adjourned Debate on Question [24th July], "That the Bill be now considered."

Question put and agreed to.

Bill considered; to be read the third time To-morrow.

Private Bills. Ordered, That Standing Orders 220 and 246, relating to Private Bills, be suspended for the remainder of the session.

Ordered, That, as regards Private Bills to be returned by the House of Lords with Amendments, such Amendments (if unopposed) shall be considered forthwith.

Ordered, That, as regards Private Bills returned, or to be returned, by the House of Lords with Amendments, such Amendments (if opposed) shall be considered at such times as the Chairman of Ways and Means may determine.

Ordered, That, when it is intended to propose any Amendments thereto, a copy of such Amendments shall be deposited in the Private Bill Office and notice given on the day on which the Bill shall have been returned from the Lords.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

GREAT NORTHERN (IRELAND) AND MIDLAND RAILWAYS BILL.

As amended, considered.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.) said this was the Bill concerning which this House, for good and sufficient reasons, instructed the Committee to insert a clause providing for open competition for clerkships. That Motion was aimed at the Great Northern Railway of Ireland, and was in no sense intended for the Midland Company; but, of course, as both those companies were promoters, it applied to both alike. When, therefore, the Midland Company appealed to be exempted from the clause, he conferred with his colleagues, who regarded their appeal as reasonable, and under those circumstances he had given notice of the Amendment standing in his name to omit the clause embodying the instruction and the schedule applying thereto. With regard to the Great Northern Company, he had received the following letter from that company—

"General Manager's Office, Dublin,
July 14th, 1906.

Referring to my interview with you in regard to facilities being afforded for the passing of the Donegal Railway Purchase Bill and this Company's General Purposes Bill, when you desired some assurance that the scheme formulated by my directors would be proceeded with, I am authorised to say that the scheme providing for the future appointments to clerkships on this railway by open competitive examination, as adopted by the directors, will be submitted as a part of their Report to the forthcoming half-yearly meeting of the proprietors; that the directors will use their best efforts to secure the acceptance of the scheme, and with this view they will use the proxies which may be entrusted to them to carry it and, further, that the scheme, on being passed and accepted by the proprietors, will be immediately put into operation.

I am, yours faithfully,

(Signed) HENRY PLEWS."

That letter seemed to suggest that they had considered the advisability of allowing both the Great Northern and Midland Bill and the Great Northern Bill to go through, a course which they had never intended. In order to clear up this matter the Parliamentary agents and the Great Northern Company had addressed to him the following letter:—

> "July 17th, 1906.
>
> Referring to our interview with you this afternoon, as we understand the matter, the arrangements with reference to the Donegal Purchase Bill are independent of any action which you and your colleagues may think fit to take with regard to the company's own Bill, and we do not understand that there is any agreement on your part not to oppose the latter either now or at any future stage.
>
> Yours faithfully,
>
> (Signed) DYSON & Co."

The position as regarded the Great Northern Bill was that it had been postponed until October 24th. He therefore held it as a hostage until after the half-yearly meeting of the Great Northern Company. In these circumstances and having regard to the anxiety of the Members and the people of Donegal that this Bill should go through, they did not see that any good object could be served by further delaying a Bill in which the people of Donegal had so much interest. He had received another letter from Mr. Plews, stating that there was no moral doubt that competitive examination would be established by the meeting of the shareholders. He moved that Clause 49 and the Second Schedule be omitted from the Bill.

Amendments made.

Bill to be read the third time.

PETITIONS.

CANADIAN CATTLE (IMPORTATION).

Petition from Llandyssul, for prohibition; to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Petition from Strelly against; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

STREET BETTING BILL [LORDS].

Petition from Battersea, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

METROPOLITAN WATER BOARD.

Paper [presented 28th July] to be printed. [No. 291.]

RAILWAY RETURNS.

Copy presented, of Returns of the Capital, Traffic, Receipts, and Working Expenditure of the Railway Companies of the United Kingdom for the year 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

COLONIAL STATISTICS.

Copy presented, of Statistical Tables relating to British Colonies, Possessions, and Protectorates. Part XXIX., for the year 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT INSPECTORS (IRELAND).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 12th July; *Mr. Ginnell*]; to lie upon the Table.

COLONIAL REPORTS (ANNUAL).

Copy presented, of Colonial Report No. 488 (Gold Coast, Annual Report for 1905) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY REORGANISATION.

Copy presented, of Memorandum by the Secretary of State for War on Army Reorganisation, dated 30th July, 1906, [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY (PAY, NON-EFFECTIVE PAY, AND ALLOWANCES).

Copy presented, of List of Exceptions to the Army Regulations as to Pay, Non-effective Pay, and Allowances sanctioned during the year 1905–6 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY (MILITIA).

Copy presented, of Further Regulations relating to the Militia [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY (RESERVE).

Copy presented, of Further Regulations relating to the Army Reserve [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY (IMPERIAL YEOMANRY).

Copy presented, of Further Regulations relating to the Imperial Yeomanry [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

Copy presented, of Fiftieth Report of the Commissioners, with Appendix [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PUBLIC WORKS (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Seventy-fourth Annual Report of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, with Appendices, for the year ending 31st March, 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

INLAND REVENUE.

Copy presented, of Forty-ninth Report of the Commissioners, for the year ended 31st March, 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.

Copy presented, of Return for the year ended March 31st, 1906, of the Army and Navy Officers permitted, under Rule 2 of the Regulations drawn up under Section 6 of the Act, to hold Civil Employment or profit under Public Departments [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 292.]

CLERGY (WEST INDIES).

Copy presented, of Return of the amount payable on January 5th, 1906, out of the Consolidated Fund for Ecclesiastical purposes in the West Indies [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

CHARITABLE DONATIONS AND BEQUESTS (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Sixty-first Annual Report of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Report, Annual Series, No. 3684 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

NAVY (EXCEPTIONS TO KING'S REGULATIONS).

Copy presented, of List of Exceptions to the King's Regulations as to Pay, Non-effective Pay, and Allowances during the year 1905–6 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

Chamber of London, Annual Accounts of the Chamberlain of London for the year 1905 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 293.]

BURMAH (OPIUM.)

Address for "Return of the amount of Indian Opium annually consumed in Burmah during the last thirty years."—(*Mr. Allen Baker.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Purchases for the National Gallery.

MR. H. H. MARKS (Kent, Thanet): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, in recent purchases of works of art for the National Gallery, the trustees have obtained the aid of outside expert advice in fixing the prices paid by the Nation?

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) I am informed that the trustees have not paid for outside expert advice as to the prices of pictures, but have on occasions asked for and received such advice unofficially.

Reports of Parliamentary Debates.

MR. HAZLETON (Galway, N): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will state the reason why, in the official Reports of the proceedings of the Houses of Parliament, the speeches of Members of the Upper House are invariably reported in the first person, whereas this, with few exceptions, is not the practice in reporting the proceedings of this House; whether the speeches of Members of the Upper House are reported verbatim, and, if so, what is the extra cost involved; and whether steps will be taken to have a uniform method adopted in the Reports of the proceedings of both Houses of Parliament.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) I understand that it is not the invariable practice to report all speeches delivered in the House of Lords verbatim, but both because the Debates in that House are usually shorter and because greater facilities for hearing them are afforded to the reporters, it is only natural that the Reports of the proceedings there should be fuller than of those in this House. Under the existing contract, which does not expire until December 31st, 1907, the contractors are permitted to exercise their discretion as to the fulness of the Reports, subject to an obligation to report verbatim all Questions addressed to a Minister with the Minister's reply, and to report no speech at less than one-third of its length as delivered. I do not see how an opportunity for reconsidering this arrangement can occur until the expiration of the existing contract.

Board of Education Regulations.

MR. BRIDGEMAN (Shropshire, Oswestry): To ask the President of the Board of Education when he will be able to submit to the House the regulations of the Board of Education referred to in Clause 4 (1) (*a*) of the Education Bill.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) As I stated in the House last Wednesday, I propose to publish some draft Ballot Regulations as a Parliamentary Paper before the House rises this week. These draft Regulations will not represent in any way the final determination of the Board of Education on the matter, and I shall be most glad to receive practical suggestions on the subject from any quarter.

Speed Indicators on Motor Omnibuses.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is aware that drivers of motor omnibuses find it difficult to regulate the speed to the limit specified under the Act owing to the vehicles not being provided with speed indicators; and will he consider the expediency of communicating with the proprietors of these omnibuses on the subject.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) The adoption of speed indicators is not required by law, and the Royal Commission on Motor Cars state in their Report that they cannot recommend that it should be. In these circumstances I do not at present see my way to act on the suggestion of my hon. friend.

Persons with Defective Eyesight and Motor Licenses.

MR. WEIR: To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is aware that persons of defective vision are unable to judge distances accurately; and whether, in view of the public danger in the case of persons driving high speed motors in crowded thoroughfares, such as are common in the Metropolitan Police area, will he take such steps as may be necessary to prevent licenses being granted to persons of defective vision.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) So far as licenses under the Motor Car Act to drivers of motor cars are concerned, there is no power to require any test or qualification before they are granted. So far, however, as relates to licences under the Metropolitan Public Carriage Act to the drivers of omnibuses and hackney carriages in the Metropolitan Police District, I understand that the police authorities satisfy themselves as to the general soundness of the driver's sight before a license is given. If any defect appears a closer examination is made.

Metropolitan Asylums Board—Children's Convalescent Homes.

MR. TOULMIN (Bury, Lancashire): To ask the President of the Local Government Board if his attention has been drawn to the Report for 1905 of the Children's Committee of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, in which regret is expressed at the want of appreciation, by metropolitan boards of guardians, of the homes and schools provided by the Board for certain special classes of children in the guardians' care, viz., those with ophthalmia or ringworm, defective children, or convalescent children needing sea air; and at the failure to secure that every child falling within one or other of the classes in question, shall be promptly removed to the institution suited to its requirements; and whether he will urge on boards of guardians the duty of giving to the children in their care, who need them, the advantages of these special homes.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) My attention has been drawn to the passage in the Report referred to in the Question and I propose to address a circular to the metropolitan boards of guardians on the subject to which it relates.

Boarded-out Poor Law Children.

MR. LEIF JONES (Westmoreland, Appleby): To ask the President of the Local Government Board if he will consider the advisability of issuing an amended Within the Union Boarding-out Order, under which a voluntary committee to supervise the children boarded out within the union shall be compulsory, and power be given to pay, where necessary, 5s. per week per child instead of 4s. as at present, thus bringing the Within Order into line with the amended Without Order of December, 1905, and preventing such boarding-out from being a form of out-relief.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) Yes, Sir, I am giving consideration to this matter.

Delay in Sanctioning Appointment of Longford Petty Sessions Clerk.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland the cause of the delay in sanctioning the appointment of Mr. E. Daly McCann to the clerkship of Longford petty sessions, to which office he was elected by a large majority on June 14th; and will his appointment be now sanctioned.

(*Answered by Mr Cherry.*) A question has arisen as to whether Mr. McCann is within the prescribed limits of age, and until this question has been decided it cannot be stated whether or not the appointment will be sanctioned. It is not anticipated that there will be any undue delay in dealing with the matter.

Bermuda Dockyard Extension.

MR. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether, having regard to the fact that no vessels classed as armoured ships in the list of effective ships have been docked in the new floating dock at Bermuda since its arrival on August 8th, 1902, he will state what armoured ships have been docked in the old floating dock since August 8th, 1902; and whether he can state how much of the £600,000 provided for Bermuda dockyard extension remains still unexpended?

(*Answered by Mr. Edmund Robertson.*) H.M.S. "Hotspur" is the only armoured ship that has been docked in the old floating dock at Bermuda since 8th August, 1902, but during the same period six unarmoured vessels ranging up to 6,250 tons have been docked there. The sum of about £40,000 remains unexpended on the Bermuda dockyard extension item.

Withdrawal of Grant from Kilsyth Academy.

MR. SMEATON (Stirlingshire): To ask the Secretary for Scotland whether the withdrawal of the grant of £130 a year enjoyed by the Kilsyth Academy for eight years, after having been duly certified by the Scottish Education Department as qualified to receive grants for secondary education, and of which it was deprived without warning or cause shown, is in pursuance of the policy of the Government to remove higher grade instruction from the parish schools; whether he is aware that the Kilsyth Academy is the largest school in Stirlingshire providing education largely elementary but in part secondary, to a population of about 10,000 in an isolated part of the county; and whether, in view of the proviso in Section 67 of the Statute of 1872, which lays down that the standard of education in the public schools of Scotland shall not be lowered, he proposes to take any and, if any, what, steps in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Sinclair.*) The policy of the Department is to encourage the establishment of higher grade schools or departments wherever possible, and is directed generally to the improvement of education in the public schools of Scotland. The amended scheme of the Stirlingshire Secondary Committee for the year 1904 did not provide for payment of a subsidy to schools of the class to which Kilsyth Academy belongs, that is to say very large elementary schools in which some secondary instruction is given. The alteration of the scheme was duly advertised in December, 1903, in the local newspapers in accordance with the Department's regulations. If the school board will submit proposals that would justify the Department in recognising the academy as a higher grade school, there is no reason to think that the county committee would not be prepared to regard it as a suitable centre for secondary instruction.

Prosecution of Mr. Hoey of Belfast.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether his attention has been called to the prosecution of Mr. Hoey, of Victoria Street, Belfast, for blending on his own premises patent still whiskey with pot still whiskey; and to the statement of defendant's counsel that had defendant blended the spirits in a bonded store no legal offence would have been committed; whether under the circumstances he will remit the fine imposed upon the defendant; and whether he will take the necessary steps to prohibit by legislation the blending of patent and pot still whiskey in bond as well as out of bond.

(*Answered by Mr. Asquith.*) Mr. Hoey committed a serious breach of the Revenue regulations by tampering with spirits in transit under bond from one Customs warehouse to another, and I am unable to recommend the remission of the fine imposed by the magistrates. The blending of spirits is legal either in bond or out of bond, provided that the regulations made for the protection of the Revenue are not infringed, and I see no reason for altering the law.

Payment of Members of Parliament.

MR. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer when he will introduce a Bill to give effect to his promise to provide funds to carry out the Resolution of this House as to the payment of Members.

(*Answered by Mr. Asquith.*) I am not aware that I ever made any such promise.

Indian Civil Servants and Private Work—Madras Government Architect.

MR. SEARS (Cheltenham): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether there is a Government order to the effect that no Government servant shall engage in private work whilst serving under their orders; whether the architect to the Government of Madras is allowed to undertake private work; and whether the Director of Public Instruction is in the habit of referring to the Government architect to pass and recommend for the education grant plans prepared by himself, thus placing him in the position of passing his own designs for a grant; will he state what salary the Government architect receives, and whether there is a retiring pension attached to the office; will he cause a Return to be made of the private works undertaken by this public official contrary to Government regulations.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Morley.*) There is a rule to the effect that no Government servant may engage in private work without the previous permission of the local government. I am not aware whether such permission has been given by the Government of Madras to their consulting architect, nor what conditions may have been attached to the permission, if granted; but I will inquire. The present consulting architect is a superintending engineer in the Public Works Department, with a salary of Rs.2,000 a month, who is eligible for pension under the rules applicable to officers of that department.

Indian Schoolboys Expelled for Attending Swadishi Meeting.

SIR H. COTTON (Nottingham, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that a number of schoolboys belonging to a Government school at Noakhali, in Eastern Bengal and Assam, have been expelled for attending a Swadishi meeting; and whether, having regard to the fact that orders have been issued for the unconditional reinstatement of schoolboys who had been expelled on so-called political considerations, he will issue instructions that these orders shall be made general in their application to the whole province.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Morley.*) The attention of the Government of India is closely engaged on these matters, and I cannot say more at present.

Cancer in India.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Secretary of State for India whether any statistics are now available in regard to the prevalence of cancer in India.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Morley.*) I understand that, in the forthcoming Report of the Imperial Cancer Research Fund, certain statistics as to the occurrence of cancer in India, derived from the information supplied by Indian medical officers, will be published.

Hours of Labour of Women in Bombay Cotton Mills.

Mr. WEIR: To ask the Secretary of State for India, seeing that he has called for a Report in regard to the hours of labour of women and young people engaged in the Bombay cotton mills, will he include in that inquiry women and young girls engaged as bricklayers and stonemasons' labourers at Ahmedabad and other places in the Bombay Presidency.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Morley.*) The inquiry is confined to labour coming under the Indian Factories Act, and I do not propose to instruct the Government of India to enlarge its scope; but I will call their attention to the subject of my hon. friend's Question.

The De Salis Estate.

Mr. LUNDON (Limerick, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland can he say whether as yet applications to carry out the sale to the tenants on the part of Count De Salis, around Grange, Loughgur, and Knockroe, county Limerick, have been made to the Estates Commissioners; is he aware that on this estate there are close on 400 acres of untenanted land, held until lately by Mr. Dickson and Mr. Chatterton, on which labourers, evicted tenants, and poor farmers' sons could be quartered; will he and the Estates Commissioners take precautions that no extensive tenants already holding large farms get this untenanted land by fine for the tenant right; and, if so, that no sale of the estate be sanctioned.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Estates Commissioners inform me that no application in respect of the sale of this estate has yet been made to them. In the event of the estate coming before them the Commissioners will consider the matters indicated in the Question.

Sale of Mr. Delmage's Estate, County Limerick.

Mr. LUNDON: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, can he say how matters stand at present as regards sale and purchase between the landlord and tenants on the property of Mr. Delmege around Garryspillane and Knocklong, county Limerick; is he aware that there is a tract of untenanted land on the estate, formerly worked by the Boltons: and will he instruct the Estates Commissioners not to sanction the sale should any persons take the tenant right of those untenanted lands, which according to the spirit of the Land Purchase Act of 1903 should be given to labourers, evicted tenants, and other landless people.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Estates Commissioners inform me that purchase agreements in respect of an estate of Mr. Stafford Delmege were lodged in 1905. The estate has not yet been inspected. The Commissioners will in due course make inquiries as to the untenanted land on this property referred to in the Question.

Sale of the Dunraven Estate—Lord Dunraven and Mr. Spearing.

Mr. LUNDON: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland is he aware that, when the tenants of the Earl of Dunraven purchased their holdings on his Lordship's estates around Adare and Croom, one tenant, named George Spearing, refused to purchase, on the grounds that, since his judicial rent had been fixed, Lord Dunraven had constructed fish hatcheries, raising the water flowing by the farm in the River Maigue so as to flood eleven acres of Spearing's land; also that he was unwilling to give away to the landlord his sporting rights and his claim to sand, gravel, and quarry, so that, with his farm depreciated in value, he could not agree to pay twenty-three years purchase; is he aware that Lord Dunraven offered £28 compensation for the construction of the fishing weir; that Lord Dunraven and his agent, Mr. Peter Fitzgerald, have harassed the tenant by writs from the King's Bench and law costs; and will the Estates Commissioners be instructed to interpose and try to fix a fair purchase price between Lord Dunraven and Mr. Spearing.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Estates Commissioners inform me that the estate referred to was purchased by them under the provisions of Section 6 of the Act of 1903. The holding in question was inspected by the Estates Commissioners' inspector who estimated the price of it at £842, representing a reduction of 25 per cent. on the judicial rent. The purchase money of the holding has been paid to the Earl of Dunraven. The Commissioners have no knowledge as to the compensation offered to the tenant for the construction of the fishing weir, nor as to the legal proceedings which may have been taken for the recovery of rent previous to the purchase of the estate by them. The Commissioners intend to consider Spearing's case, together with others on the same estate, with a view to dealing with them pursuant to Section 19 of the Act.

Orange Disturbance at Raphoe, East Donegal.

MR. MCVEIGH (Donegal, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if his attention has been called to a disturbance which took place at 10 p.m. in the town of Raphoe, East Donegal, on the 12th July, during which Orangemen used firearms, to the danger of the inhabitants, discharging sixteen shots in the Diamond, wounding two Catholics, one going home with his wife, the other standing in his own door, and afterwards, when passing the Catholic church, they again used firearms, and used language calculated to cause a breach of the peace; seeing that there were twenty-five police in the town, will he state why they did not quell the disturbance or since take steps to bring these men to justice; and will he say if the district inspector will have an opportunity of explaining his conduct on the occasion.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I am informed by the police authorities that on the occasion in question the Raphoe Orangemen, upon their return from a demonstration, paraded the town. A drunken man staggered into the procession when passing through the Diamond, and was knocked down. A scuffle ensued between a few Orangemen and Nationalists, but no one received serious injury. Twelve policemen who were present succeeded in restoring order within ten minutes. During the disturbance about a dozen shots were fired on the outskirts of the crowd, but no one was injured by the shots which appeared to be blank cartridge. I am informed that no shots were fired, or provocative language used, when actually passing the Catholic church; but at a little distance past the church two shots were fired in the air from a car. The district inspector had not returned from duty at the demonstration referred to. The police at Raphoe were in charge of a head constable, who took prompt measures to restore order. Several persons who were concerned in the disturbance obtained summonses against each other, but I am informed that they have all agreed to drop proceedings and to live on better terms in future.

Refusal of Loans to Andrew Gallen of Laught, County Donegal.

MR. MACVEIGH: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Andrew Gallen, of Laught, Killygordon, East Donegal, was, by the Board of Public Works, refused a loan of £40 to improve his farm, whilst the adjoining farmers obtained a similar loan on application; whether he is aware that Gallen satisfied the Board that there was no encumbrance on the holding; that the secretary made a demand for 10s., an unusual thing, which Gallen sent him; that an inspector came down who said he did not understand farming, and that he inspected the improvements Gallen desired to make; and will he say why the loan was not granted.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) I am informed that the loan was refused because the Board of Works, after considering their inspector's report, came to the conclusion that the annual value of the benefit to be derived from the expenditure would not be equal to the amount of the annual instalment in payment of the loan. All applications for loans, I understand, are dealt with on this principle, and no exception was made in Gallen's case; if adjoining farmers obtained loans it was because they fulfilled the general conditions, which he did not. The Board were satisfied of his title, and believe that there is no incumbrance on the holding. The charge of 10s. is a regular charge made in every case towards the preliminary expenses, which it does not fully cover. The Board's inspector who visited Gallen's holding has both theoretical knowledge and practical experience of farming, and I feel difficulty therefore in supposing that he could have made the statement attributed to him.

Extension of Labourers Act to Small Holders in East Donegal.

Mr. MACVEIGH: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that there are men in East Donegal who occupy holdings under £3 valuation and who are daily labouring with the adjoining farmers and cannot get the benefit of the Labourers Act from the fact that they are the holders of these patches of bog; and, if so, will he take steps to have the provisions of the Labourers Act extended to them.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I am informed that no complaints to the effect mentioned have been received by the Local Government Board. I would refer the hon. Member to the definition of agricultural labourer contained in Section 4 of the Labourers Act of 1886, and to the extension of the definition contained in Section 93 of the Irish Land Act of 1903. The provision in the latter section, which excludes persons who are in occupation of land exceeding one quarter of an acre from the definition, applies only to persons who work for hire at other than agricultural work. The limitation as to the quantity of land which may be occupied does not apply to a person who does agricultural work for hire.

Extra Police at Ballybofey, East Donegal.

Mr. MACVEIGH: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been drawn to the drafting of 112 extra police and two officers into the peaceable town of Ballybofey, East Donegal, on July 12th; and, if so, will he give the names and state on what Report and by whose authority this extra force was quartered in Ballybofey, or if a breach of the peace occurred; and, if so, how many were injured, how many are now in hospital, and how many in gaol; who is to pay the expense of bringing this force from distant counties, or if the expense incurred by their visit will be made a charge on the rates of East Donegal, and if not out of what fund will the expense come, or can he say during the last six years how many extra police were drafted into Ballybofey on the 12th July each year, and what special duties were performed by them to warrant the annual increase in their number.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) On July 12th an extra force of 105 men and two officers was drafted into Ballybofey for the preservation of the peace in connection with a large demonstration at that place. This force was assembled on the authority of the Inspector-General and with the approval of the Government. It is, happily, the case that no breach of the peace occurred, but precautions were required. Sixty men of the extra force were drawn from other counties, and half of the cost of these will be chargeable on local rates, the other half being borne by the Constabulary Vote. During the previous six years no extra police from other counties were drafted into Ballybofey on the 12th of July, but in 1898, which was the last occasion on which a large Orange demonstration took place in that locality, a force of 80 extra police was brought into the adjacent town of Stranorlar.

Endowment of Schools on the Clifden and Annally Properties.

Mr. MEAGHER (Kilkenny, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners were aware, when sanctioning the advance for the purchase of the Clifden and Annally properties, county Kilkenny, that the schools on those properties were in receipt of endowments out of the same; whether those endowments have not now ceased, so far as the Catholic schools on the property are concerned, and are continued to the Protestant schools; and whether anything will be done to put the Catholic schools on an equality with the Protestant schools.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Estates Commissioners inform me that the majority of the sales on the estate of Lady Annally have been completed. No question as to the endowment of schools on the estate arose when the sales were being effected, nor would the matter appear to be one in which the Commissioners could exercise any control. The Commissioners are unable to identify any proceedings for sale in respect of the Clifden Estate.

Religious Persuasion of Magistrates in County Cavan.

Mr. VINCENT KENNEDY (Cavan, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that in 1905–6 four magistrates viz., three Episcopalians and one Methodist, in 1905 nine Episcopalians, and in 1902 twelve Episcopalians, one Methodist, and one Catholic, were appointed in county Cavan; was the last Catholic appointed so far back as October 24th 1899; will he say what are the approximate percentages in this county of Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Society of Friends, Unitarians, Roman Catholics, and other religious denominations; and what percentage the magistrates appointed bear to the different religious denominations.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) As I informed the hon. Member on Monday last, full information as to the religious persuasion of magistrates appointed for county Cavan in the years mentioned will be found in the Parliamentary Papers which I then indicated. In like manner the number of persons belonging to the several religious denominations in the county Cavan will be found in the last Census Return, and from these the percentages can be obtained. I have already stated, on the Lord Chancellor's authority, that a number of appointments to the magistracy in Cavan will shortly be made.

Evicted Tenants of the Cusack Estate.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners will, with a view to giving the evicted tenants of county Longford a chance of obtaining portions of the Cusack Estate untenanted land, direct an inquiry into their applications for reinstatement with a view to some selection being made.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Estates Commissioners inform me that they will, when distributing untenanted land which they may acquire in county Longford, duly consider the applications for reinstatement received from evicted tenants in that county.

Delay in the Sale of the O'Brien Estate, North Longford.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland will he state the reason of the delay in the sale of the O'Brien Estate, at Comakelly and Corglass, North Longford; what is the cause of the present standstill in the proceedings, and who is to blame; and when may the tenants expect this sale to go through, in order to obtain relief under The Land Purchase Act, 1903.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Estates Commissioners inform me that no proceedings for the sale of this estate have been instituted before them. I understand, however, that the estate is in the Land Judge's Court, and I will have inquiries made from the registrar of the Court.

Section 7 Irish Land Act and North Longford Estate.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether Section 7 of the Land Act of 1903 is being applied in the case of the sale of the King-Harman (Ballinamuck), Galbraith, and Archdale Estates in North Longford; and when a definite decision on these cases may be expected:

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I am informed by the Registrar of the Land Judge's Court that no proceedings for the sale of the King-Harman Estate are before the Court, and no order for sale has been made in the case of the Galbraith Estate. The provisions of Section 7 of the Act of 1903 are, therefore, not applicable to these estates. Proceedings in regard to the Archdale Estate are before the Land Judge's Court, but no proceedings under Section 7 have been taken.

Sale of the Kilcogy Bog Estate.

MR. VINCENT KENNEDY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state whether negotiations for the sale of Kilcogy Bog Estate of Quintin Dick and others, county Cavan, have resulted in the tenants agreeing to purchase this bog through trustees; when was the purchase agreement filed; when did the inspector visit the bog; has the sale been refused, and on what grounds; and will this matter be reopened by the Estates Commissioners with a view to securing to them this bog, which is now the only unsold portion of this estate.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I am informed that the trustees for the tenants signed two agreements for the purchase, at £640, of forty-six acres of turbary on this estate for the benefit both of the present tenants and of those who had purchased their holdings on the estate under the previous Land Purchase Acts. The purchase agreements were lodged on the 1st February 1905, and the inspector furnished his report on May 14th 1906. The Estates Commissioners decided that the bog referred to should be excluded from the estate as they considered that it does not afford security for the advance applied for. The matter will be again brought before the Commissioners for their further consideration.

Clearing House Banking Returns for Irish Cities.

MR. VINCENT KENNEDY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will state for what Irish cities clearing house banking Returns are issued; and whether he will lay upon the Table of the House the figures for the years 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction are informed that the only Irish clearing house which issues Returns is that of Dublin. The figures of the clearing house may be found in the journal of the Institute of Bankers in Ireland. These figures have been published in Dublin since 1899, and are as follows:—

Dublin Clearing Returns.

	£
1899	130,066,508
1900	133,177,812
1901	133,809,420
1902	137,669,745
1903	139,751,292
1904	144,778,629
1905	152,536,416

Percentage and Population Paying Income Tax.

MR. VINCENT KENNEDY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will state what is the percentage of the population of Ireland, England, Scotland, and Wales liable to pay Income Tax as set out in the last available Return.

(*Answered by Mr. Asquith.*) There are no data on which the suggested computation could be made, the number of Income Tax payers not being known.

Return of Irish Imports and Exports.

MR. VINCENT KENNEDY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state when the long delayed Return of Irish exports and imports for 1902, promised by the right hon. Member for Dover in 1903, will be published.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I have already stated that it is not now intended to publish the statistics as to the imports and exports of Ireland for any year prior to 1904, as the Returns which it was found possible to obtain were not of sufficient completeness to justify publication. Information of a more complete character has been collected for the years 1904 and 1905, and will be published as soon as possible.

Longford Congested Districts.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that almost the entire barony of Longford, comprising the parishes of Killoe, Drumlish, and Ballinamuck, Dromard and Cullumbkille are congested areas, the land of which is mostly mountain and bog and the valuations of the holdings of which are small; whether he is aware that portions of county Leitrim which lie along this barony, and are scheduled, are, in places, better land than the lands of the parishes mentioned; and, with a view to relieving congestion and helping a thrifty class of peasants to better conditions of living, will he take care that evidence from this part of county Longford will be heard before the Commission on congestion just appointed.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I have no information as to the condition of the districts referred to in the Question. The Royal Commission on congestion is prepared to consider any application which may be made to them as to taking evidence from any particular district, or holdings sittings in any particular place.

Sale of Grazing Farm, Cahertrim, County Galway.

MR. DUFFY (Galway, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if any communication has reached the Estates Commissioners regarding the sale of the grazing farm, Cahertrim, Ardrahan, county Galway, belonging to Mr. Edwin Martyn, Tylara, Ardrahan, to a large agricultural farmer named Diviney, living several miles distant; and whether, seeing that the farm is surrounded by small cottier tenants, will the Commissioners inquire into all the local circumstances before this sale is sanctioned.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Estates Commissioners inform me that they are unable to trace the receipt of any communication with regard to the farm referred to, and no proceedings for the sale of this property have been instituted before them.

Division of Untenanted Land at Loughrea.

MR. DUFFY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland at what time do the Estates Commissioners propose to divide the untenanted lands at Rareddy and Granna on the Beetson Persse estate, the Grallagh farm on the Burke estate, Marble Hill, the Doon and Cox's Town farms on the O'Farrell estate, Daly's Town, the Benmore and Moyleen farms on Dominick Burke's estate, the Killimonday, Gurteen, Kiltulla, and Cahernakelly farms on the William Daly estate, the Raford, Ballykeerin, Bullawn, and the Attymon farms on Colonel Daly's estate, all of which have been purchased by the Commissioners and are in the immediate neighbourhood of Loughrea.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Estates Commissioners inform me that they expect to deal with the untenanted lands of Rareddy and Granna about November 1st next, when they also propose to deal with Doon, on the O'Farrell estate. The Commissioners have not yet acquired the Burke estate, Marble Hill, but negotiations are proceeding. The Commissioners are unable to identify the lands of Cox's Town without further particulars. The untenanted lands on the estates of Mr. William Daly and Colonel Daly have already been divided. The estate of the representatives of Dominick Burke is not yet ready to be dealt with, the application for sale having been lodged in February last only.

Mr. Sydney Smith and the Inspection of the Countess of Kingston's Estate.

MR. WILLIAM ABRAHAM (Cork County, N.E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners are aware of the dissatisfaction created amongst the tenants on the Countess of Kingston's estate by the selection of Mr. Sydney Smith to inspect and report upon this estate, seeing that the inspector is a near neighbour and personal friend of the agent of the estate, concerning whose methods of obtaining purchase agreements from the tenants several complaints have reached the Commissioners; and whether the Estates Commissioners will consider the advisability of a change of inspectors.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Estates Commissioners inform me that they have no knowledge whether the facts are as stated in the Question, but will have full inquiries made into the matter.

MR. WILLIAM ABRAHAM: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners will decline to sanction advances for the purchase of the two portions of the Countess of Kingston's estate, the inspection of which may be completed before October next, until a complete inspection and report upon the estate, as a whole, has been made.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Estates Commissioners inform me that they will consider the hon. Member's suggestions when the report of their inspector comes before them for consideration.

Sligo Sawmills Company and the Irish Department of Agriculture.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH (Fermanagh, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the trustees of the gift of £10,000 by Mr. Bourke Cochrane, for the benefit of industry in Sligo, invested the money in the formation of the Sligo Sawmills and Joinery Company, Limited, and invited the public by the prospectus they issued in the formation of this company to subscribe for shares on the faith of a statement that the company had been formed under the auspices of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction; and will he say whether this statement was published with the knowledge and by the authority of the Department; and whether, in view of the fact that the entire sum of £10,000, together with the capital subscribed by the public, has been lost, the Department will return to the subscribers the amount of the capital subscribed by them.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The facts are not quite as stated in the Question. Mr. Bourke Cockran offered to invest a sum of £10,000 in an industry to be selected by some friends of his, who happened to be connected with the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. The Department was not officially concerned with the investment and had no responsibility in connection with it. It appears that the company issued a prospectus in which it was stated that the company had been formed under the auspices of the Department, but I am informed that this statement was not published by the authority or with the knowledge of the Department. The matter was brought under the notice of the Committee of Inquiry into the organisation and working of the Department, and it is understood that the solicitor for Mr. Bourke Cockran is preparing a full statement of the facts for submission to the Committee.

Allowances to Army Recruiters.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to the present allowances to recruiters; is he aware that non-commissioned officers of the permanent staff of the Militia, especially in Ireland, have often to make journeys of twenty or thirty miles in a day to attend fairs and markets, and are allowed nothing except railway fares; and whether, seeing that the recruiters have to provide themselves with food during the day, will he take steps to have allowances made in accordance with the distance travelled and the number of hours they are separated from their families.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) No complaints on this subject have reached the War Office. It does not appear that the emoluments of recruiters are in any way insufficient.

Army Good-conduct Medal—Suggested Reduction of Qualifying Period.

MR. SLOAN: To ask the Secretary of State for War if his attention has been called to the length of the qualifying period for the good-conduct medal as now granted in the Army, the medal, in most cases, not being actually issued to the recipient until he has nearly nineteen years' service; and will he consider the advisability of reducing the qualifying period to sixteen years; and will he issue instructions for the gratuity of £5 to be issued with the medal, and not kept until discharge to pension takes place, as is done at present.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) This medal is granted for long service as well as good-conduct, and the existing qualifications have been advisedly adopted. It is not proposed to carry out the suggestions now made.

Exports from United Kingdom, United States, and British West Indies.

MR. ESSEX (Gloucestershire, Cirencester): To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he will state the total exports to the United Kingdom and the United States of America during each quinquennium ending 1904, 1899, 1894, and 1889 from the British West Indian Islands; how much of such exports were of sugar and molasses; how much were of fruit (fresh and dried), coffee, cocoa, chocolate, and tobacco; and the proportions for each such period going to the United States of America and the United Kingdom, respectively.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) If the hon. Member will move for a Return giving the particulars asked for in his Question it shall be granted.

Improved Train Service in County Cavan.

MR. VINCENT KENNEDY: To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he has received a copy of a resolution from the Belturbet Urban District Council praying for a better train service in one of the most populous districts in county Cavan from Belfast and Dublin on the Great Northern Railway; and will he give the matter his consideration.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) I have received from the hon. Member a copy of the resolution referred to, which is addressed to the railway company. The matter in question is not one in which the Board of Trade have any statutory powers, but I have communicated with the railway company thereon and have received a reply of which I am sending the hon. Member a copy.

Production and Consumption of Alcoholic Beverages.

MR. CAMERON CORBETT (Glasgow, Tradeston): To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he will furnish a Return in continuation of memoranda and statistical tables, showing the production and consumption of alcoholic beverages in various countries (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper No. 345, Session 1904).

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) It is the practice to issue this Return triennially. The next issue will accordingly be published next year.

Preservatives in Food.

MR. O'MALLEY (Galway, Connemara): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been called to proceedings taken at Brentford with reference to the presence of boracic acid in potted ham; and whether, in view of the uneasiness existing in the public mind with reference to canned foods, he will make inquiries upon the subject, and give information to the House as to the view of his Department on the use of preservatives in food.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) I have seen a newspaper report of the proceedings mentioned. Inquiries with regard to canned foods are being made by officers of the Local Government Board. The whole question of preservatives in food has received the attention of the Board. It has been investigated by a Departmental Committee appointed by them, and recently they have issued a circular with regard to preservatives in milk. Other branches of the subject are now under their consideration.

Oxford Pupil Teachers' Centre.

MR. YOXALL (Nottingham, W.): To ask the President of the Board of Education if the pupil teachers' centre at Oxford has been condemned because of the lack of laboratories and deficiency of accommodation; was a scheme for the centre to work in connection with higher elementary schools prepared by the chairman of the Oxford Education Committee, but discouraged by His Majesty's inspector, on the ground that the policy of the Board was the abolition of centres not directly connected with secondary schools; is he aware that in one of the schools to which the pupil teachers are to be sent there is no laboratory accommodation whatever; and whether, in pressing for the closing of the centre, the Board of Education has taken any steps to see that suitable employment for the displaced staff has been supplied.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) In answer to the first paragraph of the Question, the two reasons named were the principal reasons involved, and to the second paragraph, the scheme there referred to was criticised as being in certain respects not the best that could be devised, and in particular that it failed to bring the pupil teachers and intending pupil teachers into secondary schools. Regarding the third paragraph of the Question, the Board have not yet definitely recognised any particular schools for the purpose, but have discussed with the Education Committee the new proposals which have now, I understand, been adopted by the City Council. Laboratory accommodation is being provided in the only one of the proposed schools which, so far as I know, possessed none. In answer to the fourth query, it was impossible for the Board to do otherwise than require the discontinuance of the central classes, conducted as they were in a manner ineffective for the growing needs of the city, in three class rooms in a public elementary school, wholly inadequate for the purpose and without any provision for science, except certain unsuitable and overcrowded laboratories some distance away in another building. I should greatly regret it if the local authority were unable to find alternative employment for any efficient teachers unavoidably displaced through changes that were unquestionably rendered necessary by the need for improving the education of the future teachers of the city.

Postcards—Fines for Affixing Stamps the Wrong Side.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury): To ask the Postmaster-General whether his attention has been directed to the fines imposed on the public for affixing stamps on postcards on the back in place of the address side; whether there is any justification for his officers obliterating with stamping machines the stamps so affixed in addition to fining the receivers of the postcards; under what rule or postal regulation fines are imposed for stamps so wrongly affixed; and whether there is in the rules any penalty for affixing stamps on the backs of letters in place of the address side.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) No penalty is imposed for affixing stamps to the backs of letters; but the sender of a postcard has the privilege of sending a letter for a postage of a ½d., and it has been thought reasonable, therefore, to impose certain conditions in the case of postcards. One of these conditions is that the stamp must be affixed to the address side, and as it is just as easy to affix the stamp on the right side as on the wrong, I do not propose to alter the rule.

Russian Refugees and the Aliens Act.

MR. LEVY (Leicestershire, Loughborough): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware of the fact that immigrants who left Russia to escape from religious and political persecution have recently been refused permission to land at the port of London; whether he can state why Moses Enigorn, Zalman Wein, Susicha Zusman, Reisel Sedlitzky, on board the "Schwalbe," Itzig Levin, Sarah Kamisar, Yankel Truse, Jacob Pollack, on board the "Adler," were refused permission to land, seeing that each was in possession of not less than £5; who was the immigration officer who refused permission; who were the members of the Immigration Board before whom the appeals were held and upheld; and whether he proposes to take steps to insure the Aliens Act being administered in the spirit intended by Parliament.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) I am not aware of the fact suggested in the first sentence of the Question. The alien immigrants named were refused leave to land because neither the immigration officers nor the Board were satisfied that they had the means of supporting themselves decently. I must repeat that the mere possession of the sum of £5 or a little more is no proof of means if there is any reason to suppose that the money is not *bona fide* the immigrant's own. That is a question for the officer and the Board to decide. I think it right to say that the newspaper statements on which the Question is apparently based omit all reference to the inquiry and investigation to which the stories set out therein were subjected by the officers and the Board, and by which it was shown that many of their salient features were incorrect. Further, in one case in which it is stated that a woman with a little girl was sent back sorrow stricken to Russia, she was, in fact, given leave to land in the United Kingdom. No useful purpose would be served by giving the names of the immigration officers or of the members of the Board. I may remind my hon. friend that the meetings of the Board are open to the Press, and I think that if the Press had attended these meetings the statements on which the Question is founded would have been of a different character.

Illegal Conviction of Mr. D. O'Connell—Compensation for Costs.

MR. WILLIAM ABRAHAM: To ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether his attention has been called to the case of Mr. Dennis O'Connell, of Dianville, Mourne Abbey, who was sentenced by the magistrates sitting at a petty sessions court held in Mallow last January to pay a fine of £4 or an alternative of two months imprisonment for alleged salmon poaching on the River Clyda; whether he is aware that, on appeal to the Court of King's Bench, the judgment of the magistrates, two of whom were fishery conservators, was quashed, but no order made as to the costs, amounting to £22, incurred by Mr. O'Connell in prosecuting his appeal; amd whether, seeing that Mr. O'Connell was illegally convicted, there is any public fund from which his costs can be obtained.

(*Answered by Mr. Cherry.*) I am informed that the facts are generally as stated in the Question. The conviction was quashed without costs. There is no public fund from which the defendant's costs could be paid.

Hours of Labour, etc., of House of Commons Kitchen Staff.

DR. COOPER (Southwark, Bermondsey): To ask the Chairman of the Kitchen Committee whether his attention has been directed to the long hours of work the waiters, attendants, kitchen porters and attendants, still-room maids, and others engaged by the Kitchen Committee are now working; whether he will give, for each class, the usual hour of commencing and leaving off work, the rate of pay of each class, and whether paid by the hour, day, or week; whether any, and, if any, what, classes are required to be in attendance if the eleven o'clock rule is suspended; whether any pay is given for this extra duty, and on what scale; whether any emolument is received besides pay; and whether the employment is permanent or for the session only.

(*Answered by Mr. Jacoby.*) The information asked for by the hon. Member will be more conveniently supplied by a Return than by an Answer to a Question. If the hon. Member will move for a Return I will consult with the Kitchen Committee as to the desirability of supplying the information. The suspension of the eleven o'clock rule being temporary, no purpose can be served in replying to the details contained in the hon. Member's Question. As regards the extra late hours, the Kitchen Committee has made provision for their staff to meet the case of overtime.

Grants to English and Irish Boards of Agriculture.

MR. ESSEX: To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what are the sums paid to the Irish Board of Agriculture and Technical Education and to the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries in furtherance of the interests of agriculture in Ireland and England respectively.

(*Answered by Mr. Asquith.*) I would refer my hon. friend to the details supplied in the Estimates for these Departments. Information regarding the endowment fund placed at the disposal of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland), under the provisions of Sections 15 and 16 of The Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899, will be found in the Annual Report of that Department [Cd. 2929].

Railway Transit on North Western State Railway of India—Damage to Trade of Karachi.

MR. HART-DAVIES (Hackney, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been called to the fact that the amount of wheat arrived at Karachi for export in the month of June, 1906, was only 155,426 tons, as against 175,728 tons in June, 1905, and 186,873 tons in June, 1904; that this decline in the Karachi export trade is owing to the deficiency of rolling stock and of locomotive power on the North Western State Railway; and whether he will cause steps to be taken to prevent this injury to the prosperity of Karachi, as a commercial port, occurring again in the future.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Morley.*) The arrangements for dealing with the grain traffic to Karachi were personally investigated last year at Karachi by the Railway Board in conjunction with the manager of the North Western Railway. The provision of a large amount of additional rolling stock was sanctioned, including 125 locomotives and 1,600 wagons. In the calendar year 1905 the expenditure on rolling stock for the North Western Railway was £257,000, and the expenditure this year will probably amount to a much larger sum.

Refusal of Gun Licence to Mr. T. Flanagan of Glanquin.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state why a gun licence is refused to Mr. T. Flanagan, Glanquin, county Clare.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I am informed that it is the fact that Mr. Thomas Flanagan's application for a licence to carry firearms has been refused. The power of granting such licences is vested in the resident magistrate of the district, and it would be entirely contrary to practice to state the reasons which influenced the exercise of his discretion in any particular case.

Charles McCabe and Tenancy of Cottage at Dalystane.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to state the reasons why Charles McCabe, of Clough, is kept out of a cottage in the Dalystane Electoral District, Granard (No. 1) Rural District, to a tenancy of which he was appointed two years ago; and will he direct the Local Government Board inspector to inquire into this case immediately.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The cottage in this case was authorised by a Provisional Order made by the Local Government Board in 1901, and, according to the contract entered into with the council, it should have been built by October 13th, 1903. Right of entry on the lands was, however, refused by the owner, Mr. Daly, and although the council lodged the compensation awarded for the plot in the Bank of Ireland in 1904, they have failed in their subsequent legal proceedings to obtain the owner's ejectment. From information recently received by the Local Government Board it appears that after signing a deed of conveyance of the plot to the council, the former owner sold a farm, including the plot, to Mr. Daly, who has been registered as owner of all the lands, and that at present the council are taking steps to have the register amended. The matter, therefore, appears one for the council themselves to deal with.

Salary of Resident Commissioner of National Education in Ireland—Monthly Payment of Teachers' Salaries.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what are the annual salary and emoluments of the Resident Commissioner of National Education in Ireland, and if that salary is paid monthly; what is the annual salary of a junior assistant mistress in an Irish national school; and whether, in view of the fact that such salary is paid quarterly, he will take steps to secure that such salaries shall be paid monthly in future.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The salary of the Resident Commissioner of National Education is £1,500 per annum, payable in monthly instalments. The maximum salary of a junior assistant mistress is £24 per annum, payable quarterly. As regards the question of making monthly payments to teachers, I beg to refer the hon. Member to my reply to his similar Question on June 28th. The matter is entirely for the Commissioners.

Allotment of Land in County Galway.

MR. HAZLETON: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state whether the Congested Districts Board before handing over holdings on the Ross Lodge estate, county Galway, to outsiders took into consideration the condition of the people in the townlands of Bealanagurrane, Curilane, Derrymore, and Ballinapark; and what action the Board took with reference to the representations made to them on behalf of tenants in these townlands by the Reverend M. Heaney, P.P., Caherlistrane.

MR. HAZLETON: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Congested Districts Board have given possession of five new holdings in the parish of Cahirlistrane, county Galway, on the Hon. R. A. Nugent's estate, lately purchased by the Board, to five tenants from another parish; and if he can state on what grounds were the applications of Thomas Kyne, Patrick Neil, Richard Lawless, and Patrick Jennings, of Bealanagurrane, and Michael Levelle, Curilane, for five holdings on the Ross Lodge estate refused, although these five tenants offered to give up their present holdings.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The function of the Congested Districts Board is to assist the people of the scheduled congested districts, and the Board purchased the Nugent or Ross Lodge estate with the object of providing holdings for persons to be migrated from congested districts. The five persons who obtained holdings were occupiers of uneconomic holdings who were brought from such districts. The townlands mentioned in the Questions are not scheduled as congested, and the Board were, therefore, unable to provide for the wants of the people resident in them.

Grant-in-aid in the Lavally District, County Galway.

MR. HAZLETON: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, whether the Congested Districts Board have refused to give any grants-in-aid in the Lavally, county Galway, district, although a number of surrounding parishes have been receiving grants for a number of years in connection with the erection of out-offices and general improvements; and, if so, can he state the reason for such refusal on the part of the Board.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Congested Districts Board have declined to make a grant to the electoral division of Lavally for the purpose of a parish committee scheme. The number of occupiers eligible for assistance is understood to be small, and the Board do not consider it desirable to establish a committee to administer the very limited grant which the electoral division would be entitled to receive for improvement purposes. A further reason which has compelled the Board to limit their grants is that the available funds are practically exhausted.

Congested Districts in Galway.

MR. HAZLETON: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state if there is any possibility of the townlands of Bealanagurrane, Curilane, Derrymore, and Ballinapark, county Galway, being scheduled as a congested district; and what steps would be necessary in order to have these townlands so scheduled.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The power to schedule any additional areas as congested districts has lapsed since 1892. The Royal Commission on Congestion is to inquire, among other things, what areas, if any, outside the districts now scheduled as congested require to be dealt with as congested, so that the Question raised by the hon. Member can be considered by it.

Examination in Irish for Clerkships in Irish High Courts of Justice.

MR. HAZLETON: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is yet in a position to make any statement with regard to the inclusion of Irish as a subject of examination for clerkships in the High Court of Justice in Ireland.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The subjects of examination for clerkships in the High Court of Justice in Ireland are, in pursuance of statute, to be determined by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland with the concurrence of the Civil Service Commissioners. I am informed that the whole scheme of the examination is under consideration, and the Question of the inclusion of Irish as an optional subject will be carefully considered at the same time. No decision upon the latter point has yet been arrived at.

Erection of Police Barracks at Tuam, County Galway.

MR. HAZLETON: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether it is proposed to acquire land in Tuam, county Galway, in connection with the erection of a new police barracks there; and whether it will be possible to do this without buying land on which occupied houses stand from which it would be necessary to evict tenants who have been in occupation for a number of years past, and who will suffer hardship if dispossessed.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Inspector General informs me that it has not yet been decided that it will be necessary to build a new police station at Tuam. If, however, the necessity should arise, it is not proposed to acquire a site upon which any existing houses stand.

Grants by Irish Agricultural Department to Irish Agricultural Organisation Society.

MR. HAZLETON: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state how much money was granted by the Department of Agriculture during the last financial year to the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society; is any account available showing how the money so received was expended; whether any of the money was given by the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society to the Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society; and, if so, will he say how much.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) In reply to the first part of the Question I beg to refer to my Answer to the Question of the hon. Member for East Mayo, which shows that a grant of £2,000 was made for certain specific organisation work during the twelve months ending February 28th, 1906. An account is available showing how the grant was expended. No portion of it was given to the Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society.

Construction of a Ferry between Kilbeg and Knockferry.

Mr. HAZLETON: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state whether the memorial presented to the Congested Districts Board with reference to the construction of a ferry between Kilbeg and Knockferry on Lough Corrib, county Galway, has yet been considered by the Board; and, if so, can he state what decision the Board has arrived at with regard to the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) On the 16th instant the Congested Districts Board decided to make a grant of one-third of the cost of the proposed ferry across Lough Corrib, subject to the conditions that such grant shall not exceed £300, and that the work shall be carried out by the county authorities in accordance with plans and specifications to be approved by the Board.

Prison Medical Officers.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that prison medical officers appointed under 7 George 4, chap. 74, sec. 72, were permanent officers, and as such entitled to pensions under the Paid Officers Superannuation Act; and, seeing that, since the passing of the Prisons (Ireland) Act, 1877, prison medical officers in Ireland are appointed as temporary officers, and thereby deprived of right to pension and of independence in the discharge of their duties, whether he can state the reason for this change.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Answer to the first part of this Question is in the affirmative. Since the passing of the Prisons (Ireland) Act, 1877, such prison medical officers as do not devote their whole time to the service are not entitled to pension. The fact that these officers are appointed for temporary terms does not affect the question of pension, which depends upon the principle now generally recognised throughout the public service that those persons only who devote their whole time to the service of the State are entitled to pension. Prison medical officers in Ireland are appointed for recurrent periods of three years, and no case has occurred in which the appointment has not been renewed at the expiration of the term of three years. There is, I am informed, no ground for the assumption that these officers are not independent in the discharge of their duties.

Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests (Ireland).

Mr. HIGHAM (Yorkshire, W.R., Sowerby): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state the names of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests (Ireland); who appoints them, and under what authority; and under what conditions they hold office, both as to emoluments, expenses, and dismissal.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland are a body corporate established under the Acts 7 and 8 Vic., c. 97, and 24 and 25 Vic., c. 111. There are two ex-officio Commissioners, namely, the Master of the Rolls and the Lord Chief Baron of Ireland, and eleven Commissioners appointed by His Majesty in Council by Warrant under the Royal Sign Manual. All the Commissioners are removable by His Majesty in Council by similar Warrant. The Commissioners do not receive any emoluments. The expenses of their office are provided by Parliament. Details will be found at page 210 of the printed Estimates for the current financial year. The names of the existing Commissioners are as follows:—

The Right Hon. Sir A. M. Porter, Bart. (Master of the Rolls).
The Right Hon. C. Palles (Lord Chief Baron).
His Honour Judge Carton.
The Right Hon. H. E. Chatterton.
Henry Perry Goodbody, Esq.
The Right Hon. Mr. Justice Johnson.
The Most Rev. Archbishop Walsh, D.D.
Charles Kennedy, Esq.
The Right Hon. Mr. Justice Ross.
The Very Rev. J. H. Bernard, D. D.
The Hon. Gerald Fitzgerald.
F. C. Pilkington, Esq.
The Most Rev. Nicholas Donnelly, D.D.

Members of Irish Local Government Board.

Mr. HIGHAM: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state the names of the members of the Local Government Board, Ireland; who appoints them; and under what authority and under what conditions they hold office as to emoluments, meetings, expenses, and termination of office.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Local Government Board for Ireland was established by the Act 35 and 36 Vic. c. 69. The Board consists of a President, being the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant for the time being; the Under-Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant for the time being; a Vice-President and two other Commissioners, one of whom is a Medical Commissioner. The permanent Commissioners are appointed by the King, and hold office during the pleasure of His Majesty, subject to retirement on attaining 65 years of age. The two ex-officio members of the Board receive no salary as such. The Vice-President receives an annual salary of £1,500, increasing to £1,800. The remaining two members receive each an annual salary of £1,000, increasing to £1,200. When absent from headquarters on duty the members receive their actual expenses of locomotion and a subsistence allowance of 21s. a night. The Board meets daily. The names of the existing appointed members of the Board are as follows:—

The Right Hon. Sir H. A. Robinson, K.C.B., Vice-President.

W. L. Micks, Esq.

T. J. Stafford, Esq., Medical Commissioner.

Poor Law Commission—Irish Medical Representative.

Mr. FETHERSTONHAUGH: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will avail himself of the vacancy in the Poor Law Commission, caused by the death of the O'Conor Don, to appoint an independent Irish medical gentleman, acquainted with the needs of the Irish Poor Law medical service, to a seat on the Commission.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I beg to refer to the Answer given by the Prime Minister to a similar Question on 16th instant, namely, that he could not see his way to adopt the suggestion. The matter does not fall within my province.

Royal Irish Constabulary—Retirement of County Inspectors.

MR. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he could give a Return showing the dates on which the several county inspectors Royal Irish Constabulary attain the age for retiring; and showing how many hours each week for the year ending 30th June last each county inspector devoted to the duties of his office; and whether, having regard to the reduction in these duties in recent years, he will consider whether one county inspector could in future discharge the duties for two or more counties.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) It does not appear that any useful purpose would be served by furnishing such a Return as the hon. Member desires. According to statute, county inspectors are not eligible for retirement on pension until they have attained the age of 60 years and have had 40 years' service. Upon an average about three per annum thus qualify for retirement. There is no regulation requiring county inspectors to keep a record of the exact number of hours occupied by their duties. I understand, however, from the Inspector-General that the time of county inspectors is fully occupied by their duties, in which there has not been a reduction as is suggested in the Question. The existing statutory law requires that there should be a county inspector for each county, and no change could be made without legislation.

Sale of the Dickson Estate, County Leitrim—Tenant's Right to Turbary.

MR. DOLAN (Leitrim, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, in ordering the sale of the Dickson Estate, situate at Tawley, near Tullaghan, county Leitrim, the Land Judge gave instructions that each tenant should be secured in his right to turbary as heretofore; and will he explain why an attempt is being made to interfere with this right.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I understand that the Dickson Estate is being sold in the Land Judge's Court under the fortieth section of the Land Act of 1896. I am informed by the Registrar of the Court that the learned Judge's order was that a scheme should be prepared applotting turbary to the tenants entitled to it. A scheme has now been prepared as the result of which every tenant will have turbary to last at least twenty-five years. The scheme will come before the Judge next term for confirmation.

Tobacco Growing in Ireland.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will forward to the Member for East Clare the result of the negotiations between the Treasury and the Irish Agricultural Department as to tobacco growing in Ireland.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I will in due course inform the hon. Member of the result.

Unsanitary Schools in Ireland.

MR. SLOAN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland how many non-vested national schools there are in Ireland, how many have been reported to the Commissioners of Education by their inspectors as being unsanitary; and what would be the probable cost of putting such schools into proper condition; and what steps, if any, does he propose to take in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Commissioners of National Education inform me that the number of non-vested schools is 4,930, but they are not at present in a position to say how many of these schools have been reported as insanitary, or to give an estimate of the cost of putting them in a proper condition. I have recently announced that an increased building grant has been arranged, and that it is hoped that the work of building and repairing schoolhouses may now proceed without delay.

Delay in Sale of Estate of Abraham Evans, County Leitrim.

MR. DOLAN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will state the cause for the delay of the sale to the tenants of the estate of Abraham Evans, situate in the barony of Dromahaire and county of Leitrim, final notice for sale having been served by the Land Judge's Court on December 19th, 1903.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I am informed by the Registrar of the Land Judge's Court that the estate for sale comprises the townland of Lisnagowan and part of the townland of Killooman. The tenants in the latter townland have declined to purchase. All the tenants, except one, on the townland of Lisnagowan have signed agreements to purchase, but the sale has been delayed with the object of endeavouring to bring about a sale to the tenant who has not yet agreed to purchase. The case was to have been brought before the learned Judge on Thursday last, but owing to his illness has had to be postponed till next sittings.

Elections (Meetings in Schoolrooms) Bill—Government Facilities.

MR. ESSEX: To ask the Prime Minister when he proposes to take the Second Reading of the Elections (Meetings in Schoolrooms) Bill [Lords]; and whether he will give facilities to secure the early passage of this measure.

(*Answered by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.*) The Government are favourably disposed towards this Bill, but I must abide by the rule I have laid down and abstain from giving any promise of facilities at present.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Reservists of Disbanded Battalions.

SIR CARNE RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can state approximately the number of reservists connected with the battalions which he proposes to disband.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. HALDANE, Haddington.): Reservists are not ear-marked as coming from and belonging to any one battalion of a regiment, but are available for the regiment as a whole. The number of reservists of the regiments concerned are as follows:—Northumberland Fusiliers 1,364, Royal Warwickshire Regiment 1,534, Lancashire Fusiliers 1,449, Manchester Regiment 1,169.

SIR CARNE RASCH: Will all the reservists of the disbanded battalions be treated in the same way as of those not disbanded?

MR. HALDANE: Yes.

The Egyptian Garrison.

MR. F. E. SMITH (Liverpool, Walton); I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what effect he proposes to give and when to the recommendation of Lord Cromer that the Egyptian garrison should be reinforced.

MR. HALDANE: Effect was given to the recommendation of Lord Cromer that the Egyptian garrison should be reinforced at the time that the recommendation was made. The permanent reinforcements consisted of a regiment of cavalry, a battery of Royal Horse Artillery and the four companies of a Line Regiment stationed in Egypt which were transferred from Crete.

The Coldstream Guards.

SIR SAMUEL SCOTT (Marylebone, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the condemned battalion of Coldstream Guards is to sail for Egypt in October; and whether the Government intend that the whole of the exceptional expense, which will be necessarily incurred by married officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, owing to moving for one year, is to fall upon the battalion, or whether the Government is prepared to contribute towards this exceptional expenditure.

MR. HALDANE: This battalion will go to Egypt on September 29th. No decision has been come to, to treat this battalion in respect of the expenses of their move differently from other Infantry battalions.

Potted Meats in Regimental Canteens.

COLONEL HERBERT (Monmouthshire, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether Messrs. Dickeson, who were recently convicted of selling potted meat, not of the quality that nature demanded, in the canteen of Hounslow Barracks, have a monopoly for the sale of groceries and other commodities purchasable in those barracks; whether he can state the number of similar monopolies held by this firm, and the amount paid annually in respect of each; and whether any steps are taken by the military authorities to secure for soldiers and their families, who use regimental canteens, the benefits and protection afforded by a system of co-operative trading.

MR. HALDANE: In barracks when any firm is the canteen tenant, that firm has the monopoly of the sale of supplies within barracks, but this monopoly does not extend to the supply of messes, of officers, sergeants or soldiers. The number of contracts held by them is not known at the War Office; the amounts paid in the form of rebate are approximately 3s. 6d. per month for each soldier and 5 per cent. on their purchases for married soldiers. As regards the last part of the Question, the choice of system is left to Commanding Officers under the supervision of the Brigade Commander. I may add that Messrs. Dickeson were not convicted of selling potted meat unfit for human food, but of having sold potted meat containing respectively eighty grains and 129 grains of borax per lb.

Government Ammunition.

MR. J. M. ROBERTSON (Northumberland, Tyneside): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what is the difference between small-arms ammunition Mark IV. and Mark V., and between Mark V. and Mark VI.; will he state when the manufacture of Mark VI. began; and what quantities have been manufactured, either by the Government or by contractors, of Mark V. and Mark VI. respectively, specifying the quantities produced in each year.

*MR. HALDANE: The difference between Mark IV., V., and VI. cartridges lies in the bullets, which in the case of the two former have a hole in the head, and in the case of the two latter have a hard lead core, Mark IV. having a soft core. The manufacture of Mark VI. commenced in 1903. The following millions of cartridges Mark V. and VI. have been manufactured:—

Mark V.

	Ordnance Factories.	Trade.
1899–90	19¼	24½
1903–04	5¾	–
1904–05	–	–
1905–06	–	–

Mark VI.

	Ordnance Factories.	Trade.
1899–90	–	–
1903–04	2	–
1904–05	24½	30
1905–06	31	45

Army Promotion.

*Sir ROBERT HOBART (Hampshire, New Forest): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether as a sequel to the abolition of the appointment of Second-in-Command by Army Order 154, 1906, he will make such regulations as will ensure a minimum number of majors doing regimental duty, in view of the present system of appointing captains in the place of majors holding staff appointments.

Mr. HALDANE: It is not considered expedient to make regulations on this subject, but my hon. friend can rest assured that the point will not be overlooked.

The Irish Guards.

*Sir ROBERT HOBART: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he will give the annual difference in expense if the Irish Guards were disbanded instead of the 3rd Battalion Coldstream Guards, taking into consideration the cost of the regimental staff and band and depôt and recruiting establishments, which have to be maintained for the single battalion of the former regiment.

Mr. HALDANE: The saving would be increased by about £17,000 a year and the strength of the Army further diminished by four officers and some 300 men, if the Irish Guards had been selected for disbandment in lieu of the 3rd Battalion Coldstream Guards.

*Sir ROBERT HOBART asked whether the right hon. Gentleman had taken or would take into consideration the length of the service of the officers and non-commissioned officers of the two regiments.

Mr. HALDANE said the Irish Guards had got a very strong battalion, and the War Office decided, after a very close and careful consideration of the matter, that they should be retained in preference to the 3rd battalion of a regiment that had got two other battalions.

Army Reorganisation.

Sir J. DICKSON-POYNDER (Wiltshire, Chippenham): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will issue a Paper showing the details of his scheme of Army reorganisation as effecting each separate branch of the Regular and Auxiliary Forces.

Mr. HALDANE: I am at present considering this matter.

Winter Training for the Militia.

Sir J. DICKSON-POYNDER: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state what Militia battalions he proposes to mobilise for winter training; to what places they are to be stationed; what is to be the effective strength of each battalion; and how many months these battalions are to be under training.

Mr. HALDANE: The twenty battalions of Militia Infantry selected for extended training are as follows:—3rd Batt., The Buffs (East Kent Regiment); 5th Batt., The Royal Warwickshire Regiment; 7th Batt., The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment); 4th Batt., The Prince Albert's (Somersetshire Light Infantry); 3rd Batt., The Bedfordshire Regiment; 3rd Batt., Alexandra, Princess of Wales's Own (Yorkshire Regiment); 6th Batt., Lancashire Fusiliers; 4th Batt., The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles); 3rd Batt., The Oxfordshire Light Infantry; 3rd Batt., The Loyal North Lancashire Regiment; 4th Batt., The King's (Shropshire Light Infantry); 7th Batt., The King's Royal Rifle Corps; 3rd Batt., The Prince of Wales's (North Staffordshire Regiment); 3rd Batt., The York and Lancashire Regiment; 3rd Batt., The Gordon Highlanders; 3rd Batt., The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders; 4th Batt., The Royal Irish Rifles; 5th Batt., The Connaught Rangers; 3rd Batt., The Royal Munster Fusiliers; 4th Batt., The Royal Dublin Fusiliers. The recruits will be trained for six months at the head-quarters of their units except in the case of battalions which have been accustomed to carry out preliminary drill immediately before annual training and are given the option of continuing this practice. The annual training of the battalions will under present arrangements be for forty-one days and will take place as usual in the summer. I cannot undertake to foretell what their effective strength will be. I may add that the training is experimental only and we shall watch the results very closely. It may be possible to shorten the period in future years.

Ballincollig Canteen Contract.

MR. SHEEHAN (Cork County, Mid.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that an order, signed by Major M. F. Halford, dated July 9th, was issued at York, to the effect that in consequence of the unsatisfactory conditions of the contracts between the Canteen and Mess Co-operative Society, Limited, and the units in command dealing with the society, the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief directed that no fresh contracts should be entered into with this society, and that all existing contracts should be terminated as soon as other arrangements could be made; is this the same Canteen and Mess Society which was fined £10 and costs at Ballincollig, county Cork, petty sessions, on June 4th last, for having sold margarine not marked or branded as such in the military canteen at Ballincollig; and is he aware that this same company are supplying civilians with drink and other goods at Ballincollig in contravention of a War Office order strictly forbidding this practice; and will he see that immediate arrangements are made whereby a company, guilty of malpractices alleged in this Question, shall not be allowed to continue in control of the military canteen at Ballincollig.

MR. HALDANE: As regards the first part of the Question, I am aware of the order alluded to, and the matter is receiving my attention. As regards the second part of the Question, no information has reached the War Office, but the attention of the General Officer Commanding will be drawn to the points raised in the Question.

Norwich Barracks.

LORD CASTLEREAGH (Maidstone): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, seeing that the War Office, in August, 1904, communicated to the citizens of Norwich the approval of the Army Council to the scheme for building new barracks there, he will say whether the decision of the Army Council not to build new barracks there has yet been communicated to the citizens of Norwich.

MR. HALDANE: No decision on this Question has been formally announced by the Army Council, but it has been publicly stated that it is not at present proposed to go on with the scheme of building the barracks in question.

LORD CASTLEREAGH inquired whether land was not given on condition that barracks should be built, and whether the War Office did not accept the gift under those express conditions.

MR. HALDANE: I understand that there was a transaction between my predecessor the Member for Croydon and the citizens of Norwich. I am very sorry that the citizens of Norwich should be disappointed, but of course I cannot be bound by that decision of my predecessor on a question of military training in which the interests of the Army as a whole have to be looked to.

*MR. LEHMANN (Leicestershire, Market Harborough): What was the promised contribution of Norwich, and what was the estimated cost of the barracks?

MR. HALDANE: I believe that the value of the ground presented by the citizens of Norwich was about £5,000, and the cost of the barracks would be from £150,000 to £200,000.

LORD CASTLEREAGH: Are the Army Council entitled to change their minds and policy?

*MR. HALDANE: The Army Council are entitled to change their policy whenever they get larger lights.

LORD CASTLEREAGH: Are not the Government bound to carry out their promises?

MR. HALDANE: Really, does the noble Lord suggest that we should set aside the whole question of the brigade training of the cavalry in this country for individual convenience?

The Artillery.

MAJOR MCMICKING (Kircudbrightshire): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what beneficial results will be obtained by changing the terms of enlistment for the Horse and Field Artillery from three years service with the colours and nine with the reserve, to six years with the colours and six with the reserve.

Mr. HALDANE: The terms of service for the Horse and Field Artillery are to be changed from three years colour service and nine years in the reserve to six years colour service (with the extra year if serving abroad) and six years in the reserve, in consequence of the difficulties of finding drafts for the Artillery in India and the Colonies. The terms of service were changed in the Infantry from three years colour service and nine years reserve service to nine years colour service and three years reserve service two years ago in consequence of the break-down in the provision of the drafts in that arm, owing to the disinclination of the men to extend their service in sufficient numbers. The same situation is now reproduced in the case of the Artillery, the number who extend not being sufficient to ensure the provision of drafts. In the case of the Colonies we are already unable to provide drafts from the extended men, and this will become true of India also. To send out men who do not extend and return in a year is not very costly, but does not tend to efficiency. The term decided upon is the shortest term that will provide the necessary reserves on mobilisation whilst ensuring the provision of drafts in India and the Colonies. On account of draft difficulties—as it was in the case of the Infantry—it has now become necessary to increase the term of colour service from three to six years. Moreover, there are other advantages in the change proposed. Reservists after six years with the colours are superior to reservists who have been only three years with the colours, and under the new scheme it is hoped that we shall have a reserve of additional trained Artillery officers from the new source.

The Bewaarplaatsen.

Mr. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD (Leicester): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Bewaarplaatsen is still in possession of the Transvaal State to the same extent as before the war; and whether any mining operations are now being carried on under these reserved areas.

The UNDER-SECRETARY of STATE for the COLONIES (Mr. Churchill, Manchester, N.W.): The Secretary of State has not yet received a reply to his telegraphic inquiry as to the exact position.

Kilindini Port, East Africa.

*Sir C. HILL (Shrewsbury): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any, and, if any, what steps are being taken to improve the facilities for landing and shipping goods at the Port of Kilindini, East Africa.

*Mr. CHURCHILL: The Secretary of State has carefully considered this Question, and, having consulted with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he authorises me to say that the construction of a deep-water pier at Kilindini at a cost not exceeding £80,000 will be proceeded with as quickly as possible. The scheme provides for a pier which will allow a ship 450 feet in length and drawing 27 feet of water to lie afloat and to load and unload cargo alongside at low water of spring tides with safety under all circumstances of wind and weather.

Preservation of African Fauna.

*Sir C. HILL: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies what action the Secretary of State for the Colonies proposes to take to give effect to the views of the deputation which recently waited upon him in regard to the preservation of the fauna of Africa; and whether, in view of the fact that a sum approaching £10,000 a year is received from the operation of the East Africa Game Regulations, he will undertake to allocate a sum not less than £1,000 in next year's Estimates for that Protectorate towards the efficient policing and protection of the Northern or Lake Rudolf Reserve.

*Mr. CHURCHILL: The Secretary of State is communicating with the authorities of the different colonies and protectorates in West and East Africa with a view to giving effect, as far as practicable, to the recommendations of the deputation. With regard to the second part of the hon. Member's Question, the Secretary of State is instructing the Commissioner of the East African Protectorate to bring forward the question of making better provision for the protection of the reserves when the Estimates for next year are submitted, but he cannot undertake to say at present whether it will be possible to allocate a sum as desired.

Kaffirs in the Transvaal Gold Mines.

Lord CASTLEREAGH: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state what has been the increase or decrease in the number of Kaffirs employed in the Transvaal gold mines during the last six months.

*Mr. CHURCHILL: The number of Kaffirs employed in the Transvaal gold mines on December 31st, 1905, was 93,831, and the number so employed on the 30th ultimo 90,882, being a decrease during the six months of 2,949.

Orange River Population.

Lord CASTLEREAGH: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the respective population of Dutch and British in the Orange River Colony.

*Mr. CHURCHILL: The census does not distinguish, and I cannot undertake to make an estimate.

British Central Africa Protectorate.

*Mr. REES (Montgomery Boroughs): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the proposed establishment of a Legislative Council for the East Africa Protectorate, the Government propose to take action of the like character in respect of the British Central Africa Protectorate.

*Mr. CHURCHILL: The Secretary of State has for some time had under consideration the expediency of the change which my hon. friend's Question suggests.

Malta.

Mr. T. L. CORBETT (Down, N.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the precise nature of the promises made by the British Government to the Roman Catholic Church in Malta, and referred to by the Roman Catholic Archbishop in his letter to the Governor, dated May 6th last.

*Mr. CHURCHILL: I have to refer the hon. Member to the reply which I gave to a similar Question by the Member for the Wells Division on June 19th. †

Mr. T. L. CORBETT: I fail to see that that was any Answer to this Question.

Gambling in the Federated Malay States.

Mr. ALLEN (Christchurch): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether it is the practice in the Federated Malay States for the Government to farm out the gambling establishments to the highest bidder; and, if so, whether he can state what means, if any, are taken to restrict the growth of gambling amongst the Chinese mining population.

*Mr. CHURCHILL: The exclusive right of keeping public gaming-houses and of issuing licences for gaming is farmed out. I am not aware whether the highest tender is always accepted, but, doubtless, as a rule the Government accepts the most favourable terms. The right is subject to certain regulations and restrictions, the principal of which are: that the existing accommodation for gaming shall not be increased without the written sanction of the resident; that the resident may prohibit the issue of licences for private gaming in any district; that public gaming shall only be permitted with certain specified hours; and that no wages of miners or other labourers shall be paid within the precints of a gaming-house. I may add that it is the intention of the Secretary of State to review the general character of the regulations in the Federated Malay States when other public business of a more pressing character has been disposed of.

Sokoto and Hadeija.

Sir GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies when he proposes to lay upon the Table Papers dealing with the recent military operations in Sokoto and Hadeija.

*Mr. CHURCHILL: So far as I know, the only promise given has been to lay Papers with regard to the Munshi country; but I see no objection to giving Papers about Sokoto and Hadeija at the same time, and they will be laid when ready.

Restrictions on Protestants in Malta.

Mr. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can state when the negotiations between his Department and the Governor of Malta in reference to the removal of certain restrictions imposed upon Protestants will be complete; and will the whole correspondence be laid upon the Table of the House.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clix., 35.

*MR. CHURCHILL: I have to refer the hon. Member to the reply which I gave on Saturday to a similar Question by the Member for North Down.†

MR. SLOAN: This is the Question I was advised by the Speaker to give notice of. Cannot the hon. Gentleman give the House some approximate idea when the correspondence will be completed and laid?

*MR. CHURCHILL: I daresay it will be laid before we meet in the Autumn. It will certainly be completed before the House re-assembles, and as soon as it is completed the Secretary of State will consider and decide what part, if any, of it shall be laid.

South African War Claim.

MR. J. M. ROBERTSON: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, seeing that Dr. Chweiback, whose claim for restitution of property taken from him during the South African war has been only in small part met, was admittedly engaged in the Red Cross medical service, and seeing that the claim, after being rejected, was officially admitted to have real foundation, he will consider the advisability of the case being re-examined on international grounds and in the interests of the general maintenance of the voluntary Red Cross service during war.

*MR. CHURCHILL: The Secretary of State does not consider that the circumstances stated by the hon. Member afford a ground for re-opening the case in the absence of fresh evidence.

Canadian Emigration Bounties.

MR. HAZLETON (Galway, N.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has yet received from the Canadian Government the particulars he undertook to ask for with reference to payments to shipping agents in Ireland on the part of the Canadian Government in connection with emigrants from Ireland to Canada.

*MR. CHURCHILL: The particulars have not yet been received from Canada. I will communicate them to the hon. Member when they arrive.

Outrages by Chinese Coolies in the Transvaal.

SIR HENRY CRAIK (Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the fact that a committee appointed by the Government of the Transvaal to consider means for the prevention of outrages by the Chinese labourers, after hearing evidence from farmers and others, recommended that the area in which Chinese with leave-permits are permitted to roam should be contracted from an area of about 1,600 square miles to one of about 160 square miles, he will say whether this Amendment, which met with the approval of every section of the Transvaal population, was negatived by His Majesty's Government.

*MR. CHURCHILL: The hon. Member will see from the telegram of June 11th, printed at page 124 of Cd. 3025, that His Majesty's Government were not prepared to agree to contract the area for all leave-permits by legal enactment. His Majesty's Government have accepted a number of the committee's recommendations which, it may be anticipated, will ensure more satisfactory control.

Opium in the Federated Malay States Mines.

MR. A. ALLEN: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that under the truck system, which prevails in certain of the mines in the Federated Malay States, the Chinese miners receive part payment of their earnings in opium; and whether he will consider what steps can be taken to put an end to this.

*MR. CHURCHILL: I have no information on the point, but the High Commissioner will be asked for a Report.

Opium in the Transvaal Mines.

MR. BAKER: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies what steps, if any, have been taken to restrict the sale of opium to the Chinese coolies in the Transvaal; and whether such restrictions have been successful.

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† See col. 212

*MR. CHURCHILL: The Secretary of State has approved the recommendations made by the committee which inquired into the conditions of Chinese labourers on the mines and printed at page 84 of Cd. 3025. I am not aware whether the Transvaal Government is satisfied that the control will be effective without further legislation, but inquiry will be made.

Europeans in the Egyptian Service.

MR. J. M. ROBERTSON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what is the number of British and other Europeans in the service of the Khedivial Government; and whether the principle of open competition is in any degree applied to their selection.

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RUNCIMAN, Dewsbury; for Sir EDWARD GREY): The last return of the number of European officials in the service of the Egyptian Government will be found in Blue Book, Egypt No. 3, 1899, page 47. For the principle governing the selection of British candidates, I would refer the hon. Member to Lord Cromer's Annual Report for last year (Egypt No. 1, 1906, page 57) where the method of selection is fully explained.

Cretan Reforms.

MR. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the decision of the four Powers with regard to the reforms to be introduced in Crete has been formulated; and whether he is in a position to communicate the details of the scheme to the House.

MR. RUNCIMAN: It does not seem necessary to publish the Note separately as a Parliamentary Paper, but a summary has already appeared in the newspapers.

Cost of the Egyptian Garrison.

MR. J. M. ROBERTSON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what is the amount of Egypt's contribution to the maintenance of the Army of occupation in Egypt; what is the proportion of that to the whole cost; what are the respective increases of cost, British and Egyptian, in consequence of the reinforcement of the army of occupation; and what the strength of the force is now to be.

MR. RUNCIMAN: The present contribution is £100,000 a year, which represents approximately the extra cost of the force in Egypt, before the recent increase, over its cost at home, which would be about £275,000. The future strength of the force will be about 5,700, but the future contribution is at present under consideration.

Entry into the Consular Service.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether candidates with actual commercial experience have been nominated to compete for two only of the ten vacancies which have occurred in the general consular service since the adoption of the new scheme based on the recommendations of the Committee of 1903; and whether this proportion will be increased in the future.

MR. RUNCIMAN: There have been two examinations for five vacancies each since the adoption of the new scheme. For the first examination, which was held in July, 1905, it was decided that the fairest course was to take the candidates from those who had long been expecting a nomination under the old regulations. At the second examination, which has just been held, two vacancies out of five were reserved for candidates with actual commercial experience. The number of candidates for nomination of that class was, however, very small, though every effort was made both by advertisement and private inquiry to obtain more competitors.

Chambers of Commerce and the Consular Service.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention has been drawn to the resolution adopted at the recent Congress of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire to the effect that the British consular service should be strengthened on lines calculated to make it more effective for the promotion of the commerce of the British Empire; and whether he proposes to take any action in this direction.

MR. RUNCIMAN: The resolution has not been communicated to my right hon. friend, and he does not know what the practical suggestions were which gave rise to it. Changes have been made recently on the recommendations of a committee summoned by Lord Lansdowne to effect the object in view.

Appointment of Magistrates.

MR. HENRY (Shropshire, Wellington): I beg to ask the Prime Minister if he would use his influence that recommendations for county magistrates of gentlemen who possess the present necessary qualifications should be dealt with with more consideration than has been done during the period his Government has been in office; and whether he is aware that in the county of Shropshire, out of about 250 county magistrates, with the exception of about ten, the whole number are members of the Unionist Party.

*SIR C. HILL: Before the right hon. Gentleman replies, might I ask whether he is aware that about a month ago the vacancies in the magistracies of the borough of Shrewsbury were filled by the appointment of seven gentlemen of whom six are well-known supporters of his Party?

MR. HENRY: My Question refers to the county and not to the borough magistracy.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. GLADSTONE, Leeds, W.): Perhaps the House will allow me to make a somewhat full statement in answer to my hon. friend. Exclusive of Lancashire, there are 222 boroughs with separate benches of justices in England and Wales, and in addition there are separate county benches in all the counties of England, Scotland and Wales, most of which are divided into Parliamentary divisions, and each division is sub-divided into different districts for magisterial purposes. In all they number many hundreds. The Lord Chancellor is quite aware that there is a great preponderance of Conservative justices in most of these districts and considers it a great evil. It impairs the confidence that ought to prevail, and causes a legitimate sense of injustice. Up to the present date fresh appointments have been made in 113 out of 222 boroughs, and out of the ninety-eight counties and liberties in England, Scotland and Wales, fresh appointments have been made or a provisional list made out in forty-five. It is quite impossible for this business to proceed with greater rapidity. Experience has shown that it is necessary to make inquiries in regard to all the names recommended, though in nearly all cases the Members of Parliament have done their best to help with the information at their disposal. Had it not been for the cordial assistance of almost all the Lord-Lieutenants with whom he has been in communication, the Lord Chancellor would not have accomplished all that has been done. The Lord Chancellor wishes to secure a fair balance of classes and opinions on the bench, but he is not prepared to treat this office which is concerned with the administration of justice to the poorest classes as a prize for political services and the process must take time. Nor is he prepared to withdraw from still more important business a greater portion of his time. With respect to the county of Shropshire itself, it is believed that there is a great disparity though not so great as assumed in the Question. It is the same in other counties. It is impossible for the whole of this vast business to be treated at one time, and the numerous cases must proceed in order.

MR. SLOAN: In view of the Lord Chancellor's opinion that the Unionist magistrates are a great danger, is it intended to withdraw their commissions?

*MR. GLADSTONE: I said that the disparity was a great evil.

MR. LAMBTON (Durham, S.E.): Arising out of that Answer, I beg to ask if we are to understand that it is the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman that in recent years magistrates have been improperly appointed; and whether he will issue instructions to Lords-Lieutenant that in future they are to appoint magistrates on political grounds and not on the ground of merit.

*Mr. GLADSTONE: That Question must be addressed to the Prime Minister, on whose behalf I replied.

Mr. LAMBTON: It is a most important Question.

Mr. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Will the right hon. Gentleman extend his generous hand to Ireland, where 75 per cent. of the magistrates are Unionist?

Mr. REDDY (King's County, Birr.): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that it is as easy to approach the Shah of Persia for a recommendation as a Lord-Lieutenant of an Irish county?

Mr. Findlay's Despatch.

Lord R. CECIL (Marylebone, E.): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether his attention has been called to the despatch of Mr. Findlay to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of July 5th, 1906; and whether any further "deplorable effects" have ensued from the utterances of the hon. Members therein referred to.

*Mr. GLADSTONE: I have no information beyond what has been officially published.

Kilburn Tradesmen and Motor Traffic.

Mr. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that, at a meeting of Kilburn tradesmen on the evening of the 23rd instant, the menace to local trade caused by motor omnibuses was discussed, and a resolution carried declaring that the present service of motor 'buses along the High Road, Kilburn, was dangerous and distasteful, and expressing the opinion that the speed should not exceed seven miles an hour; and will he state what action it is proposed to take in regard to this and any other similar resolutions.

*Mr. GLADSTONE: I have seen a report of the meeting at Kilburn. I fear I can only refer my hon. friend to the Answer which I gave to his Question respecting accidents on the 19th of this month, in which I stated that under existing powers steps have been taken and are being taken to mitigate the nuisances complained of.

Miners (Eight Hours) Inquiry.

Mr. RAPHAEL (Derbyshire, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department when the promised inquiry into the question of an eight hours' day for miners will be held; the nature of the body to whom the inquiry will be entrusted; and the names of those who will conduct the inquiry.

*Mr. GLADSTONE: I have, in accordance with the promise I gave during the debate on the Second Reading of the Mines (Eight Hours) Bill on May 11th, appointed a Departmental Committee to inquire into the probable economic effect of such a limitation to the hours of labour. My hon. friend the Member for Gloucester has, I am glad to say, consented to be chairman, and the members of the Committee are Sir Andrew Agnew, Mr. Cox, Professor of Mining at the Royal College of Science, my hon. friend the Member for Kincardine, Sir Robert Giffen, Lord Glantawe, and Mr. Redmayne, Professor of Mining at Birmingham University. The Committee will, no doubt begin their inquiry after the holidays.

Mr. LEHMANN: Can the right hon. Gentleman give the terms of reference?

*Mr. GLADSTONE: Yes, they are as follows:—To inquire into the probable economic effect of a limit of eight hours to the working day of coal miners, both when calculated from bank to bank, and when otherwise calculated, upon (1) production; (2) wages; (3) employment; (4) the export trade; (5) other British industries which might be affected thereby: regard being had to the different conditions obtaining in different districts, seams and collieries; and also into the probable effect of such a limit upon the health of the miners, and, if they think necessary, to extend their inquiry to metalliferous mines.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil) asked whether anyone representing the working miners had been appointed, and, if not, whether it was intended to include such a representative.

*Mr. GLADSTONE: No. I consulted with some of my hon. friends, and it was settled that this being an inquiry of an economic nature the out-and-out advocates or opponents of the eight-hours system should not be on the Committee, but that the inquiry should be limited to the economic aspect of the question.

Prison Discipline.

MR. BAKER: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department how many convicted prisoners were certified to be unfit for prison discipline in the years 1904–5; and whether, seeing that persons so certified are constantly returned to prison, he will consider the advisability of some better way being found of dealing with them.

*MR. GLADSTONE: In 1903–4 the number of convicted prisoners received in prison was 190,791, and the number certified unfit for prison dicipline was 345, the corresponding figures for 1904–5 were 198,716 and 412. It is a difficult question what should be done with persons unfit for prison discipline who commit serious crime, or who are persistently guilty of minor offences. Those physically unfit for discipline are treated in the prison infirmary; those unfit through mental weakness are placed under the care of the medical officer and receive special treatment suitable to their condition. I hope that the Royal Commission on the Feeble-minded will be able to make recommendations which will be of material assistance in dealing with the latter class.

Epileptic Prisoners.

MR. BAKER: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he can give the number of convicted prisoners who were found to be epileptics during the years 1904–5; and if he will consider the advisability of steps being taken to ascertain the existence of epilepsy before conviction, and thus prevent such irresponsible sufferers being convicted as criminals.

*MR. GLADSTONE: The numbers are as follows:—1903–4, Epileptics certified insane, four; Epileptics certified unfit for prison dicipline, twenty-seven. Total thirty-one. 1904–5, Epileptics certified insane, five; Epileptics certified unfit for prison dicipline, sixteen. Total twenty-one. When these are compared with the total number of persons received in prison on conviction it will be seen that the total number of cases in which persons were convicted and afterwards found to be epileptic is very small. As the law stands, it is for the defence to raise at the trial the question of insanity; but it must not be assumed that all epileptics are insane or irresponsible. On the contrary, many persons subject to epileptic fits are in normal conditions perfectly sane and responsible, and it would be neither just nor practicable to class them with the insane.

Reduction of Light Dues.

MR. W. R. REA (Scarborough): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether, in view of the accumulated surplus in the hands of the authorities concerned, he is yet able to announce any concessions in regard to the light dues charged on shipping.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE, Carnarvon Boroughs): Yes, Sir, I am glad to be able to announce that the state of the funds will permit of a further temporary reduction of 7½ per cent. (making a total reduction of 20 per cent.) in the light dues charged on shipping, for a period of three years, beginning April 1st, 1907.

Royal Commission on Canals.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether arrangements have been made to add a member to the Royal Commission on Canals in respect to the Irish portion of the subject which is being inquired into: and when will this appointment be made and the name of the new Commissioner announced.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: The name of an additional member of the Royal Commission on Canals with special knowledge of the Irish portion of the subject is being submitted to the King and will be announced as soon as His Majesty's approval has been signified.

British Guiana Mail Service.

MR. LAURENCE HARDY (Kent, Ashford): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General what steps he is taking to arrange for a renewal of a direct and regular mail service between this country and the Colony of British Guiana; whether he is aware of the effects upon trade which have been caused by the action of the Imperial authority in breaking with the Royal Mail Company and providing no alternative service; and whether he can explain why no regard has been paid to the protests of the local legislature, and to their offer of a subsidy of £5,000 towards a mail service.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON, Tower Hamlets, Poplar): Steps are being taken to improve the present arrangements for the conveyance of mails to and from British Guiana.

Postage Rates on Literature for the Blind.

MR. BUCKMASTER (Cambridge): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he can now state the actual reductions that he proposes to make on the postage of literature for the blind; and any regulations he proposes to promulgate with regard to that matter?

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: Acting on the authority given by the Bill that has just passed the House of Commons, I propose to give the following concessions, and to introduce the following regulations, in reference to the postage on literature for the blind. The books, magazines, etc., printed in type for the blind will be included in the letter and newspaper mails, and not under the parcels post. There will be a limit of weight of five pounds, and the usual limit of size, viz., two feet, by one foot, by one foot. These limits will, however, as I understand, permit any volume of blind type to receive the privileges of reduced postage. The lowest rates by which such literature can now be sent, where it exceeds two ounces are, under the parcel post, as follows:—Up to one pound in weight, 3d.; up to two pounds in weight, 4d.; rising to 6d. for a package weighing five pounds. In future *bona fide* literature for the blind will pass at the following rates:—For packages weighing up to two ounces, ½d.; for packages up to, and not exceeding two pounds, 1d.; for packages exceeding two pounds and not exceeding five pounds 1½d. That is to say, the charge on an ordinary single volume in Braille type weighing, say, 2 pounds, will be reduced from 4d. to 1d., and if it weighs between three and four pounds, which is the common weight, the charge instead of being 5d. to 6d. will be only 1½d. Each packet will have to bear a printed label marked "Blind Literature," and will have to be packed so as to facilitate inspection of the contents. The new rates and regulations will come into force from the 1st September.

Delay of Press Telegrams.

MR. GEORGE WHITE (Norfolk, N.W.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether complaints have reached him regarding telegraphic delays taking place at Terrington, Norfolk, on messages being handed in at Birmingham, Sheffield, Cardiff, and Newcastle-on-Tyne; and whether, in view of the repeated official statements that the telegraph work of the country is diminishing, and that the staff is in process of being reduced, he will state the reason of the delays.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: No such complaints have reached me, and nothing is known of the matter at the local Post Office.

Teachers' Register.

MR. ASHLEY (Lancashire, Blackpool): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education what is the number of teachers at present on the register; whether it is proposed in the event of the abolition of the register to return their registration fees; and, in that case, what will be the amount to be refunded by the Treasury.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Mr. BIRRELL, Bristol, N.): The number of names on Column B on July 27th, 1906, was 5,686 men and 5,763 women, or 11,449 in all. It is impossible to say with any accuracy how many names are supposed to be on Column A of the Register. The Board of Education originally supplied some 80,000 names of Certificated Teachers, from Departmental records, to the Teachers' Registration Council, and have since added some 10,000 more names to their list of Certificated Teachers. But neither the Teachers' Registration Council nor the Board of Education have ever possessed the means for keeping an accurate list up to date, owing to difficulties in regard to changes of name on marriage and to persons leaving the profession, or dying, without the Board receiving information. There is no registration fee for Column A, but the fee for Column B is one guinea, so that some £12,000 would be refunded.

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley): Has the right hon. Gentleman any intention of renewing the Register and putting it on a more satisfactory basis?

MR. BIRRELL: Yes, Sir, I hope to be able to do so.

Watford Secondary School.

MR. MICKLEM (Hertfordshire, Watford): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether he has under consideration a scheme promoted by the Herts County Council for building a new secondary school in Watford at a cost of £10,000, to be settled upon denominational trusts in perpetuity corresponding with the denominational trusts upon which the Watford grammar schools are now held; what proportion of the sum of £10,000 and the future costs of maintenance of the schools it is proposed to throw upon the rates of Watford and the county respectively; and whether, seeing that the Watford Urban District Council and other public bodies have protested against the scheme, he will refuse his sanction to the scheme so far as it proposes to create a new denominational school endowed with public money.

MR. BIRRELL: A public inquiry has recently been held in regard to the matter referred to in the Question. I have not yet received the Report of the Commissioner who held the inquiry, and I cannot, therefore, yet make any statement upon the case.

Watford Grammar School.

MR. MICKLEM: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether he is aware that a public inquiry was held at Watford, on July 24th, by Mr. W. C. Fletcher, under the authority of the Board of Education, for the purpose of inquiring into the foundation of the Watford grammar schools, including the question of the need of a higher elementary school at Watford, and that at such inquiry Mr. Fletcher refused to allow counsel for the Watford Urban District Council or any members of the public to raise any questions or give any evidence as to the funds and endowments of the said foundation, or as to the proposed expenditure on new buildings and maintenance; and whether the President of the Board of Education will refuse or delay his sanction to any new scheme for the said foundation until after a further public inquiry has been held, and the views of the Urban District Council of Watford and the inhabitants of Watford ascertained.

MR. BIRRELL: I must refer the hon. Member to the Answer I have just given to his previous Question, to which I cannot at present add anything, beyond stating that I understand that the disallowances are not quite accurately stated in the Question.

West Ham Schools.

MR. THORNE (West Ham, S.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education if his attention has been called to the overcrowding of two schools under the control of the West Ham Education Authority, viz., Hermit Road School, in the boys' department (capacity 480), in which there are now 588 on the roll; in the girls' (capacity 480), on the roll 600; in the infants' (capacity 610), on the roll 640; Star Lane School, boys' department (capacity 480), on the roll 527; girls' (capacity 480), 590 on the roll; and whether the Board of Education propose to compel the West Ham Education Authority to build additional school accommodation to prevent the overcrowding in the schools mentioned.

MR. BIRRELL: My attention had not been called to the matters referred to until I saw the hon. Member's Question two days ago, and the shortness of notice of the Question has not permitted me to give that consideration to the case which is needed before I could properly make any official pronouncement upon it in reply to the hon. Member. I may say, however, that according to figures obtained for me so recently as Friday last, the overcrowding seems to be not so serious as would appear from the figures in the Question; the average attendance of the boys' and the girls' and the infants' departments at Star Lane being, I am told, 507 and 478 and 534, respectively, with accommodation (on the 10 feet basis) for 480 and 480 and 596 respectively, and on the 8 square feet basis, of course, for considerably more. But I will have the matter investigated.

Free Education.

SIR G. KEKEWICH (Exeter): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education under what statute, or by what authority, a parent has now a right to demand free education for his child in a public elementary school, inasmuch as Section 5 of the Free Education Act of 1891 was repealed by the Education Act of 1902.

MR. BIRRELL: When Section 5 of the Elementary Education Act of 1891 was repealed, there was substituted for it an equivalent provision in Paragraph 5 of the Third Schedule of the Education Act of 1902. I think the hon. Member will find that this fully safeguards the right in question.

Cooper School, Marston Sicca.

MR. ESSEX (Gloucestershire, Cirencester): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education whether he will lay upon the Table of the House a Report upon the Cooper School, at Marston Sicca, Gloucestershire, stating the date or dates of the foundation of the trust, the terms of its deeds, the present condition of the properties held under the trust deeds, and the proposals, if any have been made, affecting the future of the school.

MR. BIRRELL: As the Question was only on the Paper on Saturday morning there has not been time for me to go adequately into the case referred to by the hon. Member. I think it would hardly be worth while to go to the labour and expense of asking Parliament to print and issue all the various documents about this one school, as seems to be suggested by the hon. Member. But if he will let me know by letter the precise points upon which he desires information I shall be happy to furnish him with it to the best of my ability. No decision will be made by the Board of Education upon the case for some time to come.

Encroachment on Crown Lands in the New Forest.

SIR ROBERT HOBART: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether the attention of His Majesty's Commissioners of Woods and Forests has been drawn to the proceedings of the deputy ranger of the New Forest, in causing the destruction of certain wooden buildings belonging to a working man, named Purkis, on the outshirts of Lyndhurst, on the alleged ground that they were an encroachment on Crown lands; whether full compensation will be awarded to Purkis for the injury done to him; and whether instructions will be given to the Crown authorities to refrain from such action in the New Forest on all such future occasions.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. MCKENNA, Monmouth, N.): It is the duty of the deputy surveyor to prevent encroachments upon forest lands by private owners. I am informed that in the present instance he was careful to satisfy himself by investigation on the spot that an encroachment had been made and was gradually being extended. After persuasion had failed and due warning been given the shed was removed. The attention of the Commissioner in charge of the New Forest was recently drawn to the case and he also personally inspected the place and satisfied himself that an encroachment had been made.

MR. ATHERLEY-JONES (Durham, N.W.): What was the reason for making forcible entry on this poor man's property instead of taking legal proceedings in the usual way?

MR. MCKENNA: I think the circumstances stated in my Answer justify the course taken.

Parliamentary Employees and Pensions.

MR. ALDEN (Middlesex, Tottenham): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, in view of the fact that Government employees in the lighting and ventilating department of the House are not entitled to pensions by Section 17 of the Superannuation Act of 1859, he will consider the possibility of allowing such employees to qualify for pensions by obtaining certificates from the Civil Service Commissioners, it being understood that they would present themselves for examination in the usual way.

MR. MCKENNA: The position of these men is similar to that of a great number of the employees in public Departments.

The terms of their employment made it clear that they would not be entitled to pension, and I do not see on what grounds I could make the concession asked for by my hon. friend.

MR. ALDEN: Are these men when engaged made to understand they will not be entitled to a pension?

MR. McKENNA replied in the affirmative.

Regent Street.

MR. STRAUS (Tower Hamlets, Mile End): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he is aware that His Majesty's Commissioners of Woods and Forests, in their design for the rebuilding of Regent Street, have proposed the reduction of space above the ground floor to the extent of 2,638 feet; and whether he can see his way to prevent any diminution of the existing area in this thoroughfare.

MR. McKENNA: I am informed that no complete design has been settled for the rebuilding of Regent Street other than the Quadrant, but, as the houses in the whole street will be rebuilt in the near future by degrees either singly or a few at a time, a general building line for the whole street has been agreed between the Commissioner of Woods and the London County Council. I believe a reduction of 3,400 feet in the area at present occupied is contemplated, but as the upper storeys of many of the houses will be built further out than at present, I understand that there will be no loss in cubic contents, and it is not expected that the Land Revenue will be adversely affected. On the other hand, the street will be widened.

Rex v. Adcock.

MR. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether a *nolle prosequi* has been entered in the case of Rex *v.* Adcock, in the trial of which, at the last session of the Central Criminal Court, the jury failed to agree; and, whether, if a shorthand report was taken of the trial, he will have the notes published and presented to the House.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir JOHN WALTON, Leeds, S.): My right hon. friend the Home Secretary has asked me to answer this Question. I should like to say that before the matter came under my consideration the learned Judge who tried the case expressed the strong opinion in public that the prosecution ought not to continue, and the accused ought not again to be put on his trial. After this judicial pronouncement, obviously it would have been impossible to retry the case with any prospect of securing a conviction. The result, having regard to the evidence, was not to me a matter of surprise.

Parcels Post Delays in Limerick.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY (Limerick, W.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether it is necessary that parcel post from Rathkeale and Adare for cross channel destination should be left twenty-four hours in Limerick; whether he is aware that butter sent from these places to England per parcel post is frequently kept more than twenty-four hours in the Limerick post office, that is, between the arrival of the afternoon train in Limerick at 3-30 o'clock until 4 o'clock on the following day; and that complaint on the matter has been made to the Post Office authorities without avail; and whether, in the case of butter, he will take steps to have an immediate improvement in delivery effected.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: The Hon. Member is under a misapprehension in supposing that parcels from Rathkeale, reaching Limerick at 3.30 p.m., are kept until 4 o'clock the following day. On Mondays and Wednesdays such parcels are despatched in a direct parcel mail to Dublin at 3.55 p.m.; on other days when the number of parcels is too small to warrant a direct mail they are forwarded to Dublin at 11 p.m. the same day. I have now under consideration the question of improving the parcel post service between the South of Ireland and England by making use of the new Rosslare and Fishguard route.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY: Why does not the right hon. Gentleman mention the case of Adare? I have received a letter from a constituent there informing me the facts are as stated in my Question.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: If the hon. Member will forward me any actual complaints I will cause inquiry to be made.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY: I put it in my Question. I will forward the letter.

Limerick Learners.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he authorised the sending of a paper to the Postmaster of Limerick which asked if any of the learners at that office would accept a transfer as a paid learner to any English office, with the stipulation that the inquiry did not imply any promise of an appointment, but prospects of obtaining an established appointment would be better in England; if so, will he explain how such an offer was commensurate with the position of these learners, some of whom have almost four years service.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: The Answer is in the affirmative. The object of the offer was to improve the position of the learners by giving them a better prospect of early appointment.

Limerick Staff Grievances.

MR. DELANY: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General what are the considerations which govern the selection of sorting clerks and telegraphists for relief duties at head and sub-post offices, and by what process is the suitability of the man tested; will he say whether a sorting clerk and telegraphist on the postal staff at Limerick was, contrary to precedent, selected for special telegraph duty in connection with the recent naval manœuvres; and is he aware that the Limerick telegraph staff petitioned the Postmaster of Limerick on the subject; and will he say why this officer, who returned to his headquarters on July 22nd, after having been five weeks absent on the duty above referred to, was again selected from the whole of the Limerick staff for relief duty on July 23rd.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: Officers chosen for relief duties outside their own offices are required to be fully qualified in all respects to perform the relief duties in question. In making the selection, moreover, it is necessary to consider what officers can be spared from their ordinary duties with the minimum amount of inconvenience. I am not at present aware of the circumstances which governed the choice of the officer who was sent from Limerick in connection with the recent naval manœuvres, but I am having inquiry made on the subject.

Rathkeale Post Office.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he has received a copy of a resolution unanimously adopted by the Town Commissioners of Rathkeale asking him to build a new post office there, and also that it be made a head office; and whether, considering the importance of the town and the want of a suitable office, he will do as requested.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I have received a resolution in the sense which the hon. Member mentions, and I am sorry that I cannot comply with the wishes of the Town Commissioners of Rathkeale. The new Sub-Postmistress will, as is usual in towns of the class of Rathkeale, provide the office, and care will be taken that the accommodation is adequate.

Unasked Question.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.) asked the Speaker whether it was in order for the right hon. Gentleman the representative of Trinity College to put on the Paper a Question containing a number of untruthful allegations and then not ask it in the House, so that hon. Members could hear the reply?

*MR. SPEAKER: It is not very courteous to say the Question contains a number of untruthful allegations. No doubt the right hon. Gentleman would have been here if he had not been detained by his professional duties.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (City of London) asked for information as to the business arrangments for the week.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Stirling Burghs) said that to-morrow the Colonial Vote would be taken, and on Wednesday, when

Report of Supply would be brought to a close, the Home Office and Foreign Office would be put down. On Thursday the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill would be taken; and on Friday the Trade Disputes Bill. That Bill would be taken again on Saturday in the event—which he did not wish to anticipate—of its not being finished on Friday. On Saturday there would also be taken the Third Reading of the Appropriation Bill, the Motion for the adjournment, and one or two minor Bills.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is rather a large Saturday programme.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said that there might be no business at all on Saturday except the Third Reading of the Appropriation Bill and the adjournment Motion. He regarded the possible prolongation of the Committee stage of the Trade Disputes Bill over Friday as an unpleasant hypothesis.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) asked whether the adjournment Motion would cover the order and conduct of business for the autumn session, or would it merely fix the date for the re-assembling.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said that it would include both; and that he would make a statement to-morrow.

MR. KEIR HARDIE asked whether the statement of the Under-Secretary for the Colonies as to the new Transvaal Constitution would begin the discussion of the Colonial Vote, and whether, if the Committee stage of the Trade Disputes Bill were not concluded by eleven o'clock on Friday, the House would be kept sitting until that stage was concluded. He suggested that the undertaking given by the Prime Minister as to not carrying the Friday sitting beyond eleven o'clock did not apply to next Friday.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said that the Under-Secretary's statement would open the discussion of the Colonial Vote. He was not aware of having given any pledge as to the duration of next Friday's sitting.

PUBLIC PETITIONS COMMITTEE.

Seventh Report brought up, and read; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

NEW BILLS.

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL.

"To grant money for the purpose of certain Local Loans out of the Local Loans Fund, and for other purposes relating to Local Loans," presented by Mr. McKenna; to be read a second time to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 333.]

POOR LAW (SCOTLAND) AMENDMENT BILL.

"To further amend the Law relating to the settlement of the Poor in Scotland," presented by Sir Thomas Glen-Coats; supported by Mr. Munro Ferguson, Mr. Cochrane, Mr. Crombie, Mr. Gulland, Mr. Menzies, Mr. Smeaton, Mr. Dundas White, and Mr. Younger; to be read a second time upon Thursday 25th October, and to be printed. [Bill 334.]

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

MR. WALTER LONG (Dublin, S.) moved that the Bill be read a third time on this day three months. He said that the President of the Board of Education had shown unfailing courtesy and untiring patience in the conduct of a very difficult measure; but that was all that could be said of a satisfactory character in regard to the passage of the Bill. The net result of prolonged discussion was that the Bill had not been amended in any way satisfactory to the Opposition. Nothing had been done to make it less objectionable. There had been no demand for the measure in its present form. The methods of the Bill were clumsy and the machinery extremely cumbersome. Its effect on local government generally would be disastrous; and its operation on the Church schools monstrously unjust and cruelly oppressive. He had never known the passing of any Bill to leave so extraordinary a record as this had done. Important Government Amendments were frequently put down on the day on which they came on for discussion. On Clause 4 there were forty lines of Amendments in the name of the Government, and next day other Amendments were put down by the right hon. Gentleman. Important Government Amendments, exhibiting all signs of haste in preparation, were frequently put down shortly before the day for discussion (under the closure) of the clauses concerned. Thus, upon the Friday preceding the Monday upon which the debate upon Clause 4 began more than forty lines of Amendments were found upon the Paper in the name of the Minister for Education, involving important questions of principle and detail including the State-aided schools. The Government declared that these Amendments had been very carefully considered. But the next day three new Government Amendments to those Amendments appeared. Further, upon the Friday preceding the Monday upon which the Report Stage of the Bill was begun over twenty Government Amendments to the same clause appeared. So prominent a Radical educationist as Lord Stanley of Alderley had stated with reference to some of these proceedings upon Clause 4, that—

> "The Government Amendments had been flung on the Paper quite unconsidered. Justice could not be done in the limited time assigned to the clause, to the immense new problem before them."

There were many points in the Bill upon which the House and the country knew absolutely nothing. With regard to the "facilities" which were supposed to improve the treatment of voluntary schools the House was left in complete ignorance. The same remark applied to finance. By the operation of the closure the finance of the Bill had been passed not only without explanation, but without discussion. Although a very large sum of public money was to be set apart for purposes under the Bill, no information had been given how it was to be spent. Extraordinary inconsistency of statement had been exhibited by members of the Government. The Solicitor-General had made statements inconsistent with those of the President of the Board of Education, and then the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education lectured the Cabinet Ministers who had spoken earlier. In fact, the discussions on the Bill had been conducted in such a way as to deprive the measure of any title to support or confidence, either in the House or in the country. It was said that the Act of 1902 tore up the settlement arrived at in 1870. The Act of 1870 was intended not to supplant and destroy the great voluntary schools, but to supplement them by providing schools out of the rates where the voluntary schools had failed. Then difficulties arose in country districts where there was keen competition between the Board schools, who were able to dip deep into the pockets of the ratepayers, and the voluntary schools, who had to support themselves. So came the demand for the Act of 1902. The present Bill, its promoters claimed, was necessary in order to give popular control, but voluntary schools, except in the one matter of religious instruction, were managed by the local authorities now. Upon this point he would quote the opinion of a gentleman who did not share the views of the Opposition. In an interview reported in the *South Wales Daily News* of April 4th, 1904, a Mr. D. P. Williams, a devoted and leading supporter of the President of the Board of Trade in his work in Wales, who was Chairman of the Carnarvonshire Education Committee, said—

> "Wales will not compromise on this question. We might have done so twelve months ago, before we knew by actual experience what the extent of the 'powers of the county council under the new Act', really was. Now that we do know it we shall certainly not compromise. It would be simply surrendering in the very hour of victory. The policy we have systematically pursued has made the position of the denominationalists in the country practically untenable. The clerical manager has been dethroned. Outside the one matter of religious instruction he has practically nothing left for him to do in connection with the school. We determine the salary, qualifications, and terms of engagement of every teacher. We arrange the curriculum and time table; decide upon the subjects to be taught, what text books to be used, and when and how each subject is to be taught. We pay the teacher his salary from the Central Education Office, we supply him with all school requisites, we determine the term of his engagement."

The real reason for this Bill was that the passive resisters declined to pay rates for any education of a denominational character. These people had worked themselves into a curious frame of mind. From 1870 to 1902 they paid out of taxes for the very same denominational teaching which they subsequently refused to pay a fraction for out of rates. The passive resisters demanded this Bill; but, having got it, were they satisfied? [Cries of "No."] At a recent meeting at Caxton Hall presided over by Dr. Clifford the following resolution was passed—

> "That the Education Bill Vigilance Committee solemnly registers its protest against the acceptance of the Education Bill of 1906 as a settlement of the question, and expresses the profound conviction of large numbers of Liberals and Nonconformists that it leaves several of the greatest wrongs inflicted on the country by the Act of 1902 unredressed; that while still further subsidising all the old denominational schools, in many cases it strengthens their sectarian character; that it fails to secure the teachers of of such schools in three-fourths of the population against the imposition of sectarian tests; that it does not secure full and free control in all publicly maintained schools; that it enormously increases the confusion and complexity of an elementary school system by multiplying the number of different types of schools."

At the same meeting Mr. Peach said—

> "If this Bill were passed into law, its operation in the urban districts would be reactionary and evil,"

and Mr. Hollowell denounced the Bill in very violent terms. The hon. Member for the Louth Division was reported to have said at the same meeting—

> "That the feeling against the Bill in the Wesleyan Conference was extremely strong."

*MR. PERKS: I did not speak at all at that meeting.

MR. WALTER LONG said the words he had read appeared in the report as having been said by the hon. Member. Might he take it that the hon. Member repudiated that view altogether?

*MR. PERKS said that he declined to speak at the Caxton Hall meeting, but he entirely agreed with the terms of the resolution quoted by the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. WALTER LONG said he did not think the accuracy of the report would be questioned. He certainly believed that the hon. Gentleman's views were in conformity with those expressed in this House and out of it by others with whom the hon. Gentleman was associated. It was a matter of small importance whether the hon. Gentleman held the view which was attributed to him or not. It was an important matter that the hon. Gentleman who was a leading representative of the Nonconformist body shared the view that this Bill ought to be described in the terms which he had quoted. If it was the case that the Bill offended all Churchmen and did them a great injury, and if at the same time it merited, as it had apparently received, the vehement criticism and the strong opposition of those in whose interests it was introduced, then he thought his Motion for its rejection was amply justified. Where were the friends of the Bill? Were they quite sure that they were on the Government bench? The history of the Bill was somewhat peculiar. When the President of the Board of Education introduced it he read textually from a copy of the Bill. But it was found afterwards that by some mysterious process the text had been altered and that the Bill, as published, did not agree with the Bill as quoted by the Minister for Education. That indicated, if it indicated anything, that even on the Ministerial bench there was some division of opinion. But, after all, Ministers were the parents of the Bill. Where else were its friends to be found? From the point of view of popular control, save in regard to the appointment of the teacher, there was no need for the Bill; and if the object was to satisfy the passive resisters, there was abundant evidence not only that they were not satisfied, but that in their opinion the Bill created fresh grievances, even worse than those under the Act of 1902. The machinery of the Bill was most clumsy and cumbersome. Whatever the Bill might do in regard to education, it would undoubtedly plunge our local governing bodies into a hopeless and bitter controversy over the religious question. The discussion and decision of the question of facilities ought never to have been thrown upon the local authorities at all. If Parliament chose to lay down the principle that all the schools ought to be made county council schools, and that the claims of the denominations ought to be met by a facilities clause, then Parliament ought to have taken upon itself the responsibility of deciding the question and ought not to have imposed upon the local authorities a burden which he believed would paralyse and destroy the local government of the country. The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had promised that the regulations which were to be issued would be placed on the Table of the House before they parted company with the Bill. The words the right hon. Gentleman used were—

> "His right hon. friend had distinctly stated that the regulations for the ballot, the whole machinery to be adopted, would be placed on the Table of the House before the Bill left the House of Commons."

Last Wednesday the Minister for Education stated that he had found the preparation of the regulations a difficult matter, and proposed before the House rose to lay them upon the Table in draft form for the advice and assistance of the Opposition. He believed that the right hon. Gentleman said Clause 4 was regarded as a concession, though not an entirely satisfactory concession, to the Roman Catholic Church. It was certainly not a concession to the Church of England, and he believed in practice it would be found very difficult indeed to give full effect to the clause. He doubted whether Clause 4 would prove to be as satisfactory a relief from the bitterness and oppression of this Act as some anticipated. However that might be, there was no doubt that in regard to the great mass of Church of England schools Clause 4 would have no operation at all. How could the Government possibly defend the application of one set of principles to children in urban areas of upwards of 5,000 population and of a totally different set of principles in rural districts? The Minister for Education had expressed his belief in the fairness of our local authorities, and thought that in the main they would apply the Bill with justice and a desire not to do injury. He thought there was great truth in that. But the Government did not give the local authorities discretion to apply the Act as they thought best in their own areas. Moreover, the local authorities were now to be exposed to religious controversies. A county council might be anxious that things should remain as they were at present, and everybody in the district, including the parish clergyman and the schoolmaster, might also desire this; but the Government said "No" and refused in such a case to let the local authority do what they desired. That was startling legislation to come from the Liberal Party, who boasted that they were the Party of progress and freedom. He maintained that the Bill was unjust in itself and unjust to the Church of England. The Government imposed on the local authorities a duty which would involve them in the religious controversy at every election. The Church of England had done a great educational work for more than 100 years, had opened the doors of her schools to all who came, had spent vast sums of money, and had been loyal in the spirit as well as in the letter to the Act of 1902, which had imposed very heavy burdens on her. Clause 4 was intended to meet and did meet to a certain extent the Roman Catholic case.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: No.

MR. WALTER LONG said he understood that it met the Roman Catholic demands in some respects, although the conditions were so difficult of fulfilment that the Bill would not have any immediate effect. He knew that the greater number of the Roman Catholic schools were in the town districts and Clause 4 would have its effect in these urban areas. But the great majority of the Church of England schools which were in the country districts were excluded from any share in Clause 4, even though the provisions of that clause were not very wide-reaching. If this Bill passed our national system of education would disappear. The Bill was wholly unsatisfactory to the supporters of the voluntary school system, and there was abundant evidence that it was regarded with suspicion and dislike by those who represented undenominationalism as well. Among both he believed the Bill had caused the maximum of irritation. It had very few friends, it had aroused feelings of bitter and just resentment, and many people in the country would sympathise with their view that the Bill was undesired and bad in itself. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

> "To leave out the word 'now,' and at the end of the question to add the words 'upon this day three months'"—(*Mr. Walter Long.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr ASQUITH, Fifeshire, E.): It is always an inevitable risk under any form of official closure that the whole of the multifarious provisions in a measure such as this should not each receive, perhaps, an exactly due proportion of discussion. But I think that nobody who has followed even superficially our long and protracted debates would deny that the main and governing principles of this Bill have been minutely and laboriously canvassed, and that they are now clearly, and I may say universally understood. If I intervene it is not because I have any ambition or hope of being able to contribute any novelty to the discussion, but I do think it desirable, now that we are about to part with the Bill, at any rate in this House, to state in a few sentences what I, and I believe my colleagues in the Government, conceive to be its actual scope and effect, in the shape in which the measure now leaves this House. In the first place, by the operation of Clause 1, which I venture to think has received a disproportionately little share of attention—we make an enormous step in advance in the sphere of administrative reform. After January 1st, 1908, if this Bill passes into law, every public elementary school—by which, of course, I mean every school maintained both out of the rates and the taxes—will become a provided school, and will be under the exclusive management and control of a representative public authority. That means that so far as management is concerned we are to put an end by this Bill to the dual system created by the Act of 1902. In the next place, no teacher appointed and paid by the State is to be appointed hereafter subject to the condition that he is to give religious teaching, or that he is to belong to any particular religious communion, or any religious communion at all. The effect of that is that we emancipate the teaching profession and that for the first time it becomes in all its stages from bottom to top a perfectly open career. Thirdly, in every public elementary school under this Bill provision may be made, subject to the permission of the local authority, for the religious teaching of the children. I use the word "may" advisedly. In other words, the House has definitely and decisively rejected what is called the secular solution, by which I mean a form of elementary education which would prohibit the local authority from allowing any religious teaching to be given to the children by its own teachers. And, lastly, except in the case of the schools which come under Clause 4—as to which I shall have something to say later—the only religious instruction which can be given by the State teachers is that simple form of religious instruction common, as we believe, practically to all denominations of Christians—[OPPOSITION cries of "No"]—which does not offend against the Cowper-Temple clause. That, I venture to say, once you have rejected the secular solution, is the only practical scheme. What is the alternative? The only practical alternative that has been suggested is the unlimited right of entry of the sects. I admit that that is a perfectly logical proposal. I admit further that at first sight it has a very taking appearance. But I think the majority of the House feels, as I certainly feel myself, that it is exposed to three obvious and quite insuperable objections. In the first place it is not wanted or desired by the great bulk of the people concerned namely, the parents of the children. Secondly, it would inevitably land us, in the conduct of the schools, into something like administrative chaos. In the third place—and this surely is an argument which should appeal to those in favour of religious education—it leaves us without any real security for the genuine or systematic religious teaching of the children. If I am right in saying that this is a correct summary of the constructive provisions of the Bill—so far as what is called the religious difficulty is concerned—I venture to say that they embody in a legislative form the very principles which we of the Liberal Party made the bases of our criticisms of the Bill of 1902 and proclaimed to the country. It establishes popular control, abolishes religious tests, and secures, as an integral part of our national system of education, simple religious instruction of the children, subject to the two conditions of a conscience clause and the wishes of the locality as expressed through its representative and responsible local authority. That is the constructive side of the measure. But there is another side. Speaking for myself, and I think for the great bulk of those sitting on these benches, I say quite frankly that we should not be doing justice to the pledges and promises we have given if in establishing—as we think we do establish by this Bill—a real national system of education we did not take care that those changes were carried through with a full and equitable consideration for all existing interests both material and moral. By material interests I mean the interest of the denominations who have invested capital in the fabrics of their schools. By moral interests I mean the interests of parents who demand that in the schools so provided some arrangement should be made for the continuance of the special religious teaching which has been given in these schools. We cannot ignore the fact that the majority of the elementary schools of the country are denominational schools. Those of them in what are called single-school areas are the only schools really available for the whole population. In other districts they are side by side and more or less in competition with the provided schools of the various local authorities. Of course you might by a gigantic act of compulsory expropriation have got rid of the whole of this denominational system. Or you might have made the whole of those schools—whatever the circumstances of their foundation—on the terms of paying adequate compensation, the property of the State. But that is not a course that you could recommend to practical statesmen, and certainly it is not the scheme of the Bill. Within the conditions which we have accepted there is practically no compulsion. I admit fully, as the Minister for Education has admitted more than once, that in our new system there are two possible gaps, gaps which, were they not only possible but probable, would constitute a serious hiatus. On the one hand, you might have an owner of a school, not imbued with the spirit of common sense and the sense of public duty which animate owners of property in this country, who would refuse to transfer his school to the local authority even on the very equitable and liberal terms, both as to the maintenance of the fabric and the granting of ordinary facilities for religious teaching, provided by Clauses 2 and 3. On the other hand, you might conceivably have a local authority so fanatic or perverse that rather than accept the transfer of the school under the conditions prescribed they would go to the extent of building a new school at the cost of the rates. I do not believe for a moment that either of these is a practical contingency against which it is necessary to legislate. Is it likely that an owner such as I have described would prefer the alternative either of closing his school or carrying it on without State assistance to transferring it to the local authority on the terms provided by the Bill? Or is it likely that a local authority, responsible to those who elect them and whose money they spend, would prefer the alternative of throwing a heavy and grievous burden on the rates rather than accept the transfer of the school on the terms provided by the Bill? I do not believe it. My right hon. friend the Minister for Education, in deference to the objections of the other side, quite logically said—

> "If we are to deal with this matter by way of compulsion at all, it must be bilateral."

And he offered a clause to that effect which was not accepted by the House. For my part I do not regret its rejection in the least. But I fail to see how it is possible to contend that if compulsion is to be applied at all you are only to fill one gap and leave the other gap entirely unprovided for. At all events I venture to say that as regards the common case, the case of the denominational school in the single-school area, the Bill offers the strongest possible inducement, short of absolute compulsion, both to the owner and to the local authority, to come to an arrangement which will be just alike to the denomination and to the community. Upon the material side the local authority takes upon its shoulders the burden of the payment of the rent and the maintenance of the fabric, and as regards the teaching of religion, the admitted blot on the Act of 1902—admitted even by the authors of that measure—that in many parishes the Nonconformist parent had no alternative between submitting his child to sectarian teaching in which he did not believe and withdrawing it from all religious teaching whatever, is removed, while the denomination retains under the two days facilities power to continue that religious instruction upon which they set so peculiar and high a value. I I have always felt and always expressed the most sincere admiration and gratitude for the unselfish and self-denying services of the Churches, and especially of the Church of England, to the education of the people. I believe also, and have always consistently maintained, that in any scheme of this kind no injustice and no shadow of injustice should be done to any of the interests concerned, because I am satisfied that any settlement, any so-called settlement, that is founded on injustice, is a settlement based upon sand. That is not an admission at all. Of course one conscience is as much entitled to respect as another conscience. From all these points of view I give it as my deliberate opinion, to which I ask the House to subscribe, that the bargain proposed by this Bill, so far as the single school area is concerned, is a bargain, which would be easily sustained before any tribunal governed by the rules of equity, justice, and fair play. But that does not exhaust the matter. If we stopped there we should not have fully carried into effect the intentions which we have expressed. We should still have to deal with that class of schools where the vast majority of the parents desire the continuance of the special religious denominational teaching carried on in the schools. While that applies in a special degree to the schools of such communities as the Roman Catholics and the Jews, I agree that it applies to a considerable number of Anglican schools also. Many of my hon. friends on this side view this clause, and they include such as my hon. friend the Member for Louth, with unfeigned and obtrusive repugnance. But I think, when they come to consider the matter carefully, they may be reassured on the subject. The safeguards we have set up for the protection of the public and of the minority—though I do not admit for a moment that they are over strict—seem to me adequate for the purpose. On the pecuniary side let my hon. friends remember that no rent is to be paid for any of these schools, and the special religious teaching is not to be given at the expense of the local authority. What is much more important, careful provision is made by the ballot and by the local inquiry for ascertaining the genuine opinion of those whom I may call the genuine parents. And, what is most important of all, if there be a minority, however small, if it be only the parent of one child, the extended facilities are only allowed in the case where there is an accessible and alternative undenominational school to which these parents can send their children. Only in those circumstances do the provisions of Clause 4 come into operation at all. I heard an ironical cheer from the benches opposite when I said that these safeguards were adequate for the purpose. I know that on the other side it is said that perhaps the safeguards are too severe, and that the whole of this provision may be rendered nugatory because they are left entirely to the discretion of the local authority. That is not the case. It was so when the Bill was originally introduced, but my right hon. friend in the fifth clause has conceded quite rightly an appeal to the Board of Education, because it is the desire of the Government that this clause should be an operative clause, and in my opinion, speaking not without experience of these matters in the Courts of law and elsewhere, that appeal to the Board of Education is a far more valuable safeguard to those who are interested in the working of these schools than the mere substitution of "shall" for "may." If you made the clause simply a mandatory clause in the first instance you would have to go, wherever the local authority refused facilities, straight to the Courts of law. The questions here involved are very unfit for the application of legal rules and principles, and you might have found yourselves in difficulty in enforcing a *mandamus*. But the Board of Education, which knows all the local circumstances, and has means of informing its mind and conscience which, though of an informal kind, are far more satisfactory and authentic than any that can be found by an ordinary Court of law, will be in a far better position—assuming, as you must, that it is animated by an honest desire to see the Act of Parliament carried out both in the letter and in the spirit—than any Court of law to see that genuine effect is given to the intention of the legislature. If I were interested as a trustee, or parent, or subscriber, in these four-fifths schools, and wished to see them really effective, I would far rather trust the mandatory power in the last resort to the Board of Education than in the last resort to any Court of law in this country. I regard these two Clauses 4 and 5, in their substance, as essential to the Bill. Without them it might be plausibly open to the charge of conscience wounding and uneven dealing. With them, it seems to me, it presents a scheme which deals fairly and honestly with the actual facts and conditions of our educational system as we know it and have to act with it—a scheme which, worked as it will be in the main by local authorities animated by good sense and good feeling, controlled in the last resort by the Board of Education, will, I believe and sanguinely hope, be a practical solution of what has hitherto been a most baffling and embarrassing problem. I am simple enough to believe that in course of time the country will come to see that the other parts of this Bill are of much greater importance than the first part. I will not say anything about the Welsh clause, or anything more than a word. Not because I am afraid of dealing with the subject, but because I do not think it of quite the importance that has been attached to it in some quarters. This clause undoubtedly has been modified more than once, but always in the direction of conciliating hon. Gentlemen opposite, not of enlarging or strengthening but diminishing and contracting, the power given to the new authority. In the form in which it now stands I must say it seems to me, so far from savouring of some dangerous adventure of autonomy or Home Rule, to be a most modest experiment, on lines already operative in Wales in regard to intermediate education, in the direction of administrative delegation. I really think the most timid Unionist—one of those gentlemen whose slumbers are from time to time disturbed by the disembodied ghost of nationality in some shape or guise—when he remembers the powers given by this clause on the one hand to the Board of Education and on the other to the Treasury, might go to sleep in peace without any opiate to secure his undisturbed repose. It was not of the Welsh clause I was thinking, however, when I said that other clauses were of greater and more lasting importance than the first part of the Bill. I think Clauses 15 and 24 are worth as much as the whole of the rest of the measure. Just let me remind the House that in the Act of 1902 there were, as we think, two great administrative blots. In the first place there was the dual management of the unprovided schools, and in the second place there was the excessive centralisation resulting from the wholesale abolition of the school boards and the unwieldy area with which many of the county councils have now got to deal. Clause 15, which requires county councils to prepare delegation schemes, will, in my opinion, infuse new vitality and efficiency into our whole system of local administration. Finally, Clause 24 gives much-needed powers and duties to all these local authorities, which will make a great difference not only to the happiness but the intelligence of the children, and the duty which is imposed upon them of providing for medical inspection, and the power given to them to attend to the health and physical condition of the children, is an even more necessary supplement to the statutory equipment of those local bodies. I do not think, when all these considerations are taken into account, that the House has wasted the time and energy which have been given to the discussion of this Bill, in debates which will always be remembered for the untiring patience, unfailing tact, wide knowledge and sympathy, and above all the pacifying and reconciling humour of my right hon. friend; that I can do less than venture at least to claim this for the Bill—that while it is an honest and practical attempt to deal with the religious difficulty which is at present a curse and a reproach to our educational system, it will at the same time greatly enlarge the provision which we make for the health, the intelligence, and the character of the children for whom—though we often forget it—and for whom alone we build and maintain our schools.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Whatever may be thought in various quarters of the House with reference to the greater part of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, I do not think there will be found in any quarter anyone who will not cordially agree with him in the tribute that he paid to the Minister in charge of the Bill. Speaking for myself and my colleagues on these benches, although we are dissatisfied with the result of these debates, I may say that we do not attribute blame to him, and that we unanimously acknowledge his conciliatory attitude and his manifest and outspoken sympathy with the principle for which we are contending. No one more fully recognises than I do that the opportunity for real debate, for genuine discussion and agreement and procedure with reference to the Bill has for the time being passed away; and for my part, so much do I regard any argument upon this Bill now as beating the air that I intend to confine my remarks to very narrow limits indeed. Every one knows that at eleven o'clock to-night, under the operation of the guillotine, the Third Reading of this Bill will be carried by a large majority—but not by so large a majority as would have been the case if pledges and promises had been more fully carried out in Committee, and not so large a majority as if a more tolerant consideration had been given to the religious convictions of all sections of the people of this country. This Bill will go up to another place with the sanction of a large Party majority. I take leave to say that as an attempt at a national settlement of this education question, and above all as an attempt at the settlement of this portion of the education question, the Bill will go up shorn of that moral weight and authority which alone would be obtained by the satisfaction or at least by the acquiescence of the religious minority in this country. I had hoped all through these debates in Committee that it would have been possible for my colleagues and myself to vote in favour of the Third Reading of the Bill. I did so hope in the interests of a real national settlement of this question; but the Bill as it stands now, instead of ending the sectarian controversy is about to make it an issue at local elections all over the country. I had hoped to vote for the Third Reading as an offer of justice and protection to the poorest section of the people of this country, aye, and I will say the most generous section, because out of its poverty it has spent millions of money in erecting schools for the imparting of religious and secular teaching. But as the Bill stands at the present moment it absolutely condemns one half of the schools of the Catholics of this country either to absolute starvation or else to the acceptance of a form of religious teaching which is abhorrent to the consciences of the parents of the children. I confess I was surprised, after the discussions that have taken place in this House, and after the repeated declarations made by my colleagues and myself upon this point, to hear the right hon. Gentleman say that the Cowper-Temple system of religious teaching is satisfactory to all Christians in this country. He certainly said that, and I think he must have spoken thoughtlessly. Of course I am only speaking for the Catholics, and I state to-day what I have said over and over again, and what we have all said—and what surely if anything is known about the religious portion of this question must be known to all—namely, that the Cowper-Temple system is not merely not satisfactory to us, but is in our judgment the teaching of Protestantism, and whether we are right or wrong in that belief, that being our belief, I must say that it is to my mind nothing short of religious tyranny to say to half of the Catholic schools "either you must accept a system of religious teaching against which your conscience revolts or you must starve." And with reference to the remaining half of the Catholic schools, their fate is in the first instance at any rate at the whim and caprice of local authorities, left to be the battle-ground of local politics. Now I had hoped further that my colleagues and I would have found ourselves in line with the Liberal Party in resisting any unreasonable interference by the House of Lords with a great popular measure of reform; but now we find ourselves in this position, that we are told, and told by men going to vote for the Third Reading of this Bill, to look to Amendments made in the Bill there for the safeguarding of our claims for justice. Under these circumstances I think no one will be surprised if we entertain on these benches some of the bitterness of disappointment with regard to this Bill, especially when it is remembered, as it ought to be remembered by everyone

Mr. John Redmond.

listening to me, that we are sincerely anxious to help in building up a great national system of education, that we are anxious that our schools should be part of it, and that we most sincerely desire to remove from the shoulders of the Nonconformists the injustice which was placed upon them by the Act of 1902—an injustice which we in our poor way did our best to prevent during the discussion of that Bill; when also it is remembered that we did not in the attitude we took up quarrel with the broad principle of local control, that we did not ask you to enforce religious tests, and that our own clauses to meet our own very limited and special case are few and moderate, and quite consistent with the great principles to which I have alluded—when you remember that, no one will be surprised at our disappointment. The two limits in Clause 4—the 5,000 population limit in the urban districts and the four-fifths limit—drive half our schools outside the operation of the clause. That has been disputed. I make the statement on the best authority I can obtain, namely, the statistics furnished to me by the responsible heads of the Catholic Church. According to the statements which they have made to me, there are a little over 1,000, or under 1,100, schools altogether, and of these I am informed that over 500 will be exempted by the operation of these two limits. I know the right hon. Gentleman answers a portion of my statement, with reference, that is to say, to the four-fifths limit, by saying that in all probability the Protestants in these Catholic schools will vote for extended facilities. I hope they will. I am sure many parents of Protestant children in these schools are broad-minded. At the same time, I think it is a little unfair to be putting upon them that burden, and it is a little unfair to say to us that the chance of our schools coming in at all under the clause depends upon Protestant parents voting in favour of Catholic children. If they do not, then I repeat my statement on the authority I have mentioned, that out of under 1,100 schools—I think it is 1,040—over 500 will be absolutely excluded from the operation of Clause 4. What are you going to do with these 500 excluded schools? If 500 Church of England schools are excluded they will have, no doubt, a good reason to complain; but after all, it is not the same kind of grievance that we have, because they can, without violating their conscience, at any rate, no matter how dissatisfied they may be, accept the Cowper-Temple teaching. But we cannot, and we will not, and the alternative, therefore, to these 500 schools is starvation. There is not even a proposal to enable these schools to contract out. Let me say a word on the question of contracting-out. I am against contracting-out on educational grounds, but if you afford us the means of carrying on our schools by giving us sufficient grants to carry them on, then, if you choose I have no objection to contracting-out. But there is no system of contracting-out, wholly or partially, with reference to these 500 schools. I therefore say that no one can in justice speak of this as a Bill dealing fairly and justly with the Catholic schools of this country, when half are about to be put in the position of being either left absolutely to starve, or else accept a form of religious belief which is abhorrent to their religious convictions. Let the limits in Clause 4 be altered so as to include, I will not say all our schools, but most of our schools; I do not say all, because I want to make an exception of the single school areas, and whatever the hardship might be of exempting the single-school areas in order that the grievance of Nonconformists is removed, we are prepared to meet it. We do not therefore ask you to do anything about the single-school areas; but what we have pressed on the House is that the limits of population and the four-fifths limit should be so extended as to include, as they easily could be made to include, the great majority of our schools. If that were done then very small additional changes would make Clause 4 practically satisfactory to us. We have never taken up the position of maintaining the principle of religious tests. I think there was a division on the point, and that I and my colleagues all voted in Committee for that portion of the Bill which prohibited the calling upon the teacher to subscribe to any religious test. All that we have asked is that the voice of the parents should at any rate be heard, that they should in some degree be associated with the local authority in the selection of teachers. It is a wrong way of putting it to speak of religious tests in this matter. It is not a question of religious tests, but a question of the qualification of teachers, and all that we want to safeguard against is the manifestly ridiculous absurdity of a Christian being sent into a Jewish school to teach Jewish doctrine, or a Jew being sent into a Catholic school to teach Catholic doctrine. I say, therefore, that, if the limits in Clause 4 were made right, and if this limited concession of giving a consultative voice even to the parents in the selection of teachers were granted, then we would care very little for the "may" and "shall" question. I have come to the conclusion that, if these other provisions in Clause 4 were satisfactory we could quite safely accept an appeal to the Board of Education instead of making the clause mandatory. But the position we are in at this moment is that these other provisions in Clause 4 have not been made satisfactory, and worse still, that the appeal to the Board of Education which the right hon. Gentleman has given to us has coupled with it a contracting-out provision of a most monstrous and unjust character. It is not a contracting-out at all. It is giving the Board of Education the power to kick the schools out of the system, and under circumstances in which they will only receive, as was shown by the hon. Member for North Camberwell, about half of the cost of the schools. We cannot conduct our schools if we have to provide half of the cost in addition to paying our full share of the rates for the teaching of Cowper-Templeism in other schools. The right hon. Gentleman has taken away the rent. If Clause 4 were made satisfactory to us otherwise I would not spend one single moment in speaking of the rent. I think the taking of the rent away is a rather mean and small proceeding, and coupling with it other things it is an additional injustice; but if Clause 4 were made satisfactory to us in the way I have indicated none of us would stop to make any complaint about what we regard as a comparatively paltry question, the question of rent. Now, Sir, these demands which I have indicated again are few and they are I think moderate. And let me impress upon hon. Members that they are consistent with the great principle of this Bill. They are consistent with Clause 1, with your principle of popular control, they are consistent with your principle about tests for teachers. We make no demand inconsistent with these. The demand we make is this. We stand in an entirely different position from any other sect except the Jews in this country. And when you are establishing a great educational system for Protestant England, we say you ought to make your exceptions, designed to give justice to Catholics, a reality and not a fraud. Let me say in conclusion that it is my firm belief that this Bill in its present shape will never pass into law and my colleagues and I to-night by our votes will show that, so far as one large section of the population of this country in concerned, we repudiate it as a settlement of this national education question, and we resent and condemn it as an injury.

*MR. **FRANK EDWARDS** (Radnor) said he noticed that when the hon. Member for Waterford referred to the rights of parents and alluded to Roman Catholics and Jewish parents there were loud cheers from the Opposition, and when he said he would help the Ministeralists with regard to the grievances of Nonconformists the Members of the Opposition were dumb. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Dublin had stated that there was no demand in the country for this Bill. On the contrary, he (Mr. Edwards) asserted that there had been a clear and distinct demand for the abolition of the state of things set up by the Act of 1902. There was no question about that. The right hon. Gentleman had been very severe on the Bill and had spoken of it as monstrously unjust and cruelly oppressive to the Church schools. It was amazing that it never occurred to the right hon. Gentleman that Nonconformists regarded the Act of 1902 as monstrously unjust and oppressive. It was that injustice and that oppression that they sought by this Bill to put an end to. The right hon. Gentleman also spoke about the settlement of 1870 being destroyed. But successive Conservative Governments from 1876 to 1897 upset that settlement. Nonconformists had objected to pay taxes for Church schools, but their objections were not carried to the same point as they were when rates were added. The right hon. Gentleman had also condemned the Welsh part of the Bill merely because it had been altered. As the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said, the alterations were made at the request of hon. Members opposite. The hon. Member for the Walton Division of Liverpool moved a series of Amendments which the President of the Board of Trade accepted. By doing that the President of the Board of Trade showed a conciliation of spirit, and it was amazing to him that the Leader of the Opposition should have so fiercely attacked alterations that were made to carry out the wishes of the Party opposite. As a Welshman he welcomed that part of the Bill, and he was sure the people in his country welcomed it gladly. The right hon. Gentleman opposite had been angry about Clause 4, and had asked why they should treat town children differently from country children. The conditions were different. In towns these schools were side by side, but they had not got them in the country. It would be an advantage to the towns that this clause should be passed. The right hon. Gentleman had said there were a greater number of schools outside Clause 4 than inside. Yes, but these were single school areas, in which there were a great number of Nonconformists, especially in Wales. It was those schools the Bill should safeguard. He asked to be allowed to join in the congratulations to the Minister of Education for the way he had conducted the Bill through the House. It had been a hard fight, not always against hon. Members on the opposite side. Sometimes it was against Members on the Ministerial side of the House. He had no doubt that if the House had had a free hand the measure would have been different in some important particulars, but whether it would have been a better measure was quite another matter. They could not have all they wanted in this matter, and for his part he had supported the proposals of the Government in the belief that much of the opposition to them was based upon fears that would never be realised. Wales might be said to have led the opposition to the Act of 1902, yet it was Wales alone which admitted a concordat that prevented strife under the provisions of that Act. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dover said this Bill would turn the country into a howling wilderness. He would remind the right hon. Gentleman that it was a Unionist Government that applied to secondary education in Wales the same principles which this Bill contained applied to elementary education, and it did not turn the country into a howling wilderness. On the contrary, sectarian dispute was conspicuous by its absence in the control and management of secondary schools in Wales. Could any reasonable man say that principles which had proved so successful in the working of secondary schools were likely to be disastrous to elementary schools? He thought a good deal of controversy in regard to elementary education had arisen because the country had decided against a secular system, while at the same time a large majority of the people were also determined that no clergyman or minister of religion should have what was called the right of entry into the elementary schools. The result was that a logical solution of this difficult problem was quite impossible. But it might be that an illogical system would work well in practice. The country had really pronounced against a secular system. Clause 7 provided that denominational religious instruction must be given out of school hours, and it might be that hon. Members thought that was equivalent to a secular system; but it merely showed that the Government believed that the parents who desired their children to have religious instruction would see that they would attend school to receive it. He knew hon. Members opposite professed the same belief; but they did not show much faith in the parents when they wanted to compel them to do that which he believed they would do without compulsion, in country places at any rate. The provisions of Clause 7 were very much required in country places. They were told it would not work well in the towns. If so, the distinction made in Clause 4 between schools in towns and schools in country might perhaps be extended to apply to

Clause 7. If it was difficult in towns to get parents to send children to schools for religious instruction, what became of the claim of hon. Members opposite that the one thing a parent desired was to have his child given religious instruction? In the villages a great deal depended upon the school teacher. Where the teacher was moderate and reasonable there was very little friction or difficulty. He was talking to a Nonconformist friend recently and referred to the Bill passed by the late Government with regard to children not being obliged to attend schools from 9 to 9.45 a.m. while religious instruction was being given. His friend had children who went to an elementary school, and he asked him whether he had taken advantage of the Bill. His friend said no. Why was that, he inquired, and his friend said—

> "Well, you see the master is a very good fellow. I like him, he looks after the children well. We get on well together, and he sees that no harm is done to the children, and I send the children to school because I think they are better there than in the street."

That would happen wherever they had a moderate and reasonable master. But they could not always have a reasonable master any more than they could always have a reasonable clergyman, and therefore it was only right to protect Nonconformists as was done in the Bill. The Bill was denounced as a refusal of fair play to Church schools. Those views were, however, not generally held in the country. What wrong did the Bill do to Church schools? It insisted that schools maintained almost entirely by public money should be under popular control and that no religious tests should be applied to the teachers, who were as much Civil servants as any members of the staff of a Government Department. Was that contrary to fair play? It paid special regard to the opinions of the managers of denominational schools in regard to the question of schools in large areas. That did not seem to be contrary to fair play. On the contrary, he thought the Bill treated denominational schools with great consideration, in view of the fact that the great majority of the Members of this House of Commons had been returned pledged to the abolition of tests in elementary schools. He spoke as a churchman in this matter, although he represented a county in which there was an enormous majority of Nonconformists over Churchpeople. In the Report of the Commission which was appointed to inquire into the question of Welsh education two facts stood out clearly. One was an intense desire on the part of the people of Wales to secure the education of their children. The other was that they deeply resented the dogmatic teaching which was part and parcel of such education as was then open to those children. Unfortunately the fact of that resentment had been ignored by Churchmen. Instead of frankly realising these religious antipathies, they had gone on blindly supporting the policy of working into a national system of education schools which were partly built and largely maintained out of public funds, in which the prime object was the education of the children in the doctrines of the Church of England. It was unfortunate that political memories were as short as they were. Their opponents' main point, as they had heard from the hon. Member for Waterford, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Dublin and from other Members opposite, was that they pushed to the forefront the doctrine of the rights of the parents. That was an admirable doctrine. Had the country forgotten the debates on the conscience clause in the Education Act of 1870? That was an invidious concession to the rights of parents, but it was only secured after strenuous resistance on the part of a large body of the clergy and laity of the Church of England. What efforts had the Church made since 1870 to meet the rights of Nonconformist parents in any one of the single school areas in those cases when she had it in her power? Had she ever moved a finger to give facilities to the Nonconformists? She never did so, and he thought that was a great blot on the Church. Those who denounced this Bill as unfair to churchpeople were always praising the Act of 1902. Hon. Gentlemen opposite said that the only disability attaching to Nonconformists was in the single school areas. It seemed to him that hon. Members who thought so did not seem to have understood the main difficulty of the Nonconformist position. It was that their sons and daughters were excluded from the teaching profession in these schools. A large majority of the children in Radnorshire were Nonconformists, two-thirds of the schools were Church schools, and three-fourths of the children in these two-thirds of the schools in that county had been excluded from the teaching profession. That was a Nonconformist objection. It was not surprising in view of what had happened that many people asserted that this Bill dealt more generously with the Church of England than the Church of England had dealt with Nonconformists in the past. The provisions for the transfer of schools and the giving of facilities were in his opinion an attempt to deal fairly with privileges which ought never to have found a place in any system of education which claimed to call itself national.

*MR. BUTCHER (Cambridge University) said the Bill as it now stood was hardly different from the Bill when it first saw the light. There were two Amendments which made it rather less onerous to the voluntary schools, but in all essential particulars the Bill was unchanged. The debates had not been entirely thrown away. They had not extorted concessions from the Government, but they had served to bring out the meaning and spirit of the Bill. He would distinguish between the spirit of the measure and the spirit of its author. They all recognised the humanity, humour, and kindly toleration of the Minister for Education, and had nothing but praise for his courtesy, tact, and good temper in the conduct of the Bill, all the more striking when contrasted with the spirit and the hard sectarian intolerance of the Bill itself. The Bill was penal and vindictive in its character [Cries of "Oh!"] He was stating his own perhaps mistaken, but quite honest impression. The Bill sought to redress a real but a limited grievance by a wholesale injustice. He would merely touch upon one or two of its broad features. He acknowledged what the Chancellor of the Exchequer had emphasised, namely, that Clause 1 was the cardinal clause. One might say, roughly speaking, that Part I. consisted of Clause 1 followed by a series of exceptions, these exceptions being so many reluctant admissions of the principles of toleration, and of the fact that all persons and all consciences were not made on the Nonconformist plan. The concessions to the rights of conscience were scanty and grudging and what was given with the one hand was taken away with the other. Each concession was accompanied by some set-off, some check, which almost neutralised its value. He was not attacking the principle of popular control. It was quite true that popular control was not in itself inconsistent with perfect religious freedom and toleration. Popular control and religious freedom had been reconciled in Scotland, Germany, Canada, and elsewhere. The Bill might have been drawn on such lines. Various solutions had been open. All had been rejected. The result was a finely graduated scale of rights of conscience, and at the lowest point of the scale always stood the Church of England. How did the Bill deal with religion itself? The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that provision might be made everywhere for religious teaching. But it need not be made anywhere. In no single school in England or Wales could a parent henceforth claim the legal right of having religious instruction given to his children. The change was a momentous one, because hitherto there had been some 14,000 schools in which the right was guaranteed under the trusts. He did not say there would at once be any marked and visible change. It was a revolution which must work itself out slowly in time, but it was none the less a revolution. If the voluntary schools were to be swept away there ought to have been some compensatory provisions to make up for the teaching hitherto guaranteed under trust to the nation. First, religious teaching in conformity with the principles of the Christian faith ought to have been made obligatory in every school. Secondly, parents' rights should have taken the place of trustees' duties, which were abolished. Thirdly, provision should have been made for the inspection of religious instruction in every school. Fourthly, and he laid great stress on this, no teacher ought to be authorised to teach religion who had not a certificate of training and religious knowledge. The test of knowledge, let it be marked, was an entirely different thing from a test of conviction. Moreover, while there was no security under the Bill that religion should continue in the schools, there was ample security that a religious atmosphere should prevail in the council rooms, a heated atmosphere of conflict and controversy. Every vexed question would there be fought out. The principle of local option under new conditions would impart sectarian strife into all municipal elections. The injury to local government would be as great as the injury to religion itself. There was one other point—not a minor one, but a matter of principle—and that was the condition as to giving special religious instruction under Clause 3. The teacher of the staff was debarred from giving this instruction. All were agreed that this was educationally indefensible. The disability was placed on the person best fitted to teach and best fitted to keep order. What was the ground of the disability? The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the clause was necessary for the emancipation of the teaching profession; but it seemed to him that in the name of freedom they were imposing a tyrannous constraint. For one conscience they spared, there were a hundred which were wounded. They started from the principle, "no one shall be compelled to give special religious instruction if he objects;" they worked round to the position, "no one shall be permitted to give it even if he desires." Never were the principles of freedom more perverted. Again, let them observe the inconsistency of the Government. When the Opposition asked for freer access for religious teaching to be granted to all denominations in all schools: they were met with the answer: "No, that would bring into the schools a mob of amateur teachers; discipline would be impaired." Then when they asked that they should anyhow have the services of the regular teachers, the Government turned round and said, "Oh, no; you must bring in outsiders — untrained volunteers." The difficulty about the teachers was to his mind very largely artificial; but so far as it was real it arose from the wavering and contradictory attitude of the Bill towards religion itself. Religion was admitted, but under protest, and every form of religion which deviated at all from the new Act of Uniformity was treated as some insidious disorder against which precautions must be taken. This Bill did what no Bill had ever done before. It brought into conflict the interests of the teachers, and the interests of education; or rather he should say the interests of the teaching profession from its trade union side and the interests of education. There was no one in the House who did not wish to open up the teaching profession to all qualified persons; but he reminded the House that the teacher's claims were not the only claims. If there must be a conflict and antagonism, then he maintained that the claims of the teacher must give way before paramount claims of the rights of the parents, the welfare of the children, and the interests of religion. The only permanent solution of the difficulty was the granting of equal facilities to all denominations. He believed that the difficulty of granting equal facilities to all denominations had been greatly exaggerated. Of one thing he was certain, and that was that there must be equal facilities to all or none. In the long run the country would insist on religious equality. He hoped that before the Bill finally left this House the Government might find it possible to lift the measure out of the region of penal politics and so to amend it that it might become a settlement of controversy, and not the beginning of fresh strife.

*MR. BELLOC (Salford, S.) said that as the only Catholic Member in a largely populated district in South Lancashire where the Catholic vote was so large and tenacious, it would be unjust to his constituents and to some of his colleagues if he were to remain silent at the close of this debate, although it was with a certain amount of diffidence that after his remarks in Committee he rose to repeat them now on the merits of the Bill. The Catholics as a whole voted Radical at the last election, and in his opinion that general determination of the Catholic force on English politics was not likely to be easily disturbed. Speaking for himself and also for some of those whom he represented he said that they were at first, not only in sympathy with the beginning of the democratic feature which had been displayed, but they were in favour of the principles of the Bill. They knew the general temper of the English people, and although between the different sects of Protestants there were differences of opinion rather than differences of faith, they recognised that there was a national demand—he would not say mandate—for a final settlement of the education difficulty. The Catholics were, as were the Jews, an exception, and the Government had to meet them and no doubt they did all that they thought was fair to meet their claim. He entirely recognised that they did so, and from the Front Bench they had had no rancour, no spite, and not any considerable misunderstanding. Nevertheless, this Bill would leave this House that night for another place in a condition in which, he would not only say no Catholic could accede to it, but one in which no man who was pledged to maintain the Catholic schools could vote for it. He had not heard anyone explain why the chances of a Catholic child maintaining his religion should be favourable if there were 5,000 people living in the place where it was born and unfavourable if there were only 4,999. It was a thing so illogical and false that he wondered how it came to be in the Bill at all. He was too young a Member to suggest what forces might have been at work — the English political Parties depended upon Party funds—but he would not insist. He would return to the clause as it now stood. Under it 25 per cent. of the Catholic schools were necessarily doomed. In the particular case of his own county two towns stood near to each other. The one, Protestant (even in the 16th century), would retain its Catholic schools; the other, with a strong Catholic tradition and a large Catholic population, would lose its schools. For the first had 12,000, the last under 5,000 population; nay, in the latter case a great Catholic landlord would be compelled to hand over rates not only for the support of the local Protestant school, but in order to make a school built largely out of his own money Protestant. It was possible that an act of otherwise incomprehensible folly had been committed as an incident of Party tactics. When the Bill went to the Lords no doubt a politician would say to himself, "We must give them something to bargain with. If we give them this they will let us have that." Catholics, however, did not understand those political tricks. All they would see was that one-quarter of the Catholic schools would be wiped out. And when that had permeated into the artisan constituencies of this country the promotion of the Bill would have seriously weakened the popular basis upon which the present Government stood. He did not think the position of the Liberal Party had been strengthened by the retention of such a principle as that in the Bill. If it was thought that it would be forgotten in the lapse of time hon. Members had a totally false impression of the nature of the faith of Catholics. Everywhere by that fatal error the Government had made enemies. The momentary distaste for Liberal policy would not, however, cause Catholics to throw themselves into the arms of the Conservative Party. There was a newer force arising in this country and it was already represented in the House. It was there that they would find the Catholic vote, which was not only a numerical but a moral force, represented in the future. In conclusion he must add that it was not alone as a Catholic that he expressed these views. Even if he did not hold his faith and if he wanted to represent those who sent him to Parliament he would condemn and vote against this Bill as it stood.

Mr. PAUL (Northampton) said before this Bill passed its Third Reading and went to another place he would like in a few words to say what he thought of it as it at present stood. He could not help thinking something further might have been done to meet the wishes of the Catholics. He did what he could, it was but little, to procure an Amendment to Clause 4 in the sense desired, and in doing so he happened quite innocently to say he was not priest-ridden. As a result he had received an anonymous communication in verse informing him that the proper person to ride him was Balaam. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Dublin who moved the rejection of this Bill in so moderate and fair a speech had professed himself unable to understand why men whose conscientious convictions did not interfere with their payment of the taxes for teaching other people's religion should object to the payment of rates. He would have thought that it might have occurred to the right hon. Gentleman that there was a plain and broad distinction between the two cases. For the payment of taxes there was an equivalent received in the control of the central governing Education Department responsible to this House and the country, whereas for the payment of rates there was no equivalent whatever. The ratepayers had no paramount and controlling voice in the management of the schools to which they contributed the money. The right hon. Gentleman addressed the House not merely as a Conservative but as a Churchman. There was no doubt a great and important difference between the right hon. Gentleman and himself. The right hon. Gentleman was a very eminent and educated Gentleman. He himself was very humble and obscure, but in every other respect he was quite as good a Churchman as the right hon. Gentleman. That most innocent of God's creatures the Bishop of London, as innocent morally as mentally, had formed for himself a phantom church which was unanimously opposed to this Bill. There were more Churchmen on the Liberal side of the House than on the other. There were many bishops upon the Episcopal bench, many clergymen throughout the country who held very much the same opinions on the Bill as he held himself. The main ground on which he supported the Bill had nothing to do with either the Church of England or religion. He supported the Bill chiefly because it rendered a great and important service to the elementary education of this country; because it insured that in the future the standard of the worst schools should be brought up to the level of the best; that the standard of the best school now should be the standard of the worst school in the future; and that in years to come the only particular in which this country was behind its neighbours—its want of a sound and scientific education system—would be finally swept away. But while be believed that substantial benefits like those would long outlive the ephemeral disputes on ecclesiastical and theological matters on which so much time had been spent, he confessed he could not take leave of those controversies without a lingering regret. If it were not presumption he would like to say they had been conducted with a fairness, good temper, and knowledge, and laudable if not always successful attempts to be mutually intelligible which must enhance the reputation of this Assembly. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition in replying to him (Mr. Paul) the other day, when Clause 4 was being considered on Report, with a grave courtesy for which he took this opportunity of expressing his thanks, asked whether the Government and the Liberal Party agreed with his (Mr. Paul's) theory of State religion. It was not his theory. He should have thought it might have occurred to an intelligence much less acute than that of the right hon. Gentleman that there could not be an Established Church without a State religion. He was not in favour of a State religion, because he was not in favour of an established Church. He held in this matter that any connection between a State Church and religion in schools was politically unexpedient and morally wrong. Even in this House they could not always ignore the facts. That was a state of things that existed, and was likely to exist, at all events for some years to come. That there was a State religion in elementary schools he respectfully denied. The right hon. Gentleman and most of his fellows were in the habit of talking of some form of Christian religion which they called Cowper-Templeism. There was no such religion. Mr. Cowper-Temple was not the founder of the Christian religion, he was the author of a negative clause in an Act of Parliament, and there was no religion that could be called by his name without manifest and flagrant absurdity. The noble Lord the Member for Marylebone, who always spoke with the courage of Lord Hugh Cecil's convictions, in answer to the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster said he would allow the parents of the children who lived in the slums, however degraded, to have the controlling voice in the religion their children should be taught. That was very sound and democratic opinion, but he would like to know how far hon. Gentlemen would go in carrying out their favourite theory that the parent should say what religion his children should be taught at the public expense. Were the children of atheists to be taught [the fallacy of the belief in God, and if not why not? Were the children of Mahomedans to be taught the advantages of polygamy, and if not why not? It might be said there were not many instances of that kind. If that were so he would take a fairly numerous, well-known, and highly-respected class consisting of educated and conscientious men, who held and believed that in all ultimate subjects it was impossible to obtain any positive knowledge. They called themselves agnostics. They had children and paid taxes; were their children to be taught at the public expense the paramount moral duty of religious scepticism? Was it not more reasonable and politic to say in this country there were simple religious truths in which all Protestants agreed, that those were truths which many Free Churchmen and most English Churchmen had no objection that their children should be taught, and that subject to the conscience clause those common truths of religion should be taught in the schools? He quite recognised and accepted the fact that as the authors of this Bill they were bound to give some special treatment to Catholics. In saying that he spoke of real Catholics, and not the sham Catholics who wanted to introduce into the English Church what Lord Halifax called the Mass in English and Lord Beaconsfield called the Mass in masquerade. He believed that even as it stood, with an appeal to the Board of Education, this Bill would give substantial security to the immense minority of Catholic schools in this country. But when the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer argued that it was better to have an appeal to the Board of Education than to a Court of law, he could not help asking who in the last resort was to enforce the decision of the Board of Education. There was another clause in this Bill which had nothing to do with Catholics and which so far as he could see served no useful purpose. He referred to Clause 3, the ordinary facilities clause. When the hon. Member for East Mayo said that clause was no use to the Catholics several hon. Gentlemen on the benches opposite said "nor to us." He had some difficulty in understanding what they meant by "we" and "us," but upon that particular occasion he understood they were identifying themselves with the denominational schools. The hon. Gentleman the Member for the Oxford University, than whom there was no higher authority, described Clause 3 as cold comfort, and High Churchmen were, he was sure, never comfortable when cold. What had the clause done? Had it limited the loquacity of the curate? Had it made any Bishop feel he had done less well by being angry? It was a clause that gave no relief to anybody, and he would willingly have sacrificed it in order to make the fourth clause give what the Catholics of this country desired and had a right to obtain. The Bill had its blot. Not merely had Clause 4 not been made compulsory, but Clause 6 should have been either omitted or so altered that religion should be made part, subject to the conscience clause, of the teaching of every child. If that had been done and Clause 3 omitted, the Bill would not only have rendered a great and solid service to the cause of elementary education, but it would also have done completely what to some extent it did now—it would have rescued little children from the clutches of the dogmatists and allowed them to grow up as they had hitherto done, in humble reverence of Christ's teaching and in dutiful obedience to God's laws.

Mr. LAMBTON (Durham, S.E.) said the question he wished to argue with the hon. Member for Northampton was in regard to Mahomedans and Agnostics. The hon. Member said that if they were to be logical, why should not it be ordained that Atheists and Mahomedans should receive that teaching in our schools which was acceptable to them in the same way as it was given to other denominations. Early in the session the House determined by a very much larger vote than in 1870, that the people of this country desired to have religious teaching in the schools. In passing that vote for religious education it did not intend to include the fantastic notion of the hon. Member for Northampton, that religious instruction meant teaching for Mahomedans, Agnostics and others. He was one of those who did not entirely follow with favour the Bill of 1902, because he felt that it inflicted some injustice on Nonconformists, and he endeavoured to remove that injustice. He did not accuse his right hon. friend the Member for the City of London of injustice, nor any Member of that side of the House, but he was certain that a sense of injustice existed. But the reason why he opposed this Bill was that it inflicted greater injustice than the Bill of 1902. He did not impute any conscious injustice to the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill or to any of his colleagues, although on that point he was not quite so certain. He did not think there was any Party in the House who wished to inflict injustice upon their opponents, but he thought that on the present occasion they might evolve some light and that religious peace which they all desired. Hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House thought Cowper-Templeism worse than no religion at all. Hon Members opposite would not allow Roman Catholic schools that liberty which they certainly deserved. He asked the hon. Member for Northampton to consider whether logic was entirely a matter on which they could depend. They were dealing with the case of little children, and he was sure that hon. Members had not brought up their children in logic, and many Members, especially those below the gangway, would maintain that to be logical in elementary education we must have a secular system. He denied that that was logical. Logic was worth nothing unless the premisses were sound. What were the premisses in this case? The State ordained that the child should have education and the parent must send his child to school. In the opinion of the majority of the people of this country education without religion was worthless. They could not leave out religion from true education any more than they could mathematics or writing. The one reason why he objected to this Bill more strongly than any other was that it placed religion outside the school hours. He thought it would have the result of banishing the Bible from the schools. There were some who advocated secular instruction and the banishment of the Bible because they thought it would get rid of the religious difficulty. Mr. Forster in 1870 said that if we banished the Bible from the schools the irreligious difficulty which would be created would be even greater than the religious difficulty, and he expressed a hope that the time would come when all parents would be able to agree as to the religious education to be given to their children. He (Mr. Lambton) ventured to express the same hope in 1902. It was perfectly astounding in the 20th century there should be such differences between Church of England Christians and Nonconformist Christians that they could not agree as to the teaching to be given to little children. He was grieved to think that the present Bill did not remove those differences. That might be owing perhaps to misconception on both sides, and he was convinced it was owing in some degree to the fact that Cowper-Templeism was looked upon with suspicion by so many hon. Members on the Opposition side, and owing to action like that of the hon. Member for Louth, who so persistently objected to any concession to denominationalists. Lord Shaftesbury in 1870 said that denominational teaching was founded on the assumption that these little children were persons of mature age. He quite agreed. He believed that *a modus vivendi* was attainable, and would be attained in this country. What stood in the way? Perhaps a few proud prelates or arrogant doctors of divinity. He was only a layman, and it was not for him to suggest to them what they should do; but he was quite convinced that no man, not even the hon. Member for Northampton, would say that they should banish religion from the schools on that ground. He did not think that even in the name of Science that could be done, because if they asked the question, "What is religion?" there might be a thousand answers but to the question, "What is science?" there was only one answer. Science was the true understanding of nature, and it had not solved the mystery of the human soul. The human soul was always asking for religion, and it was not for man or Parliaments to deny the spiritual cravings of nature. Therefore their endeavour must be to afford the children such teaching. If the leaders of the Churches stood in the way of that happy consummation all that they could do was to ask them to remember the words of our great Master, "Suffer little children to come unto Me and forbid them not." But here they had only to hold even the balance of justice which was the only chance of peace in this question, and he did hope when this Bill came back from another place they would continue this discussion in a friendly and peaceable spirit. They might fail, but at all events let them determine not to use the souls of little children as counters in the political game.

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL (Sir W. ROBSON, South Shields), who was indistinctly heard, said the hon. Gentleman had made one statement which he thought he would be disposed to modify on reflection. It was said that this Bill would create more injustice than it would remove. The Government had endeavoured to place definite denominational teaching upon a voluntary basis. That was the real characteristic part of the Bill. The Opposition described the Bill as a Bill for secularising the Church schools, in effect for the benefit of Nonconformists. If that were true it would be a very serious reflection not only on the Bill but also upon Nonconformists. He ventured to ask the House to look at this proposition a little more critically and fairly. What was the effect of this Bill upon Church schools? He was asking what was its practical effect. He was not asking what some sensitive person might believe to be a possibility under this, that, or the other clause, but what was likely to be the real result of this Bill in actual working. Looking at the matter in that way could anyone doubt that the denominational teaching which Churchmen desired would go on much the same as before? The old custom of the Church of England schools, speaking generally, was to have two days a week for Catechism teaching, and three days a week for the simple Bible teaching and prayer that made up the elements of Cowper-Temple teaching. Was there any reason why all this should not go on in substance as it had always gone on? Would Churchmen have any difficulty in getting volunteeers to give Catechism instruction on two days a week? He could not believe they would. They who did a great work before 1870, and to their honour had maintained a great burden

—though a rapidly diminishing burden —since, would find no difficulty in providing Catechism instruction in their own schools on two days of the week, especially when they were being relieved in so many other directions. Even now the Church of England was left in a position of very substantial privilege. It would possess the very special right of entry to its schools, and it would have them maintained free of cost, with the payment of rent by way of contribution to the cost. In other words, Churchmen under this Bill would have the right of entry in what had now become State buildings and State property. He asked hon Members to put to themselves fairly and squarely this question: Did that look as if the promoters of the Bill had been animated by any special spite against the Church of England? He thought not. It was also said that after all the Bill was for the benefit of Nonconformists. Again, he would invite hon. Members opposite to consider a little the position of Nonconformists. Nonconformity was spoken of as if it had no doctrines or form of religion, and was giving nothing up, and that the Church must receive some special compensation because Cowper-Templeism was peculiarly favourable to Nonconformists. The body of doctrine among Nonconformists was so deep, so complicated, so far-reaching in the lives and conduct of men that they would not allow the State to touch it. Could it be supposed, therefore, that Nonconformity was giving nothing up from the doctrinal point of view when it consented that the State should give non-dogmatic, non-denominational teaching instead of taking money from the State to teach its own doctrine? He was sure hon. Gentlemen would realise that, if they would use, not their reason, but their imagination for a moment, and just think what would be the effect upon their own feelings if Nonconformists were really to claim doctrinal equality. Supposing that there had been no Cowper-Temple clause, and the Nonconformists had carried a great many school areas and had placed them under their own doctrinal teaching. What would be the feeling of hon. Members opposite if they saw Nonconformists having a privilege in State schools in any parallel to their own? They would think it a hardship and a bitter grievance. Supposing they went into a council school and heard the teacher paid by the State telling the little ones that even baptism was an absurdity and apostolic succession an error. Would they like it if they could hear the teacher to whose support they must contribute taking one by one every doctrine they held dear and pointing out that it was an imposture? They would conceive, and rightly so, that they were grossly injured as a Christian community. He appealed to hon. Gentlemen not in any angry controversial spirit, because he knew he was dealing with Christian and fair-minded men, subject of course to the fog that controversy so often introduced between disputants, but he asked them to consider the picture he had put before their mind. Let them reflect upon the deep feeling of indignation and of wrong that would permeate their Church if they were put under precisely the same system as the Nonconformists had been placed under. It was not fair to say that Nonconformity was getting the benefit; it did not seek it. There was only one respect in which anything like equality could be said to be established even now between the Anglican and Nonconformist Churches, and that was that distinctively dogmatic teaching was placed on a voluntary basis. But that seemed to be the very grievance of the Church, and their policy corresponded to their grievance. What was the policy of the Conservative Party? It would be no injustice to say that it was still the policy embodied in the Act of 1902. The noble Lord the Member for Marylebone was beginning to have his doubts about the Act of 1902. The noble Lord had not yet reached the stage of giving them very emphatic expression, but he was not quite comfortable when he was on the Act of 1902. Who was? His fear was not that the noble Lord would not go far enough for them, but that he was going too far. Up to 1902 the theory of Parliamentary grants was that laid down in the speeches and legislation of 1870—namely, that those grants represented a gift by the State in aid of secular education. But under the Act of 1902 a different state of things came into being. Then the Leader of the Opposition took the rates in order to supersede the subscriptions. He took the teacher who had hitherto been paid partly by the denomination and put the whole cost of the teacher's salary, covering the cost of religious instruction, on the rates. The Leader of the Opposition had the distinction therefore that he definitely, avowedly, and explicitly put the cost of distinctive dogmatic teaching on other backs than those of the denomination who wanted it. That and nothing else was the policy of 1902, and a grievance was undoubtedly created among Nonconformists which must be dealt with in some form. Now, what was the means by which it was to be met? The Chancellor of the Exchequer had already drawn attention to it, and he should like to say a few words upon it. The Conservatives put forward what was called the right of entry, or all round facilities in every school. That undoubtedly looked a most admirable solution. But had hon. Members opposite seriously considered what that proposition involved? It was the Conservative alternative to this Bill. But he wanted to know how they proposed to deal with a grievance that they admitted, because it must not be forgotten that the grievance Nonconformists complained of was indisputable. It was a grievance which had been mentioned again and again by the Leader of the Opposition, and that made more serious the responsibility of continuing it. What had been suggested throughout these debates was that the grievance was met by giving the right of entry to all sections to enter all schools. He had not seen that there had been any definite or intelligible policy put forward to meet the Nonconformist grievance except the right of entry. How else did hon. Members propose to deal with the Nonconformist grievance, which they admitted? No plan but the right of entry had been suggested, and that involved above all things the neutrality of the State teacher, because one denomination could not in such a scheme be allowed to annex the teacher. It would be preposterous to talk of giving equal rights to all denominations in the schools, and yet allow one denomination to annex the teacher. The right of entry had got controversial advantages. It did homage to the principle of equality, and that was a principle to which they were always bound to do homage. But there would be little equality, indeed there would be injustice, if in some schools a denomination was to have exclusive rights in its own schools and yet have the right of entry in other schools. Therefore, he took it that the essential condition of the right of entry which was put forward by so many hon. Gentlemen was that the teacher should be neutral. What did the Leader of the Opposition say in regard to the position of the State teacher? It was not quite clear what hon. Gentlemen opposite thought, for in the same breath while they demanded the right of entry to all schools, they protested against anyone but a State teacher giving religious instruction. The Leader of the Opposition went down to Cambridge and drew a picture of a teacher sitting silent while someone else perhaps better instructed and of a more theological spirit came in to give the lesson which the teacher had been accustomed for generations to give. The right hon. Gentleman called that a great atrocity, and he still thought it an atrocity that the State teacher should allow anyone else, even a clergyman, more highly cultivated and instructed, to come in and give the religious lesson.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (City of London): That was not the atrocity. What I called an atrocity was preventing a man who had been accustomed to give the religious teaching from doing so, if he were competent and willing.

SIR W. ROBSON said that under the right of entry scheme, "the teacher would sit silent." Did the right hon. Gentleman mean that the Church schools were to retain all their exclusive advantages? What the right hon. Gentleman said at Cambridge was this—

> "Henceforth the teacher is to sit silent and hear the religious lesson which he has been accustomed to give to generations of children with general approval given by no doubt an equally instructed and even more highly cultivated person, but one who is not by training as well qualified to give that same lesson as the teacher who has done so year by year. Is not that a great atrocity?"

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is not the opinion I expressed.

Sir W. ROBSON said he had no desire to ascribe to the right hon. Gentleman an opinion which he repudiated, but he must have some opinion—he did not care what it was. He might take it, at all events, as being the fact that in the schools where the teachers had been accustomed to give the religious lesson for many years it was an atrocity for anybody else to come in and give it. [An Hon. Member, "No."] He did not need to go back two months for the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman. Only two days ago the right hon. Gentleman expressed an opinion on the subject and he hoped that opinion had not undergone any great change. At the National Union of Conservative Associations the right hon. Gentleman said—

> "Everybody admits that if you are going effectually to give religious education, that work must in the main be carried out by the ordinary teachers of the school."

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Hear, hear.

Sir W. ROBSON said he was on firm ground now. In that case what became of the right of entry of all denominations into every school? The equality offered to the Nonconformists under that arrangement did not exist unless the State teacher stood neutral. Hon. Members opposite must make up their minds which of these opinions they did hold. He had ascribed to their words what appeared to be the ordinary meaning, but he appeared to have been wrong. He hoped that right hon. and hon. Gentlemen would take the opportunity of re-stating their views, and let the House know in plain terms what their remedy for the Nonconformist grievance was. Did they mean each denomination to give religious teaching by its own officers at its own cost? When they gave the House a little further instruction on that point he dared say they would be able to deal with them again. There had been two remarkable developments in this debate. The first was the attack made on simple Bible teaching which had been spoken of as subversive of Christianity itself. The second was the enunciation of the doctrine that to make a child a Christian it was necessary to attach the child to some denomination. That meant that denominational schools must, if their religion was to be effective, seek to proselytise. He was sure that hon. Members opposite and most Members of the Church of England would repudiate with indignation any idea that they used their schools for the purpose of proselytism. But let him ask hon. Members to consider what was involved in the doctrine which had been so clearly laid down that it was necessary to attach a child to a denomination. That was a very serious position for Nonconformists whose children were put into a Church "atmosphere" by compulsion. They were allowed when they got there to relieve themselves of the religious lesson by means of the conscience clause. He thought it was a great misfortune that in the schools the alternative lesson should be arithmetic. It was used as a punishment in many of the schools. It was a misfortune that the children of Nonconformists should be driven into the atmosphere which was indicated by the attacks on Cowper-Temple teaching, and that they could not get any religious teaching unless they were attached to a denomination. There had been really no defence of an injustice of that kind put on so many of our fellow citizens. There had really been no answer to the most essential part of the Nonconformist case presented by this Bill, namely, that the Nonconformist community of the country must be relieved of the burden of having to pay for the teaching of doctrines contrary to their faith. It was said that this Bill was prompted by dislike of the Church of England. He confessed that he could not listen to that charge without deep resentment. If Churchmen admitted, as they did admit, the injustice done to other Christian communities by the system which the Government were seeking to modify, they might go a step further and admit that the effort to remove the injustice was not necessarily dictated by hatred or spite. Let them search their own hearts, and see with what sentiments they regarded the members of those other great religious communities which they had driven from the communion of the National Church. Perhaps they did not want reconciliation, and, for his part, he doubted whether reconciliation was possible. But there might be some approach to sympathy and a better understanding amongst Protestant communities, and the absence of any desire for such was one of the most fateful elements in the religious life of to-day. This internecine conflict amongst those who preached the Gospel of Peace had the effect of turning men's eyes altogether away from unity, and if they could not have reconciliation they might, at any rate, try to lessen the feelings of repulsion. This education question helped to focus the attention of the great Christian communities away from unity and upon the fact that the most powerful and most wealthy of them all had imposed upon its fellows an act of great injustice. That was a terrible indictment, and the Government ought to be given credit for the effort they were now making to free the Church of England from the shadow of that great accusation.

MR. MASTERMAN (West Ham, N.) said that while he found his objections to the Bill melting before the kindness and courtesy of the Minister for Education, the Solicitor-General had succeeded in arousing every controversial fibre he possessed. He was not making any complaint against the hon. and learned Gentleman's method of controversy, but he could not accept in any degree his description of the Bill. What was the good of the Solicitor-General saying that under Clause 3 denominational teaching would go on in the same way that it had been going on for thirty or forty years? The House had deliberately decided that the Church teaching which had been going on in the village schools of England by the teachers was no longer to be given by those teachers, even outside school hours and at their own expense. People would ask why this teaching which their children had been receiving for so many years was now suddenly to be regarded as poison. He did not agree that the right of entry implied the neutrality of the teacher. He, however, had no objection to neutrality if neutrality were made equal all round. This Bill did not give religious equality. The soundest thing said by the hon. and learned Member for Waterford was that the day for argument had gone by; and therefore he would not use further argument. But he might say that they had been debating this Bill for four months and some of them had been trying to make it a just, equal, and final settlement of the education question. Some of them had pressed for what they were convinced was the only proper solution of the problem: that the State should withdraw altogether from teaching or creating a religion. They were beaten; they accepted defeat and only wished to safeguard the interests of minorities. Every kind of concession which they advocated had been refused—not altogether by the wish of the Minister for Education, but because of the cry of "No concession" from the Ministerial benches. From an educational point of view he believed that it would have been much better to have built new schools all over the country than take over the non-provided schools where one religion would now be taught at the expense of all others. There was a misty and shadowy feeling about Clause 4. What was asked for was a poll of the parents. Now it was decided that the souls of children in an area with a population of 5,000 were more valuable than the souls of children in an area of under 5,000. And they were reduced to the alternative of contracting out or kicking out. Their objections had not been answered and for the first time in history a Government calling itself Liberal was definitely enacting that one kind of religious teaching and one kind only should be subsidised by the State. They had heard eloquent speeches against that religious teaching, but he had nothing to say against it except this, that however admirable, however sound it might be, the fact was that an appreciable minority in this country refused to accept it. They had heard a repudiation of that form of religious instruction by an hon. Member who spoke for 2,500,000 Roman Catholic citizens of this country, and there were a large number of others who objected to that form of religious instruction. This, therefore, was rather a forlorn position for a Liberal Government to take up. He regretted that this Bill should go to another place in this forlorn condition. They were sending the Bill to another place knowing that large changes would be made there and were prepared to accept at least a certain number of those changes. [MINISTERIAL cries of "No, no."] Hon. Members dissented now but he ventured to say that in six months' time his hon. friends would probably find themselves more in agreement with him upon that point. He regretted every kind of concession that they made to another place, because what might have been given out of magnanimity was given grudgingly and of necessity and would not bring back those Liberals who had been alienated by this Bill. Still more deplorable was the fact that every concession they on their side received from the Upper House weakened the general democratic appeal against the constitution of that Chamber. It was sad to think that this great democratic movement which some of them looked upon as the dawn of a new day should have as one of its first results the fact that 2,500,000 Catholics and a more indefinite number of Liberals were saying "Thank God for the institution of the House of Lords." To exercise a giant's strength like a giant was to be guilty of tyranny, and he thought they should have been more magnanimous in dealing with this subject. After saying this, however, he hoped it would not be considered as a weakness on his part if he said that he intended to vote for the Third Reading of the Bill. No incident in his short and inglorious political experience had caused him so much trouble as that fact. He should vote for the Third Reading of the Bill because it established popular control and because he thought there was much in the contention of the hon. Member for North Camberwell that 1906 was born of 1902. After the injustice born of 1902 it was perhaps rather too much to expect from human nature anything like a permanent and satisfactory settlement, but he believed that every unfair Bill passed by either side helped forward the day when the nation would accept the secular solution of the problem, because it was a solution which was equal and therefore Liberal; because it was compatible with giving the highest religious education to every child in the country. He felt convinced that in the end the country would find one solution and one solution only which was capable at the same time of making for educational progress and religious equality.

*MR. PERKS (Lincolnshire, Louth) said he wished to express his absolute dissent from the views to which the House had just listened. He did not think that secularism would in consequence of the passing of this Bill be any nearer of introduction into the elementary schools of this country than it was to-day. He thought therefore that that fear might be set aside as an idle one. Passing on to more practical matters, he would like to say one or two words from the point of view of the Nonconformist, and he did not object to being called an extreme Nonconformist. Before he did so, he wished to pay a tribute to the very tactful and delicate way in which the Minister for Education had handled this subject, and if in coming months the Nonconformists had to say some strong things about Clause 4 he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not think that they did not appreciate the ability, zeal, and good temper which he had shown in the conduct of this Bill. It was true that prominent Nonconformists in the country were very deeply disappointed with some of the clauses of this measure. The Chancellor of the Exchequer earlier in the day had referred to Clause 4, and said it was the clause of all others which the Government considered to be vital to their Bill. He indicated, although he did not say so in so many words, that that was the corner stone of the measure and the foundation upon which the Government built. But that clause, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer might have known if he had been informed of the opinions of the great Nonconformist Churches of the country, was the clause against which every Free Church in the country had directed its censure. Indeed he did not know of a single religious community of any sort outside the Church of England which had not called upon the Government either to withdraw this clause altogether or to alter it so that it would not bring about what the Government desired. Therefore he learned with regret that the Government intended to stick to this objectionable clause. The right hon. Gentleman had twitted him with his obtrusive opposition to this clause, but he could assure him that what little opposition he had given in the House was nothing to the opposition which would be given to it by prominent Nonconformist communities from one end of the country to the other. Nonconformists were disappointed with the Bill because, while it started with a very bold declaration of what it meant to do, it had not really done what it contemplated. It was all very well to say they intended to secure for every school popular control under a unified system. Schemes of great intricacy had been introduced for setting up a multitudinous number of sectarian schools, and in many cases unquestionably involving a sectarian test for the teacher. Nonconformists were sometimes told that they had submitted no alternative. He quite admitted that the principle of the right of entry was bad and impracticable. It had been tried and had signally failed. But there was another alternative, and one which might be adopted if this Bill did not become law. He was not very sanguine of the Bill becoming law, and, personally, it certainly would not break his heart if it did not, so long as Clause 4 remained in its present shape. The alternative was to re-establish the old school boards and cover the whole country with them. He would create school boards in the rural districts of manageable dimensions, and he would turn over to these popularly elected *ad hoc* authorities every elementary school in the country as well as the control of every department of public education of all grades. In doing this he certainly would not confiscate anybody's property. The million provided in the Bill would be amply sufficient to set up all over the country these board schools and for erecting new schools where desired. Voluntary schools could be purchased where there was a desire to sell. He ventured to suggest that it might not be undesirable to see if they could not devise some scheme by which the Roman Catholic difficulty could be met. He entirely agreed with some words that fell from the Solicitor-General in which he said the Catholics could not be expected to receive the Protestant Bible as the common book of instruction for the children of Catholic parents under a Cowper-Temple system of religious instruction. But he did not think it could be so stated and resisted so far as the Church of England was concerned. There was in his mind a vital distinction between the two cases. He was anxious that no school in this country should be used for the purpose of proselytising the children of other religious communities. He did not understand that the Roman Catholic Church desired to educate Protestant children in their Catholic schools. He would far rather that no Protestant child should receive his instruction at Roman Catholic schools. But there was a strong and he thought a reasonable feeling on the part of the Catholics of this country that it was unfair that their children in these schools should receive Cowper-Temple instruction. The Nonconformists had no desire that the children of any sect should grow up in insanitary buildings, under such conditions that both physically and mentally they were not fit to discharge the proper duties of citizenship, and if the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church desired to meet the leaders of British Nonconformity in order to see if some agreement could be arrived at, speaking only for himself, he would go a very long way indeed in conference with the Roman Catholic Church in this country to try and meet the special difficulties of the case.

SIR CARNE RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford) said it was not fair to test the accuracy of the anonymous assertion to which the hon. Member for Northampton had alluded. He would only say that the animal to which the hon. Gentleman was likened was a professor of short speeches which he was afraid the hon. Member was not. As he had not ventured to offer his views on this question on the Committee stage perhaps the House would allow him to say a few words on the Third Reading. He did not pretend to be an expert. He was only a humble agricultural Member —he had even been called by a Vice-President of the Council "Tony Lumpkin," and had been told that the agricultural Members knew more about the difference between oats and barley than about education. That right hon. Gentleman also said that if they had their way they would rather have the money proposed to be spent upon education laid out in artificial manures. He could only say that so far as he was concerned the right hon. Gentleman was correct. He had only risen to say how much he regretted the way in which four months had been wasted over this Bill. He was sorry the Government did not take the advice he offered them when the Bill was first brought in. Had they done so they might have turned the flank of half the Amendments that had been put down and got rid of them without doing any harm to the Bill or to the right hon. and hon. Gentlemen who put them down. The advice he had ventured to offer to the Government was that they should take a leaf out of the Army List, and do what had been done in the Army for many years past with tolerably good effect. When he was in the Army, when a man joined he was asked whether he would like to be told off as a Roman Catholic, a Protestant, or a Persuasionist, or in other words a Nonconformist, and there was never any difficulty. When a man went to school a priest went in at one time and gave instruction, at another time the Nonconformist minister, and at another time the Church of England parson. They never had any difficulty about religious teaching and everything went merry as a marriage bell. Why should not there be some arrangement such as that in the council schools? Since the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House had two months ago shown some benevolent sympathy in respect to a matter to which he need not further allude he had some sort of respect for the right hon. Gentlemen sitting opposite—though, of course, he could not vote with them. One had to draw the line somewhere, but he was glad to see them getting through their difficulty and time of trouble, although it would have been reduced by half if they had taken his advice. So far as he was concerned, he had voted against every Education Bill that had been introduced into this House, and he proposed to do the same on this occasion.

*Mr. MASSIE (Wiltshire, Cricklade) said that in bidding a short farewell—and to the Minister for Education surely not an unwelcome one—to this Education Bill, in speeding the parting guest, and the returning guest (but in what shape returning, who knew?) it was of no use to blink the fact that this Bill was not the Bill for which most of them on the Liberal side of the House had hoped and worked. Yet, perhaps, and probably, it was the best kind of Bill that, in the circumstances, could be passed just now. They had hoped for a national system that would unite rather than continue to divide them, and for a public education in things in which they should agree, not in things in which they should differ. But their differences were being perpetuated, their unification was being postponed. True, in the council schools their differences did not intrude themselves, or they intruded themselves insignificantly: but in the schools to be newly taken over and to become provided schools, denominational differences were to find entrance by facilities: and what was more distinctively separative, schools wholly maintained by public money, and by public money wholly kept in repair, were to be frankly denominational, and were to drive forth the minority children to find some other home. Then there were to be sectarian schools, schools of the order of the "last resort," as they might be called, which, though not assisted by the rates, were to be almost entirely maintained by the State while retaining their private management. These divisions were said to be the price of peace. It remained to be seen from the way in which these divisions worked whether the peace would be peace at any price or not. Anyhow, two sides remained: on the one side were denominational privileges, on the other, public right. Strong educational points might be made against these denominational privileges, but when they were in view, educational points must clear the way. For example, denominational privileges often spelt small schools, and small schools were costly and inefficient: they often cost quite £1 a head more than the larger schools, and they could not be properly staffed for all the standards; yet for the sake of the denominational privileges the small schools must stand. So the Bill was not one of principle, but one of compromise; yet it was an honest compromise, honest in its inception, and honest in its execution. Let him also pay his tribute to the Minister who had had this Bill in charge. Through his patient, unwearying, invariably good-tempered, open-minded and altogether masterly conduct of the Bill, his praise, like that of the "brother" was or ought to be in all the churches. So far as the Bill was one of principle, it was one of principle applied with exceptions, and it altogether depended how the exceptions worked out whether the exceptions proved the rule or became the rule. It was held by some to be quite possible that the bulk of the public education in urban areas would, in twenty years, be denominational. Lord Hugh Cecil once wrote that the 4th clause would turn out to be far more favourable to the Church of England than her enemies (by whom he meant the friends of a national system) desired. These friends of a national system could only hope that the sectarian heat and denominational burden of the day would not be too much for them. Meanwhile, it was, as he said, a Bill of compromise. This could be gathered from the general quietness of its supporters, though they had steadily voted for it, with certain exceptions on notable occasions. A compromise might be necessary, but a compromise quelled enthusiasm. Hence their support had been rather a voting support than a vocal one, not always from lack of will but sometimes from lack of opportunity. And from some deficiency in acclimatisation to the atmosphere of this House, while the spirit had sometimes been willing, the flesh had sometimes been weak. Still they had voted for the Bill, and he for one intended to vote for it to-night, though he felt that the concessions had gone quite far enough. They would hardly gather that it was a compromise from the tempestuous wrath of some of its opponents. But they were men of like passions with other men; they were fighting for the power, the patronage, the privilege which were slipping from their grasp because they could not keep afloat without public maintenance. In their arguments it was interesting and suggestive to notice they always ignored this public maintenance; they always threw a veil over the *quid pro quo* that was due from them. If he could not congratulate them, he could felicitate them on the salvage they had secured from the wreck. He felicitated them on the £1,000,000, or the part of it, that was to come to them. He once heard the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham say in 1870, when Mr. Forster's Bill was before the country, that the old Church rate had been for the repair of the Church fabric, the new Church rate was for the repair of the Church formularies. In this Bill the rates looked after the repair of the fabric, the rent looked after the repair of the formularies. He felicitated them. He felicitated them on the amount of oil apparently required to lubricate the machinery, and on the ransom that had to be paid for the fragments of equality rescued from captivity. It was a better bargain than denominationalism would ever make again. Their best friends should advise them to take it and be thankful. It was alleged to be the price of peace. But was it peace? The answer was—there could never be peace so long as one Church was determined to be master, so long as—according to the phrase of one of the most unreticent of the bishops—she was determined not to be put on a level with the other denominations. The Bill was going before a tribunal whose jurisdiction was based on constitution and antiquity and on these alone. Possibly that tribunal might share the view of certain leading Conservative journals that public control and abolition of tests were inevitable. If so, they might respect the independence of the teacher and his reputation for impartiality, and might refuse to hand him over to those who would introduce a test by a side wind. They might keep Clause 8, the charter of freedom for the teacher. They might also show regard to the will of the parent, and in that case they would refrain from compelling him to send his child to the religious instruction. They might show their respect to religion as having a power to look after itself, and not contravene its genius by imposing constraint. In a word they might keep Clause 7, the charter of religious freedom for the parent. They could not respect the parent's will and at the same time compel him: they could not have it both ways. And he hoped that the Government, now that that clause had been carried in open House by a forty-seven majority, would remember that it was their own child, and after having exposed it to the discordant elements, would take it up again and cherish it. As for the eighty-five Liberals who voted against the clause, he could only say that if he had stood on the various platforms in his constituency during the contest and had said that he should vote against the only democratic clause in the Bill, the clause that made religious freedom real, and should help to rehabilitate the fusty futilities of the conscience clause, he suspected that he would not have been in the House of Commons to vote at all. The root of the compromise in this Bill was that the State was still dabbling in religious education, and still patronising and controlling religion. And the root of that policy was that the bulk of the English people would have it so, because they were not yet accustomed to believe in the power of religion or to leave the spread of godliness to the godly. Whether the people would long remain in the same stay depended on the answer to the question, "Will there be peace?" By this he did not mean whether the squabble of the sects, as it was called, could be made to cease, but whether a stop could be put to the cause of that squabble, the self-assertion of one sect. Till that time came, until there was a sense of equality not only on the paper of an Act but in the temper of a Church, there was no prospect of a settlement except on a secular basis, and for which basis that Church temper, and it alone, must bear the responsibility.

Mr. HUNT (Shropshire, Ludlow) said it appeared to him from the speeches that had been made that nobody—not even hon. Members on the Ministerial side of the House—liked this Bill. The Labour Party and the Irish Party were opposed to it. The hon. Member for Blackburn in a speech at Stockton said—

> "The Bill pleased nobody but the Nonconformists. In their joy at being offered the chance of having Nonconformity established as the State religion in the schools the Nonconformists have forgotten all the resolutions of their councils and conferences, and are embracing a measure which will inflict a conscientious outrage on the majority of the people of the country and increase tenfold the bitterness of the sectarian conflicts in every locality in the land."

That was the opinion of the hon. Member for Blackburn about this measure. The Nonconformists were always talking about their objection to tests for teachers, but he would read to the House a quotation showing how they carried out this principle themselves. At the Nonconformist College at Bishop's Stortford a teacher was dismissed for no other reason than that he was a Catholic, and a letter from the headmaster stated—

> "I regret that I have no option but to ask you to retire from holding a mastership here at the end of this term."

Mr. GEORGE WHITE: Is that a college maintained by public funds?

Mr. HUNT said it was. The school from which this teacher was dismissed because of his religion had had grants from the Hertfordshire County Council amounting to £550. He would give the hon. Member who had interrupted him another specimen of a Nonconformist parson. At a meeting held in reference to a dispute about a school in Flintshire the Rev. Dr. Evan Jones said—

> "He detested the idea of a compromise. He would more willingly agree to divide the world with the devil than to divide the schools with the Roman Catholics. He had known them both personally, and he had known Rome. He would rather be responsible for the building of the school himself than go shares with the Roman Catholics. If they compromised with the devil they knew where they were, but with the Catholics they never knew what the end would be."

Under this Bill Catholic children might be taught by Jewish teachers, and Nonconformist children might be taught by Catholic teachers, or by teachers of any or no religion at all. And those teachers would be called upon to give religious teaching that they did not understand, and which they did not believe in. No man or woman could give religious teaching that they did not believe in or understand. They might as well appoint a man to teach writing who could not write himself and who did not believe in teaching children to write. The Minister for Education had said that minorities must suffer, but in this case it was the great majority of voluntary schools built by the Church of England, the Catholics and the Jews, in order to secure for the children definite religious teaching, who were to suffer.

The President of the Board of Trade had declared that clericalism was the enemy, and he supposed when he said that he did not mean the Nonconformist ministers but the Church of England parsons and the Roman Catholic priests. This Bill was little else but an attack upon the Church of England. Nonconformist ministers were, unfortunately, very jealous of the Church of England parsons, and they particularly disliked them from the fact that they were not in the same social position. [Cries of "Oh, oh!"] He was very sorry for this, because the effect of it was to turn Nonconformist ministers into tremendous Radicals. Under this Bill the supporters of voluntary schools would have more justification for passive resistance than the Nonconformists had under the Act of 1902. The Catholics would still have to pay rates and taxes for religious teaching in other schools of which they totally disapproved and at the same time they would have to pay for the religious teaching in their own schools. Catholics had no objection to the popular control of secular education, and they would be quite willing to pay for their own religious instruction if other denominations did the same. They insisted, however, upon having Catholic teachers in Catholic schools, and there was no security for that under the Bill. To a great majority of English Churchmen the Bill was preposterous, and he wondered the Government did not drop it, because even their own supporters did not want it. He represented one of the strongest Protestant counties in England, and the opposition to this Bill in his constituency would surprise a good many hon. Gentlemen opposite. He hoped English Churchmen would fight shoulder to shoulder to get fair play. He thought he was justified in saying that the Liberal Party never got a popular mandate for this Bill, and if it was forced through the House against the wishes of a great majority of the parents the supporters of denominational teaching would be compelled to adopt some form of resistance on a gigantic scale under which it would be found impossible to work the Education Act of 1906.

MR. MACLEAN (Bath) said he desired to point out to the House how the Bill would act in his own constituency. Bath was full of Churchmen and Catholics. There was scarcely any variety of religious belief which was not represented in Bath. There were Nonconformist temples, Church of England shrines, and Roman Catholic places of worship. There was no doubt at all that the Church of England dominated Bath from the religious point of view. There were only four provided schools, with accommodation, roughly speaking, for 2,000 children. The non-provided schools numbered eighteen, with accommodation roughly speaking for 6,000. Amongst the non-provided schools there were two Roman Catholic schools with an average attendance of about 242. He took it as pretty generally agreed that there were two points which were fairly settled between all Parties in the House, and that was that they were at last going to give full and adequate popular control of the schools, and that there were to be no religious tests for teachers. The point left practically to deal with was, what was the religious difficulty? What would be the religious difficulty in Bath if this Bill passed? The Wells Diocesan Syllabus was taught in the council schools in the city. The only alteration they made was that instead of calling it a religious syllabus they called it a Biblical syllabus. What would happen to the non-provided schools, which he assumed would be transferred to the local education authority? For three days in the week the religious instruction would consist of their own diocesan religious syllabus, and for two days of the week they would have the teaching of their own catechism. He wanted to know where the complaint of English Churchmen came in. In the course of that afternoon's debate they had heard criticisms, amounting almost to invectives, poured on the Bill in respect of its injustice to Churchmen. The teaching in the Bath schools had been of a most excellent description for years past. What grievance would the Roman Catholics in the City of Bath have under the Bill? Obviously their two schools would come within the four-fifths clause and therefore they would practically go on as at present, with the exception that there would be full and adequate control and the teachers in them would not be subject to religious tests. The local authority would have due consideration for the children attending these schools, and they would appoint Roman Catholic teachers in them. The whole thing would be most adequately and fairly dealt with. The Church of England, in addition to having all advantages under this Bill, would have a fair and adequate rent given to them for the use of their schools. Every night in the week and all Sunday the Church would have the use of its schools, so that the rent amounted to an additional endowment of the Church of England. He was absolutely aghast when he read that morning a poster which had been issued by the Church Schools Emergency League. He gave an excerpt from it—

> "Dare we professedly Christian people support a Bill which derides religion, dishonours the Word of God, and defrauds the little ones?"

When he spoke outside the House on the Bill he had to exercise considerable restraint with regard to the invectives used by the gross misrepresentations of the advantages conferred by the Bill. There had been some lukewarm support for the Bill from the Government Benches sometimes. For his own part he most heartily and thoroughly supported the Bill as a most generous attempt to meet a most difficult situation, and above all to carry out the mandate of the people that there should be no secularisation of our national schools. He would say to those who did not entirely approve of this measure, "Take care that you don't go farther and fare very much worse." If the present generous offer was not accepted they would have very much worse terms. The Bill had the support of the representatives of the Free Churches, and it was the last attempt to settle this most difficult question. If it did not settle it they would be thrown back on a solution which he shrank from, and that was the abolition of the teaching of religion from the schools. He most earnestly hoped that in whatever form the Bill came back from another place it would never leave the Houses of Parliament unless it was substantially in accordance with the Bill as it left the House to-night.

Mr. Maclean.

*MR. REMNANT (Finsbury, Holborn) said that one could not but be glad at the admission with which the hon. Member for Bath concluded his speech. He hoped that in the division on the Third Reading they would have the hon. Member on the side of those who were fighting for the retention of religious teaching in the schools. This Bill offended against every Liberal principle. It abolished religious freedom by penalising the Church in favour of Nonconformists; its clauses were complicated and mutually destructive, for while it abolished religious tests it imposed them in the four-fifths schools. The Bill struck not only at the roots of morality, but also at the formation of sound character. The root fact which the Nonconformists must learn to appreciate was that large masses of their fellow-Christians regarded a system of undenominational religious instruction devised by the State as derogatory to religion, and would not submit to a law which imposed it on them, whether in elementary schools or otherwise. This view was clearly set forth by the late Mr. Gladstone twelve years ago. He pointed out that it would be very easy to frame an undenominational religion much to the liking of certain fragments of the Christian body, but divested of many salient points needful in the view of historic Christendom for a complete Christianity, and the State might be tempted to authorise such a scheme by law in public elementary teaching, and to arm it with exclusive and prohibitory powers as against other and more developed methods—

> "It is in this direction," he wrote, "that we have recently been moving, and the motion is towards a point where a danger signal is already lifted. Such an undenominational religion as this could have no promise of permanence. None from authority, for the assumed right to give it is the negation of all authority. None from piety, for it involves, at the very outset, the surrender of the work of the Divine Kingdom into the hands of the civil ruler None from policy, because any and every change that may take place in the sense of the constituent bodies, or any among them will supply for each successive change precisely the same warrant as was the groundwork of the original proceeding. Whatever happens, let Christianity keep its own acts to its own agents, and not make them over to hands which would justly be deemed profane and sacrilegious when they came to trespass on the province of the sanctuary."

These words were as true now as they were twelve years ago. If the followers of the Government who were going to vote for the Third Reading were left free to vote according to their consciences the majority of the Government (which was only sixteen on a recent important occasion when the question was left an open one) would disappear, and the Bill would be relegated to the position in which it ought to be. Again, in a letter to a political supporter on the London School Board election in the same year, Mr. Gladstone wrote—

> "An undenominational system of religion framed by or under the authority of the State, is a moral monster."

Whatever English Nonconformists might think of this view, they ought to acquire sufficient breadth of mind to take it into account. For good or for evil, the attempt of the last Parliament to maintain the two systems of provided and non-provided schools on something approaching equal terms was to be upset. What ought in justice to be substituted? Certainly not a system which conferred exclusive privileges at the expense of all upon so-called "undenominational" teaching, which satisfied only some and was loathed by others. The only system consistent with the elementary principles of civil and religious liberty was one which recognised the duty and right of parents to determine the religious instruction of their children.

*MR. P. BARLOW (Bedford) said he had the honour to represent a constituency which, if he might use the expression, had education as its main industry. The borough of Bedford had been possessed of an educational trust fund between 300 and 400 years, which starting from an income of about £40 a year had now at its command about £16,000 per annum. The one small schoolhouse of the early days had now grown into four of the finest schools in England, in which were educated 2,000 children of both sexes. He might be told that this was a matter of secondary education only, but he would point out that until a short time ago the Trust had elementary schools under its control, and that even now they had a system by which children, by the aid of scholarships, could pass from the elementary to the secondary schools and afterwards to the University, without any expense to their parents. He had made it his duty to inquire into the kind of religious education which was given to the children in those schools, and he found that it was of the Cowper-Temple type; and for forty-five years not the slightest objection had ever been made by the parents of the children to that kind of religious teaching. They had heard a great deal about the extreme views which some Nonconformists had taken on this subject of religious education. He ventured to say that hon. Gentlemen opposite could not throw many stones at Nonconformists about their extreme views, because some of the most extreme views expressed both inside and outside the House on the subject of religious education had not been put forward by Nonconformists; while Members of the Opposition had put upon the views of Nonconformists a construction which they had no right to impute. Speaking as a Quaker who owed no allegiance to any priest, parson, or minister, he maintained that Nonconformists as a body were too fair-minded, and too deeply in sympathy with the principles of religious freedom to share the opinions expressed by some of those who had taken the lead in this agitation whether inside the House or in the country. While the great body of Nonconformists desired to have the burden removed from their own shoulders, they did not wish to place a burden on the shoulders of any other denomination. In supporting this Bill heartily he would point out that the very best evidence of its justice was the fact that it had been opposed by extremists on both sides. The Bill was a good Bill, and he believed that in a very few years it would work beneficially for the whole country.

*COLONEL WILLIAMS (Dorsetshire, W.) said he could assure the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down that there were many Members of the Church of England on the Opposition side of the House who fully appreciated every word that he had said. They quite reciprocated, too, the opinions expressed in many of the passages of the speech of the Solicitor-General, as to the desire for the need of unity between Christian people of all churches and denominations.

The conclusion of the Solicitor-General's speech was, however, rather lame. He said that the burden on the Nonconformists was a blot upon the Church of England, and that blot the Bill was intended to remove, so that after all the Bill was aimed at the Church of England. He ventured to say that the last speaker could not have paid close attention to the debates, because there was a very large section of fellow-Christians who did regard the transfer of the burden from Nonconformists as putting a very serious burden on Churchmen. There were a good many inconsistencies as well in the phrases of the speech of the Solicitor-General. The hon. and learned Gentleman alleged that it had often been said that Nonconformist doctrine would be benefited by the passing of this Bill. He, for one, had never said that; on the contrary, he held that it had always been the claim of Nonconformists that they did not want their particular doctrines to be taught in the national elementary schools. But the Nonconformists wanted nobody else's doctrines to be taught in the elementary schools. They said, "We do not want denominational teaching for our own children, and therefore we will not have denominational teaching given to other people's children," and this Bill carried that out. The doctrines of Nonconformists were not benefited by it, but their wants were satisfied. The Solicitor-General went on to speak about neutrality all round, and the annexation of teachers. By whom were the teachers to be annexed? By the Church of England, or by the Roman Catholics, or by the Nonconformists? What a pitiful thing it was that the great Liberal Party could not pass an Education Bill without saying to the finest body of teachers in the world that they must muzzle their consciences, and when they entered the schools, no matter what their religion was, they must not show it. When they came to know what real freedom was and how it could be brought about they would not talk of annexing teachers. Then the man would teach what he believed, and in his judgment it was no use a man teaching anything except what he believed. They ought to give a man or a woman the right to teach what they believed, and that was the foundation of a sound religious and moral education. Therefore he hoped that they should not hear any more about the annexation of teachers. It must be left to the man or the woman to teach what he or she believed to be truth. An hon. Member had alluded to the case of Bath, and said that no harm had resulted there from adopting the diocesan syllabus of Bath and Wells. The hon. Member forgot to mention, however, that that was the system which had been thought out by religious people in the diocese and had not been imposed by the local authority, or by the county council. The case exactly illustrated what they had been fighting for, viz., that the religious instruction should be, he would not say dictated, but superintended by religious people. [AN HON. MEMBER: The syllabus was adopted by the Bath Education Authority.] That was his point. It was an exceedingly unfortunate instance to give. What he wanted to know was where we stood to-day in the educational history of this country. Did hon. Members really look upon this Bill as a new and potent factor in the religious education of the children? He was, as hon. Members knew, not concerned with the fact of whether it was Church of England or Nonconformist teaching, but he was concerned that it should be Christian teaching. Every year a new generation of children come forward to be brought up, and unless they were brought up in the doctrines of Christianity this country would fall behind as other countries had who had done without Christianity. [AN HON. MEMBER: How about Japan?] Japan had been successful because she had tried to copy England and her morality was one founded upon Christianity. For many years the nation was satisfied to pay for education and not trouble itself about by whom it was given, and under that system many schools were built by the Church of England, by Nonconformists (and at one time there were many Nonconformist schools), by Roman Catholics, and others, but the Liberal Party in 1870 put an end to a system under which half the children of the country were educated. The Act of 1902 opened

28,000 school teaching-places to Nonconformists under fair conditions, but this Bill seemed to show that it was the policy of the Liberal Party to continue to supply education to the children against the will of the parents. Freedom would necessitate that if there were only thirty people in England who wanted it those thirty should get religious teaching for their children if it could be given to them. It now came to this, that the Government was going to say that the teaching was not so to be given. The Bill was now going to another place, and he would not care if it never came back. But what about the responsibility of the House of Commons in this matter? To him it was a grievous thing, as an Englishman, and as one who was sincerely desirous that Christianity should grow in England, that there should go from this House a Bill which was stifling education and one under which it was said that, however much religious education was desired, it could not be obtained.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.) said that during the four months which had elapsed since the House first commenced to discuss this Bill three thoughts had strongly impressed themselves upon him. The first had been expressed by his right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer to-day much more forcibly than he could express it, and that was the splendid candour, the grim purpose, and the delightful good temper with which the President of the Board of Education had conducted the Bill through the House. He had watched the right hon. Gentleman day by day with growing respect and admiration. He was indeed the—

> "One strong man in a blatant land
> Who could act and dare not lie."

The second thought was the remarkable change that had come over the temper of the Opposition as the debate proceeded. It began with fury and passion and frantic thumping of the drum ecclesiastic; but it had steadily moderated its tune and tone, until to-day it was a half apologetic pianissimo. It was true that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Dublin had roared for the rejection of the Bill, but he roared "as gently as any sucking dove." The Leader of the Opposition, speaking at the Albert Hall on May 2nd, said—

> "The Government have introduced a Bill which has lit a flame of indignation from one end of England to the other, and which, if it passes—as I will never believe it can until I see it—will not merely be a monument of intolerant folly, but will light the fires of religious bitterness in every parish and every local authority throughout the kingdom."

That impressed him very forcibly, as the right hon. Gentleman's utterances always did, but he went the other day to Bodmin and to Cockermouth, but he saw no flames and fires there. Then the Bishop of Manchester also went to the Albert Hall and denounced the Bill and said—

> "It insulted their Church, outraged their sense of public morality and threatened their religious liberty, and they would not have it."

He believed there had been some anxiety about Clause 13, however, which contained a million of money, but let that pass—

> "They would reject it all from the first line to the last, and bid Mr. Speaker take it to the Terrace and pitch it into the Thames."

He hoped Mr. Speaker when he received that order would adjourn the House in order that they too might go to the Terrace and see the interesting feat performed. He would submit this adaptation of a text to the Bishop—

> "Cast thy Bill upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days."

At the outset the Bishop of Manchester raised a cry of confiscation, and hon. Members opposite adopted that cry, but then suddenly it dawned upon them that perhaps after all the local authorities might not want to take over these schools. Then they came down with tears in their eyes and begged the Government to compel the local authorities to confiscate their property—to use the absurd phraseology of opponents. That sharp change of front alone stamped the great bulk of the opposition to this Bill as hollow and insincere. The attack on Bible teaching—he absolved the Leader of the Opposition, who admitted that it was good and wholesome—had also signally failed. There remained the gibe that this was not an Education Bill. As to that, it was a Bill to restore to the settlement of 1870 those principles so flagrantly violated by the Leader of the Opposition in 1902. By putting the appointment of the teachers in the hands of a majority of managers not responsible to the public the principle of popular control where rate aid was given was violated. The Government had restored it, and they had done more. They had given facilities for denominational teaching never given before in a rate-aided school; and all their difficulties had arisen from an endeavour to meet the denominationalists and to extend the principles of 1870 in their interest. Had the right hon. Gentleman come down with a simple Bill to restore the principles of the agreement of 1870 his path would have been easy. He would have had an enthusiastic Party behind him. All the right hon. Gentleman's trouble and anxiety had arisen from his desire to meet the denominationalists and extend the settlement in their favour. He (Dr. Macnamara) made no complaint about that endeavour; indeed he would have gone further. He would have met the hon. and learned Member for Waterford and the hon. Member for Salford, and it was a little ignominious that they might yet have to meet the demands of those Gentlemen when the Bill was brought again to them from another place. So far as he was concerned he would have endeavoured to have met them in their own House. On the First Reading of this Bill he characterised it as an honest and painstaking endeavour to solve an almost insoluble proposition. He still said so, and he thought that with one exception—he entirely disagreed with the hon. Members for West Ham and South Dublin—every Amendment that had been made had made the Bill a better Bill. That exception was the "contracting out" Amendment. He should say that he had not noticed anything in the nature of obstruction to the Bill. There had been a big fight for principle on the part of the Opposition, but at the same time a most painstaking effort to improve the character of the Bill. He deeply regretted the Amendment providing for contracting out. It had been characterised by all as educationally reactionary, and it was wholly illiberal and against the principles of Liberalism to take a school, maintained as to seven-eighths of its income from public funds, out of popular control. There was nothing to prevent a Tory Government, by increasing the grants to these schools, from setting up again that Dual system which the Liberal Party was returned to destroy. He was sure it would be watched with the greatest care, and that no school would be allowed to contract out unless the managers gave a guarantee that they had enough money to carry on the school as efficiently as it would be carried on if taken over by the authority. He rejoiced at another Amendment that had been made, providing for the medical inspection of the children. That was worth the whole of the rest of the Bill put together, enabling them as it would to make an anthropometrical survey of the whole of the children in the country. He was also very grateful to both the Government and the Opposition for the generous manner in which they had associated themselves each with the other in the endeavour to provide something in the shape of an allowance for the teachers whose schools would be closed. But two things had not been done which ought to have been done. The denominational training colleges ought to have been thoroughly overhauled. It was perfectly monstrous that institutions which got all their money from public sources should be allowed to set up a denominational ring fence round their seats, and that a grievous injustice should be inflicted on young people who had gained their King's scholarship with great success but could not get on without a strong temptation being put in their way to change their faith. He ventured to say that that question could not remain in its present position. The Government would have at an early date to tackle the whole question in the interests of real freedom in the matter of teaching. They had not raised the age for half-time factory labour in this Bill. It had been said to-day that this Bill would be thrown out in another place. He did not think so, and never had thought so. There would be Amendments in another place; there would have to be a conference between the Houses, and give-and-take; but the Bill was going to pass into law. It would not be a settlement of the education question—that was too big a question to be settled in the course of one session—but it would go a long way towards a settlement, and he congratulated the Minister for Education on the great privilege of having contributed in so material a degree to the work of making the citizens of to-morrow fit for the great national heritage which would in due course fall into their hands.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down congratulated the Minister for Education on the privilege—the deserved privilege in the hon. Gentleman's view—of introducing into and carrying through this House an Education Bill. I do not know what the views of the right hon. Gentleman the Minister for Education may be, but it is a privilege which I have enjoyed in my time—I do not know that it is a privilege that I want again, and I am not absolutely sure that the Minister of Education, however we may differ in other matters, will greatly differ from me in that. The hon. Member for North Camberwell seems to think that our opposition to this Bill on its introduction was more vehement in its character than it is now, that our protests have weakened, if not in logical force, at all events in the energy with which they are delivered, and that we now find ourselves in a more acquiescent mood. I am not sure that I agree with the hon. Member. I admit that in hot weather it is difficult to give the same vigorous expression to one's feelings as in different climatic conditions. But I believe there is a more important cause for the change which the hon. Gentleman finds in our debates. I think most of us have begun to feel that the real discussion of this question is not now in this House and has not been for some time; the real discussion must be elsewhere; and everybody is perfectly reconciled to the fact that another place is going to deal with large tracts of the Bill which we have not found time even to touch upon, and, whatever the opinion of various Gentlemen may be, it is in the highest degree improbable that the Bill will come back in the shape in which it leaves us. The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down controverted a prophecy of mine that this Bill would never pass. Does he think this Bill will ever pass? I do not think he or anybody else does.

*DR. MACNAMARA: I am not a believer in verbal inspiration like the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The fact is, as two or three hon. Members have said to-night, the time for argument in this House has not only passed, but has long been passed. We felt that the Government were determined to send the Bill up in a certain shape from this House. My conviction is that the House on both sides has long resolved that, if there are to be further changes made in this Bill, they are to be made elsewhere, and that fact must militate against the reality of our debates. At the same time, do not let it be supposed that the aversion with which we regard this Bill has at all altered either in character or in quality. The criticisms which were passed upon it months ago are criticisms to which we still adhere, and are prepared to fight for either in this House or in the country. I do not wish, of course, to traverse the whole field of our debates. It would be impossible in the time at my disposal and, if possible, it would be improper. But may I touch upon one or two salient points in this afternoon's discussion? The Government bring this Bill forward as a solution of the education question. About that the hon. Gentleman the Member for North Camberwell and I, who have fought this education question for many years, are perhaps less sanguine than the relative novices on the Treasury bench; we at all events take less sanguine views. They think, at all events, it is a solution of the question, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who made a rare incursion into our debates this afternoon, told us that, unless this Bill was founded on equality and justice, the settlement proposed by it was one that could not by any possibility last. Let us consider whether this Bill does do justice and does provide equality between the contending parties in the matter of religious education. May I say in a parenthesis that at this stage, owing to the limitations of time, I will touch on nothing except the religious aspect of the question, but, though I do not touch on other points, it does not follow that I am indifferent to them. The Chancellor of the Exchequer says that, unless this Bill embodies justice and equality, it is not an arrangement that can stand. Does it embody equality? Does it embody justice? I take first the ordinary Nonconformist view as distinguished from the passive resister's view. What does this Bill do for them? What grievance of theirs does it remedy? The Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Solicitor-General told us there was an admitted grievance on the part of the Nonconformists, but they differed as to what their grievance was. One grievance was that the Nonconformists had to pay rates for denominational education, but another was that the Nonconformists could not get under the 1902 arrangement for the children the religious education they had a right to demand. In the first place, let me observe that, if the 1902 Bill differed from the previous settlement with regard to the religious education of Nonconformists, it differed in every single respect for the better. The hon. Gentlemen mentioned a number of things that were part of the arrangement of 1870, as that half the cost should be borne by the denomination, and that, if there was to be any rate-aid given, there should be full public control. I do not admit that that was part of the arrangement of 1870, but, however that may be, if you are going back to the speeches of 1870, part of the arrangement was that a 3d. rate should exhaust all the cost of the schools. If you are really going back to the *obiter dicta* of Ministers of that day——

DR. MACNAMARA: No, the text of the Act.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot say anything about the text of the Act, but fundamentally and essentially what the Act of 1902 did was to leave the two great classes of schools in existence and efficient which were recognised by the Act of 1870, and they could not be left in existence and efficient under any other arrangement than that of the Act of 1902. ["Oh, oh!"] Every change in the Act of 1902 was a change in favour of the Nonconformists, and no one knowing the circumstances can contradict the statement. It is the irrefutable truth in every particular. What is the Nonconformist grievance as regards the education of Nonconformist children?

A LIBERAL HON. MEMBER: What about the single area schools?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Act of 1902 did not make that grievance. It found that grievance and did a great deal to remedy it.

ANOTHER HON. MEMBER: It put the schools on the rates.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: What has that to do with the education of the children? I am dealing with the point of the education of Nonconformist children, and does the hon. Member not know that the Act of 1902 made it possible for the first time for local authorities to provide schools out of public money and religious teaching out of public money wherever they thought the conditions of the district required it? The Act of 1902, as far as Nonconformist teachers and education are concerned, was an improvement on the settlement of 1870. It was an improvement, because it allowed every teacher, except the head teacher, notwithstanding the trust deeds, to be a Nonconformist, because it allowed alternative schools to be built at the public cost, because it provided that every pupil teacher should be selected irrespective of creed. ["No, no!"] In every particular, so far as the grievance referred to by the Chancellor of the Exchequer is concerned, the Act of 1902 was an enormous improvement upon the Act of 1870. I do not deny, in spite of all these improvements, that the condition of things was not left perfect by that Act either as regards Nonconformists or Churchmen, or other denominations. Consider exactly what the educational grievance is. The Government have made professions at short intervals throughout the whole of the three months discussion, which, in effect, come to this—that the schools are, after all, to go on under the new Bill very much as they did under the old Bill. Is that profession true, or is it not? Does the Bill carry it out? If the Bill does what the Government says it does, if the schools belonging to the denominations are to go on very much in the same way as before, how does it remedy any Nonconformist grievance? I admit that in single school areas the Nonconformists have not the teaching every day of the week, but they have it three days of the week. They have the tuition they desire. The Government say that the common practice in Church schools in country districts is this—three days a week of Cowper-Temple teaching, and on the other two days the Church catechism. Therefore, on three days a week under the existing system Nonconformist children have exactly the education which Nonconformist parents desire. ["No."] When they are speaking to hon. Members on this side of the House, they say, "We can assure you that the whole thing will go on as before." The right hon. Gentleman tells the Jews that their schools are to go on as before. He tells the Roman Catholics that 75 per cent. of the schools are to go on; and he tells the Church of England that under Clause 3 there would be no change that any one can notice. If that be so, where is the grievance of the Nonconformists? Or, if there be a grievance, how does the Bill remedy it? If the existing state of things does not give equality and justice to the Nonconformists, I am utterly unable to see how the new state of things will improve matters. Now I will come to the case of the passive resister. This Bill is supposed to give equality and justice to everybody, including the passive resister. His theory is this—that, while it is legitimate to require a man to pay taxes, some of which may go to denominational teaching, it is contrary to conscience to pay rates for the same purpose. I do not argue their conscientious objection, I accept their view of what their conscience commands. How does this Bill help them? It unquestionably requires that money shall be paid out of the rates for denominational teaching. It requires it under Clause 4 and under Clause 3, where the school is to be kept going and lighted and warmed out of the rates. Not a great gift to the denomination, but how about the passive resister? His grievance is not determined by the mere magnitude of the sums concerned. With him it is a question of principle; and a single shilling out of the rates spent on denominational education wounds his conscience as much as if it were £1,000. Then this Bill does not help him. Personally I think that this talk about the amount contributed to education is exaggerated. Considering that in the ordinary school there is only an hour and a half a week devoted to denominational education, will any one say that a fair consideration for the use of the buildings of a voluntary school is not enough to pay for that teaching? But if the ratepayer pays under the existing system, he pays under this Bill. You do not relieve the conscience of the passive resister. Then how is the local authority benefited? Under the Act of 1870 and under the Act of 1902 the local authority was not required or permitted to concern itself with these religious and denominational controversies. But under Clause 3 of the present Bill this authority has to determine in the first place whether it will take over the denominational school, and then at what hour the denominational education shall take place, and the number of hours in the week to be devoted to it. Not more than two hours a week to any given child, but the number of actual hours per week of denominational teaching is to be handed over to this unforunate local authority. Under Clause 4 you also require the local authority to determine who the teachers shall be. Hon. Members below the gangway who are specially interested in Clause 4 say it is hopelessly inadequate at present to carry out the intention of the Government, which is that the local authority shall find Jewish teachers for Jewish schools, Roman Catholic teachers for Roman Catholic schools, Church teachers for Church schools, and, for anything I know to the contrary, Wesleyan teachers for Wesleyan schools, though that may be repudiated by some Wesleyan representatives in this House. Clause 4 schools have to be staffed by the local authority in accordance with the character of the school. That is not in the Bill, but it is in the speeches of the Government. Have the local authority much to thank you for in requiring them to fulfil these delicate and difficult tasks? I think it is right they should carry them out, but if you make the local authority find the teachers you should make them appoint teachers so as to suit the religion desired by the parents of the children. While you require the local authority to do all these things you do not give it liberty or free it from the Cowper-Temple clause. You bind it in one direction; you free it in another. Do you treat the parent better than you treat the local authority? The Government have boasted of their kindness to the parent. As a matter of fact, they do recognise the parent in Clause 4, but do they recognise him anywhere else? If you are going to deal with this religious situation in a final manner and upset all the arrangements of 1870 and of 1902, it must be upon a parental foundation. You say the parents in this country want only Cowper-Temple teaching. You may be right, but give the parents the chance of saying so. Give them an opportunity of saying how they want their children taught. Then we shall know where we are, and I for one shall not protest against any system whomsoever it may favour—Roman Catholic, or Church of England, or Wesleyan, or Agnostic, or any other sect—so long as the parent is allowed to decide what religion it shall be. You do not do justice to the parent; do you do justice to the Church? The learned Solicitor-General appeared to think that the Church was the aggressor in all this matter. I do not get up in this House to speak in favour of any particular denomination. My view is that it is a parental question before any other, and this House and this Parliament have made cause with the Church which, I think, they should recognise. The Church before 1870 bore the great burden of education; since 1870 it has been asked to continue to bear that burden, and since 1902 it has expended vast sums in carrying out educational purposes. How do you propose to reward the Church? Almost every Member on your side who has spoken in favour of the Bill has indicated that, while he regards the consciences of Roman Catholics and Jews as consciences to be respected, he thinks that he has in his own keeping the consciences of members of the Church of England. I call that grossly unjust; I call that grossly unequal; I call it a violent interference with every principle of religious equality. The hon. and learned Gentleman told us that Nonconformists made great sacrifices in order to accept Cowper-Temple teaching. That is not the statement of the Nonconformists. They tell us that it is the teaching they like; that it is the teaching they desire for their children. It is quite fair, and so far as parents belonging to the Church of England agree with them let them have Cowper-Temple teaching. I do not quarrel with that; I approve of it. But there are parents who do not want that teaching. By what principle of common justice, by what principle of equity, by what principle of accepted Liberalism are you going to force upon them a kind of teaching which they do not want? The effect of this Bill is that it carries out no principle, that it embodies no coherent theory. It is neither based upon an historical foundation like the Act of 1902, nor does it embody any rational principle whatever. Its authors do not pretend to like it, those who are going to vote for it to-night largely vote for it in the hope that it will be altered in another place; and, though I do not deny that you may find scattered about its incoherent clauses here and there the principles upon upon which an ultimate settlement may be based, and might be based, I say it will require profound modification before out of this Bill you can manufacture anything in the nature of a final and coherent settlement. Its authors, and they are many, have not thought out the scheme they have brought before us. They are not prepared to defend it. It is denounced by some of their supporters on that side of the House; it is universally denounced by their supporters on this side. For my part if I did not believe, as I firmly do believe, that no Bill of this kind can possibly become law without the profoundest modification, I should look forward to to-night's division with a seriousness of apprehension which I must honestly confess I do not entertain on the present occasion.

The PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Mr. BIRRELL, Bristol, N.): With singular unanimity almost every speaker who has taken part in to-night's debate has agreed that the time for argument has gone by. Nevertheless to the best of his ability he has gone on arguing and unfortunately half an hour has been left to me——

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Thirty-five minutes.

MR. BIRRELL: I wish it were only half an hour—to proceed on the same sad path. It is barely four months ago since I stood here, a highly nervous figure I admit, asking leave to introduce, not, indeed, this Bill—to say that would be to insult the utility of this House, even under the closure, as a consultative and deliberative body—but nevertheless a Bill which in all its main features and dominant characteristics was identical with the Bill that is now before the House. But although the time is short, a good many things have happened to me since then, and I am reminded as I stand here to-night of a famous passage of Shakespeare in which he contrasts the difference in appearance between a barque as it leaves port on its outward-going voyage, like a prodigal youngster, with the same vessel, still seaworthy but with "over-weather'd ribs and ragged sails," which makes its way to rest for a brief season in its desired haven. The over-weather'd ribs and ragged sails I take to be a poetical and therefore a highly exaggerated account of Clause 4 as amended, and these State-aided schools which excite the warm dislike of my hon. friend the Member for North Camberwell and, I freely admit, of myself also. However, this Bill has, I think, during our discussion become much better understood, and certainly the torrents of abuse with which it was received, and which, I own, for a few weeks well-nigh overwhelmed me, have entirely ceased, and I do not suppose there is even a prelate—a proud prelate, to use the language of a Gentleman opposite —who would recommend either this House or another place to treat this Bill with the ignominy and contempt which they then alleged it deserved. The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has adopted, as indeed have many of his supporters, a somewhat curious attitude. They have said sometimes that this Bill does really nothing for the Nonconformists, and yet they have said that it is a Bill conceived in a spirit of deadly hatred and animosity to the Church of England—an odious imputation which I for one most entirely repudiate. I think when we consider the clauses of this Bill I am entitled to say that such an accusation ought not to have been brought against either me or the Government of which I am a Member. Now the right hon. Gentleman has asked what this Bill does for Nonconformists. We have had very little attention paid in these debates to Clause 1, which has been almost unchallenged and has passed almost undiscussed. It has occupied a very short time indeed, and its authority has been very little challenged either in the House or in the country. [OPPOSITION cries of "Oh!"] Well, it does not live in my memory as that part of the Bill which was subjected to the most searching criticism at the hands of the Opposition. A great number of them have said in the House and country that after the last general election some such clause as Clause 1 was inevitable. Anyhow, there Clause 1 is, unaltered and unamended, and so it will go to another place. It secures for every Nonconformist in every village throughout the country an undenominational school within his reach. Clause 1 is what I called it once before, a charter of freedom to the village Nonconformist, and a Bill which contains that clause cannot truthfully or properly be said to be a Bill which did not relieve, did not entirely remove, the grievance which the right hon. Gentleman admits he found staring him in the face when he took up the problem in 1902, and which he left staring him in the face after he passed the Act. I say, therefore, that Clause 1 has relieved the Nonconformist grievance. Clause 7 has also relieved the teachers, set free the teachers' conscience, a matter of some importance to a vast and honourable profession. These two clauses taken by themselves fulfil pledges and work a mighty reform. I am not here to find fault with the Act of 1902, having administered it, as it has been my lot to do, for some months. I recognise, as indeed many of us have recognised, that it contains some admirable provisions. But the right hon. Gentleman failed, and he has admitted that he failed—I do not blame him, with his allies and his supporters he found it impossible. I know something of the difficulty of allies, and even the most powerful Minister, even a Prime Minister, seldom has all his own way, and I, therefore, being the humblest of Ministers, could not expect to have all my own way in this matter. Therefore, I do not blame the right hon. Gentleman for having been unable to deal with the grievance which he admitted he found, and which he left for us to deal with. I think, therefore, that Clauses 1 and 7 are very considerable achievements and very great reforms. Then there is the religious difficulty with which the right hon. Gentleman dealt. I have never been among those who quarrelled with the existence of the religious difficulty. I regret, of course, that it should exist, we all must; but I do not wonder that it does exist, nor am I angry, if you can imagine such a thing, with my fellow-countrymen for attaching the great importance which they do to this subject. I have been told by many Gentlemen below the gangway and on this side of the House, "Oh, think more," they say, "of the children; think of them and them alone. Consider the doctor, secure compulsory medical inspection, see that nurses are employed, bind up their wounds, and attend to their minor ailments, look after their playgrounds, organize their games, see to their vacation." All excellent things, things that are done in this Bill, with, I gladly admit, the universal support of the whole House, and not least with the support of Gentlemen who are sitting immediately opposite me. We have done these things, but they do not go the whole way. I would venture to say to Gentlemen below the gangway if they say, "Think only of the child"—"Yes, but what is the child, whence came it, whether goeth it?" Conscience, sin, immortality, are you going to drive all those things out of the ordinary curriculum of the school life? Are you going to leave these things as if they were of no account? Were this House disposed to do so, which by an overwhelming majority it showed it would not, the parents of the children would not let you do it, nor would the children themselves, at all events for a good many generations to come, and I appeal to hon. Gentleman below the Gangway in this matter, not to throw themselves readily or eagerly into the path of those who advocate purely secular education. I would urge them of all men, they who dream dreams and see visions of a good time coming, when the condition of the poor and the miserable will so poison the existence of the rich and the comfortable as to make all society combine to do all that it can to redeem that lot —I ask them to remember, in that great effort, where are they to look for the leverage which is to accomplish that mighty revolution? Where are they to find the alkahest which is to transmute the base metal of selfishness into the pure gold of altruism? I say they will find Christianity to be the potent force which will ever be the best friend of the poor and helpless man. Were it said, "All that may be struck out and handed over to the purely voluntary efforts of those great organisations we compendiously call the Churches," I do not think that can safely or properly be done, and it has been the main object and the passionate desire of this Government to do what it can to secure throughout this country as an ordinary rule and principle of our school life that religious education should be given. And how is it to be done? We believe, we may of course be quite wrong, but we have turned this matter over in a thousand different ways, we have considered all the difficulties and all the obstacles that meet anybody who advocates religious education in this country, and we have deliberately come to the conclusion—and nothing has shaken my mind since first I began to think night and day of this subject—that the best way of doing that is to make undenominational teaching of the kind authorised by the Act of 1870, which has behind it the experience of thirty-six years, the ordinary rule of all the schools. We are told that this is unfair. The noble Lord the Member for East Marylebone, who made many interesting and powerful speeches on the Bill, has read the syllabuses, and says he finds nothing in them to make a child attached to the Church of England. But let him look into the actual facts of the case. I was speaking the other day to a Member of the House who knows about board schools and Church schools, not as things to be supported, but as places where to send his children. He was blessed with five daughters, three of whom were educated in board schools, and two in Church schools.

> "The three who were educated in board schools,"

said he,

> "are confirmed and communicating members of the Church of England, and the two who were educated in Church schools are stern and unbending Nonconformists."

I am not going to treat the five daughters of my hon. friend so rudely as to build any theory upon them, but I commend their case to the noble Lord. I do not believe that this education which has been given for six and thirty years in our board schools has in a single instance proved hostile to a child joining with heartiness, comfort, and joy either the Church of England or any other religious denomination. The fact is that in early life, the capacity of children being limited, denominational differences do not cut so deeply as some suppose. I agree with the Archbishop of Canterbury that religious instruction is very badly given. I have heard it given again and again in board schools and in Church schools, and I very seldom heard it given otherwise than badly. That is a criticism not of the system, but of the teacher. Others things are also badly taught. I went the other day to a board school and heard a French lesson, and, though I make no pretence of being a French scholar, I was in the school more than ten minutes before I knew what the lesson was about. These are criticisms of methods, not of principles. The well trained teacher is the thing we want. A good teacher can teach Cowper-Templeism so as to make it beautiful, charming, and most interesting. [OPPOSITION cries of "No."] I quite agree with much of what the hon. Member for Waterford has said. I have never disguised my sympathy with the cause he represents. But I cannot agree with him that Cowper-Temple religious instruction is a thing perfectly hateful to Roman Catholics. Many strange things come to the knowledge of a Minister for Education. I know that many parents of Roman Catholic children who attended the board schools have admitted that their children have received advantage from the simple undenominational teaching which is given in those schools. There are in those old board schools also many scores of Roman Catholic teachers, devoted men and women, who give Cowper-Temple religious instruction every day of their lives, and they find it no injury either to their faith or their passion for the church to which they belong. While we admit the differences that divide us, let us not, for Heaven's sake, exaggerate them, and make them out to be more serious. We had to grapple with the religious difficulty. We grappled with it in a certain way. We knew the opposition we should meet with from various quarters. But our object being to secure the maximum of religious instruction in the greatest number of schools, we came to the conclusion that it was only by adhering to the system of undenominational teaching that we could secure a wide system of religious instruction which excludes the formularies distinctive of religious sects, but which allows the teacher to put the whole force of his religious character into his religious teaching, a character without which his teaching would be vain, no matter to what denomination he belongs. If he has not got it it does not matter what he calls himself; if he has the teacher's gift, then, indeed, even through the so-called "dry bones" of this Cowper-Templeism, he can impart to the children who fall under his influence all the elements of sound religion and deep-rooted piety. We have kept our pledges. We have secured popular control. The right hon. Gentleman says, what is the value of it if you put all sorts of burdens on the local authority? So it will. That is the look-out of the local authority. I have never known a local authority which despised new duties or shirked new administration. We have secured popular control; we have secured through all the villages undenominational schools for the children of Nonconformists. Then, it is said, that in doing this we have inflicted grievous wrong and injury on the Church of England. I do not believe it. I should be very sorry if I thought that any action or word of mine had done any harm to the Church of England as a spiritual body. I care nothing for it in any other capacity. I believe that this Bill, so far from doing it any harm, as a spiritual organisation, will remove and disperse a black cloud of suspicion and dislike, which for 200 years and more has hung over it in the matter of education. So far from doing injury to the Church of England, this Bill, if properly carried out, if due effect is given to its provisions, will strengthen the Church of England and make it far more popular in the country districts than it has been in the past, and relieve it from a cloud of suspicion, dislike, and sometimes, I am afraid, of actual hatred. I therefore claim that this Bill will not substantially injure the Church of England. It will secure, in the first place, where the schools are taken over, their catechetical teaching, the rent for their premises, which will enable them to obtain, if necessary, such outside assistance as they require. They may give it in the school, or under Clause 6 they may give it in the church. They may take away the child altogether during the three-quarters of an hour of instruction. This freedom will be restored to them, the power and the control of the clergy, the loss of which they resented so bitterly in 1902, when it was taken from them, will to some considerable extent be restored to them. I say that as a spiritual instrument their position, so far from being worse, will be better under the provisions of this Bill. Perhaps it is better they should not know the feelings entertained towards the Church of England by many a poor Primitive Methodist and Nonconformist. These things cannot go on during long years of dominancy, handed down from father to son. [A laugh.] Oh, yes; it is easy to laugh and sneer. I have not spent my life among Nonconformists for nothing. The dominancy which the Church has exercised in the matter of education for many a decade this Bill will remove, and it will not injure by one jot or tittle the catechetical knowledge or the Prayer Book knowledge of any child of future days. I say to the lovers of education and to the lovers of religion that I believe that this Bill will aid and abet both these great causes. The Bill leaves us to-night. It goes elsewhere. Many have spoken of what is going to happen elsewhere. I have no such knowledge. I indulge in no speculation on the subject. Their responsibility rests with them, and with them alone. They can do whatever they choose to this Bill. In parting with the Bill I have to thank the House for the great kindness and invariable courtesy with which they have received me, inexperienced in these matters, from first to last. I am not sorry that my first efforts in trying to pass a Bill through this House should have been one connected with a subject which, after all, whatever our opinions may be, goes deep down into the very vitals of the future of our people.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 369; Noes, 177. (Division List No. 284.)

AYES.

Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland(Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Armitage, R.
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith,Rt.Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.
Balfour, Robert (Lanark)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow,JohnEmmott(Somerset
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, Hubert (Eastbourn
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Beck, A. Cecil
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, SirJ.Williams(Devonp'rt
Benn, W.(T'w'rHamlets,S.Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, J. H. (Essex, Romford
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W.(Bedfordshire
Bolton, T.D.(Derbyshire, N.E.)
Bottomley, Horatio
Boulton, A. C. F. (Ramsey)
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Bright, J. A.
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brodie, H. C.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J.F.L.(Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Sir JohnT.(Cheshire)
Bryce,Rt.Hn.James (Aberdeen
Bryce, J. A. (InvernessBurghs)
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burns, Rt. Hn. John
Bnrnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Chas.
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton,Rt.Hn.RichardKnight
Cawley, Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Coats, SirT.Glen(Renfrew, W.)
Cobbold, Felix Thornley

Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W.
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, C.H. (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cory, Clifford John
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cowan, W. H.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Crossley, William J.
Davies, David (Montgomery Co.
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dickinson, W.H. (St. Pancras, N
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dobson, Thomas W.
Duckworth, James
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Erskine, David C.
Essex, R. W.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Faber, G. H. (Boston)
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Furness, Sir Christopher
Gardner, Col. Alan (Hereford, S.)
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gill, A. H.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Glendinning, R. G.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Grant, Corrie
Greenwood, G. Peterborough)
Greenwood, Hamar (York)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Griffith, Ellis J.
Grove, Archibald
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Hart-Davies, T.
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hedges, A. Paget
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J.M. (Aberdeen, W.
Henry, Charles S.
Herbert, Col. Ivor (Mon., S.)
Herbert, T. Arnold (Wycombe)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Holland, Sir Wiliam Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Hope, W. Bateman (Somerset, N
Horniman, Emslie John
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Idris, T. H. W.
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Sir D. Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Kitson, Sir James
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Langley, Batty
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir, Joseph F. (Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich
Lever, W. H. (Cheshire, Wirral)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Luttrell, Hugh Fownes
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonld, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J.M. (Falkirk B'ghs
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Maclean, Donald
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Arthur, William
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Laren, Sir C. B. (Leicester)
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Mansfield, H. Rendall (Lincoln)
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Rt. Hon. John
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Newnes, Sir George (Swansea)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Chas. N. (Doncast'r)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Nuttall, Harry
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Pearson, Sir W. D. (Colchester)
Perks, Robert William
Philipps, Col. Ivor (S'thampton)
Philipps, J. Wynford (Pembroke
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Pollard, Dr.
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central
Price, Robert John (Norfolk, E.)
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Priestley, W.E.B. (Bradford, E.
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell, (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Rees, J. D.
Rendall, Athelstan
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'th
Richardson, A.
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)

Samuel, Herbert L.(Cleveland)
Scarisbrick, T. T. L.
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C.E.(Manchester)
Scott, A.H.(Ashton under Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Snowden, P.
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Hn.A.Lyulph(Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Sir Edward(Salisbury
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson, J.W.H.(Somerset,E
Tillett, Louis John
Tomkinson, James
Torrance, Sir A. M.
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent
Ward, W. Dudley(Southamptn
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, John Cathcart(Orkney
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, H. Anderson
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
Weir, James Galloway
Whitbread, Howard
White, George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williams, Llewelyn(Carmarthn
Williamson, A.
Wills, Arthur Walters
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Winfrey, R.
Wodehouse, Lord(Norfolk,Mid
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Woodhouse, Sir J.T.(Huddersfd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Abraham, Wm. (Cork, N. E.)
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Ashley, W. W.
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt.Hn.A.J.(CityLond.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Baring, Hon. Guy (Winchester)
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry, N.
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beach, Hn.MichaelHugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Boland, John
Bowles, G. Stewart
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Burke, E. Haviland-
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carlile, E. Hildred
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cave, George
Cavendish, Rt. Hn.Victor C.W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Clancy, John Joseph
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cogan, Denis J.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Courthope, G. Loyd
Cox, Harold
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.
Craik, Sir Henry
Crean, Eugene
Cullinan, J.
Dalrymple, Viscount
Delany, William
Dixon-Hartland, SirFredDixon
Dolan, Charles Joseph
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Du Cros, Harvey
Duffy, William J.
Duncan,Robert (Lanark,Govan
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants, W.)
Fardell, Sir T. George
Farrell, James Patrick
Fell, Arthur
Fetherstonhaugh, Godfrey
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Fletcher, J. S.
Flynn, James Christopher
Forster, Henry William
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Ginnell, L.
Glover, Thomas
Haddock, George R.
Halpin, J.
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hammond, John
Hardy, Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Harrington, Timothy
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazelton, Richard
Heaton, John Henniker
Helmsley, Viscount
Hervey, F.W.F.(BuryS.Edm'd
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hill, Henry Staveley (Staff'sh.)
Hogan, Michael
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Houston, Robert Paterson
Hunt, Rowland
Joyce, Michael
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. SirJohn H.
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, SirHenrySeymour(Hull)
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, W.)
Lee, ArthurH.(Hants.,Fareham
Long, Col. Chas. W.(Evesham)
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Dublin,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Sir Francis William
Lundon, W.
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Chas. (Donegal, E.)
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Killop, W.
Magnus, Sir Philip
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Meagher, Michael
Meehan, Patrick A.
Meysey-Thompson, E. C.
Mooney, J. J.
Morpeth, Viscount
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield
Nield, Herbert
Nolan, Joseph
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid

O'Connor, James(Wicklow, W.
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Grady, J.
O'Hare, Patrick
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon,N
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, Sir Gilbert (Gravesend
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, HerbertPike(Darlington
Percy, Earl
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Power, Patrick Joseph
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, Major R. F.
Rawlinson,John Frederick Peel
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Redmond, William (Clare)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Smith, AbelH.(Herftord, East)
Smith, F.E.(Liverpool, Walton
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.
Stanley, Hon.Arthur(Ormskirk
Starkey, John R.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Sullivan, Donal
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUniv
Thomson, W. Mitchell-(Lanark
Thornton, Percy M.
Walker, Col. W. H. (Lancashire
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Warde, Col. C. E. (Kent,Mid
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Willoughby, de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley(York,E.R.
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

CORPORATION OF LONDON (BLACKFRIARS AND OTHER BRIDGES) BILL. [BY ORDER.]

Lords Amendments considered.

Lords Amendments to the Amendment in page 9, line 31, agreed to.

Lords Amendment in page 9, line 31 (leave out Clause 15), the next Amendment, read a second time.

*MR. BARNARD (Kidderminster) explained that the clause which gave protection to the Metropolitan Water Board had for some years past been inserted in the tramway Bills of the London County Council. He pointed out to the House that his Motion to-night was not contrary to the dictates of good taste in spite of the action which Lord Welby had taken in another place, because the action was taken under a misapprehension. It must be remembered that this clause was placed in the Bill when it went through Committee of the House of Commons, and it passed its Third Reading in the House without alteration. After that it went through Committee of the House of Lords with the clause inserted. The Lord Chairman subsequently struck it out, and on the discussion on Third Reading on Lord Welby's Motion to reinsert the clause the Lord Chairman quoted precedents to show that its insertion was contrary to precedent. On those statements of the Lord Chairman Lord Welby withdrew his proposition. He now understood from the advisers of the Metropolitan Water Board that the Lord Chairman was misinformed and the conclusion which had been come to was to invite the House to reinsert the clause. With regard to the position of the Board of Trade in the matter he could only say the Board of Trade last year not only allowed similar propositions to go through dealing with other subjects, but took upon itself the responsibility of proposing and carrying them in a provisional order. It might be said that the Board of Trade regulations in regard to this subject were ample and sufficient for the purpose. All that he could say was that they were practically no safeguard, even if the regulations were acted up to, to any other persons beyond those interested in the electric current. This protection had been granted in electric power Bills on more than one occasion. If it were granted in the case of electric power Bills, it appeared to be very strange that it should be withheld in connection with a tramway scheme. There were other precedents in addition to the London County Council Tramways in which a similar protective clause had been inserted, viz., the South Wales Electric Power Distribution Company's Act, 1900; the Sheffield Corporation Tramways Act, 1901; the Clyde Valley Electric Power Act, 1901; the Dublin St. James's Gate Brewery Tramways Act, 1901; the Manchester Southern Tramways Act, 1903; the Exeter Corporation Tramways Act, 1903; the Brighton Corporation Tramways Act, 1903; the Preston, Chorley, and Horwich

Tramways Act, 1903; the Somerset and District Electric Power Act, 1903; the North Western Electric Power Act, 1903; the Lothians Electric Power Act, 1904; the Altrincham Tramways Provisional Order, 1904; the Metropolitan Electric Supply Company's Act, 1905. The Water Board had about 7,000 miles of pipes in London and were practically responsible for the water supply of 7,000,000 people. They served out on a busy day some 250,000,000 gallons of water. It was therefore essential that proper protection should be given. It was not merely a money question, but the safety of the water supply of London, which he could not help thinking would be seriously imperilled. It was a reasonable insurance that the clause provided. It had been passed by a Committee of this House, by this House itself, and by a Committee of the House of Lords. A big question was opened up as to whether on the *dictum* of the Lord Chairman they should accept the position without considerable investigation.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth disagree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. Barnard.*)

MR. LUPTON (Lincolnshire, Sleaford) seconded.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. KEARLEY, Devonport) said first of all he should like to point out the historical aspect of the matter. In 1893 a joint committee, presided over by Lord Cross, went exhaustively into the whole subject, and the result of the deliberations of the Committee was that a set of model clauses was drafted. Those model clauses were adopted and had been inserted in all Bills since. They were in this Bill, and under the clauses the promoters were bound to comply with the Board of Trade regulations, which were adequate to protect all interests. The regulations had been in force for thirteen years, and during the whole of that time there had not been one single case brought to the attention of the Board of Trade of any ill results from electrical contact.

LORD R. CECIL (Marylebone, E.): Was there not a case at Leeds?

MR. KEARLEY said no evidence had ever been produced to show that the corroding of the pipe to which the noble Lord alluded arose from electrical action. At any rate, the electrical adviser of the Board of Trade denied that it could be established. The Board of Trade regulations had been revised several times and were again under consideration. It could not, therefore, be said that they were not up-to-date. The Board of Trade objected to the insertion of this clause, because an arrangement had been arrived at whereby for some years they had secured uniform procedure in Parliamentary practice. They objected to the clause because it was unnecessary and because it created the impression, undeservedly, that the model clauses of the Board of Trade were not adequate.

*MR. MORTON (Sutherland) said he desired on the part of the Corporation to say that they were entirely satisfied with the protection which the House of Lords had given them by striking out the clause referred to. The Corporation, for the sake of peace and quietness agreed, to the insertion of the clause, and not because they believed in it as being necessary at all. In this matter they were merely bridge-wideners and they ought not to be troubled, even if it were necessary, by any such clause as this. Moreover, they were told on good authority that the Board of Trade regulations were quite sufficient for the purpose. The Corporation hoped to have the works in progress soon after the Autumn session, and he trusted the House would agree that this clause was not necessary, and that the Corporation had acted fairly and even generously in voluntarily finding from two to three hundred thousand pounds to enable the tramway to be taken over Blackfriars Bridge.

Question put.

The House proceeded to a Division; but there being no Members willing to act as Tellers for the Ayes, Mr. Speaker declared the Noes had it.

Subsequent Lords Amendments agreed to.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (TRAMWAYS AND IMPROVEMENTS BILL) (BY ORDER).

*MR. BARNARD (Kidderminster) said that although it might be true that the Board of Trade regulations were sufficient to carry out the object of the Amendment he had placed upon the Paper, his complaint was that they were not carried into effect. To show that the Board of Trade were not altogether consistent in their policy he would point out that in the case of the Administrative County of London and District Electric Power Bill of last session, a Bill which was very well known, this clause was inserted by a Select Committee of the House of Lords after evidence had been called and the matter fully gone into, and the Bill passed through all stages in both Houses of Parliament without objection being taken to this clause by the Board of Trade, but the Bill however, failed to receive Royal Assent through want of time. He would not press his objection any further, and he would not move.

Lords Amendment considered, and agreed to.

———

NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1904-5.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Whereas it appears by the Navy Appropriation Account for the year ended the 31st day of March, 1905, and the statement appended thereto, as follows, viz :—

(a.) That the gross expenditure for certain Navy Services exceeded the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £415,439 18*s*. 8*d*., as shown in Column No. 1 of the Schedule hereto appended; while the gross expenditure for other Navy Services fell short of the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £449,539 13*s*. 7*d*., as shown in Column No. 2 of the said appended Schedule, so that the gross actual expenditure for the whole of the Navy Services fell short of the gross estimated expenditure by the net sum of £34,099 14*s*. 11*d*.;

(b.) That the receipts in aid of certain Grants for Navy Services fell short of the total estimated receipts by the sum of £80,479 6*s*. 10*d*., as shown in Column No. 3 of the said appended Schedule, while the receipts in aid of other Navy Services exceeded the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £76,198 8*s*. 9*d*., as shown in Column No. 4 of the said appended Schedule, so that the total actual receipts in aid of the Grants for Navy Services fell short of the total estimated receipts by the net sum of £4,280 18*s*. 1*d*.

(c.) That the resulting differences between the Exchequer Grants for Navy Services and the net expenditure are as follows, viz.—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Total Surpluses - -	455,107	18	8
Total Deficits - -	425,289	1	10
Net Surplus -	£29,818	16	10

And whereas the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application, in reduction of the net charge on Exchequer Grants for certain Navy Services, of the whole of the sums received in excess of the Estimated Appropriation-in-Aid, in respect of the same services, and have also temporarily authorised the application of so much of the said total surpluses on certain Grants for Navy Services as is necessary to cover the said total deficits on other Grants for Navy Services.

1. Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the application of such sums be sanctioned:"—(*Mr. McKenna.*)

MR. CLAUDE HAY asked why there had been an excess of expenditure over the estimates of £4,280 for Navy Services.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON, Dundee) replied that those figures related to matters which happened two years ago. There were many precedents for the course they were now taking.

MR. WILLIAM RUTHERFORD (Liverpool, West Derby) said he was aware that there was a considerable number of precedents for Resolutions of this kind, but nevertheless this course was exceedingly objectionable. The real meaning of it was that in the

Navy sums had been spent to the extent of £415,000 over and above the amount voted. There was an item for £279,000 for contract work which had not been carried out, the expenditure for which had been authorised by the House. He would like to have some explanation on that point. Hon. members who were now on the Government side had denounced this system of book-keeping when they were in Opposition. It was absolutely bad and unsound. One would have thought after the protests made in former years that hon. Gentlemen opposite would not have come here to do the same sort of financial juggle. He was very much ashamed when this practice was followed on his own side, but they made no fantastic attempts to pose as financial purists. Now that great financial reformers had obtained control of affairs this was the sort of thing they did.

Mr. BOWLES (Lambeth, Norwood) said he wished to associate himself with the argument of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down. This was a kind of Resolution which was highly undesirable. The accounts showed that Vote after Vote in the Admiralty Estimates for the year 1904–5 had been wrong. [Cries of "Oh!"] He could assure hon. Gentlemen opposite that he had not the slightest Party motive in making these remarks. His sole concern was to get some assurance from the Government that this matter would have their attention. Vote after Vote showed bad estimating. He knew perfectly well that the Treasury was empowered by the Appropriation Act to do as was now proposed, but he desired to point out that it was a method which defeated the control of this House over finance.

The CHAIRMAN: The Resolution is merely carrying into effect the Act of Parliament. The hon. Member is not entitled to criticise the Act of Parliament.

Mr. BOWLES said he quite agreed. He was endeavouring to point out the effect of the Resolution they were now asked to pass. It was a system which weakened the control this House ought to have over expenditure. He hoped they might look forward to something being done for the mitigation of the admitted abuses under this system of finance.

The FINANCIAL SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. McKenna, Monmouthshire, N.) said the hon. Gentlemen had correctly stated that what was now being done was in accordance with Act of Parliament. In order to allay the alarms of which the hon. Gentleman had spoken let him remind the House that all these surpluses and excesses were dealt with in detail by the Public Accounts Committee, and that the accounts were not presented to this House until they had been so considered. The Public Accounts Committee was satisfied that this procedure was good procedure. Personally he did not think it was a bad system, and in the interest of economy it was an admirable system. Every item in the accounts now before the Committee had already been considered, and he submitted that it was unnecessary to occupy the time of the Committee in going into them in detail.

Sir E. CARSON said there was an item of £279,000 in the accounts described as a surplus over the estimate for contract work. Supposing he was of an inquisitive turn of mind, how was he to find out the particulars of that item?

Mr. McKENNA: From the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General.

Lord R. CECIL: Has that Report been issued?

Mr. McKENNA: On this particular point it has not been issued.

Lord R. CECIL referred to the items on page 23 of the Accounts and asked whether the House had really any control whatever over them.

Mr. McKENNA said the control consisted in the powers of the Comptroller and Auditor-General who was an officer of this House. He reported to the Public Accounts Committee. That Committee had expressed their satisfaction with every item of these accounts.

Lord R. CECIL asked whether it would be possible for any Member of the

House who disapproved of any of these items to move a reduction.

Mr. McKENNA: No.

Lord R. CECIL said the House had no real effective control over the policy of the expenditure of these sums. That was the point to which they desired to address themselves. On the face of it the system appeared to be a very bad one.

Mr. HARMOOD-BANNER (Liverpool, Everton) said that it seemed to him an extraordinary thing that they should have all sorts of statements made as to this expenditure.

The CHAIRMAN said he had already stated that it was done according to Act of Parliament.

Mr. HARMOOD-BANNER said he would like to point out that the system would not tend to purity of administration——

The CHAIRMAN said that the hon. Gentleman was not in order.

Lord BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley) asked if they were to understand that the Financial Secretary to the Treasury approved of this system.

Mr. WILLIAM RUTHERFORD asked whether this House or a Committee of the House had ever authorised the expenditure of this £224,212 for material.

Mr. McKENNA said that powers were given to the Treasury by Act of Parliament to spend that sum.

Question put, and agreed to.

Schedule.

Number of Vote.	Navy Services, 1904–5. Votes.	Gross Expenditure.		Appropriations in Aid.	
		Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure. 1.	Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure. 2.	Deficiencies of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 3.	Surpluses of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 4.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1 - - -	Wages, &c., of Officers, Seamen, and Boys, Coast Guard, and Royal Marines - - - -	67,474 12 8	—	27,310 2 9	—
2 - - -	Victualling and Clothing for the Navy - - - - - - -	—	4,869 8 7	—	13,100 9 4
3 - - -	Medical Establishments and Services - - - - - - -	—	11,525 9 9	1,689 19 2	—
4 - - -	Martial Law - - - - -	—	1,094 17 11	3 17 10	—
5 - - -	Educational Services - - - -	—	12,944 6 2	—	3,310 8 11
6 - - -	Scientific Services - - - -	4,167 15 5	—	—	8,634 10 5
7 - - -	Royal Naval Reserves - - -	—	26,290 0 8	669 9 2	—
8 - - -	Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, &c.:				
Sec. 1 -	Personnel - - - - -	—	23,824 18 8	—	803 14 6
Sec. 2 -	Matériel - - - - -	224,212 8 9	—	—	26,823 8 1
Sec. 3 -	Contract Work - - - -	—	279,759 11 0	37,273 4 9	—
9 - - -	Naval Armaments - - - -	—	11,028 19 9	—	19,155 8 7
10 - - -	Works, Buildings and Repairs at Home and Abroad - - - -	—	78,202 1 1	—	4,367 19 8
11 - - -	Miscellaneous Effective Services	82,354 11 5	—	3,912 19 0	—
12 - - -	Admiralty Office - - - - -	1,751 7 1	—	—	2 9 3
13 - - -	Half-Pay, Reserved and Retired Pay - - - - - - -	5,584 1 3	—	4,103 10 6	—
14 - - -	Naval and Marine Pensions, Gratuities, and Compassionate Allowances - - - - -	5,604 12 10	—	5,436 16 9	—
15 - - -	Civil Pensions and Gratuities -	22,235 13 11	—	79 6 11	—
	Amount written off as irrecoverable - - - - - - -	2,054 15 4	—	—	—
		415,439 18 8	449,539 13 7	80,479 6 10	76,198 8 9
		Net Surplus, £34,099 14 11		Net Deficit, £4,280 18 1	

Surplus surrendered to the Exchequer ... ... £29,818 16s. 10d.

Whereas it appears by the Army Appropriation Account for the year ended the 31st day of March, 1905, and the statement appended thereto, as follows, viz.—

(a.) That the gross expenditure for certain Army Services exceeded the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £256,367 3s. 3d., as shown in Column No. 1 of the Schedule hereto appended; while the gross expenditure for other Army Services fell short of the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £365,574 5s. 6d., as shown in Column No. 2 of the said appended Schedule; so that the gross actual expenditure for the whole of the Army Services fell short of the gross estimated expenditure by the net sum of £109,207 2s. 3d.

(b.) That the receipts in aid of certain Army Services fell short of the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £8,475 7s. 10d., as shown in Column No. 3 of the said appended Schedule; while the receipts in aid of other Army Services exceeded the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £383,643 16s. 2d. as shown in Column No. 4 of the said appended Schedule; so that the total actual receipts in aid of the Grants for Army Services exceeded the total estimated receipts by the net sum of £375,168 8s. 4d.

(c.) That the resulting differences between the Exchequer Grants for Army Services and the net expenditure are as follows, viz.:—

	£	s.	d.
Total Surpluses -	701,636	8	5
Total Deficits - -	217,260	17	10
Net Surplus ...	£484,375	10	7

And whereas the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application, in reduction of the net charge on Exchequer Grants for certain Army Services, of the whole of the sums received in excess of the estimated Appropriation-in-Aid, in respect of the same services, and have also temporarily authorised the application of so much of the said total surpluses on certain Grants for Army Services as is necessary to cover the said total deficits on other Grants for Army Services.

2. Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the application of such sums be sanctioned."—(*Mr. McKenna.*)

MR. WILLIAM RUTHERFORD said he gathered from the so-called explanation given by the Secretary to the Treasury that the Public Accounts Committee had investigated these items and made a Report. In these Army accounts there was a sum of £256,367 which had been spent without the authority of this House or of a Committee of this House. Then there was one item consisting of £12,562 spent upon the Volunteers. He wanted to know on what branch of the Volunteers that money was spent. He wanted some explanation also about the expenditure for provisions, forage, and other supplies, of £115,062. Why should that money be spent before authority had been received from this House to spend it? The Public Accounts Committee said two years ago ——

THE CHAIRMAN said that the Report of the Public Accounts Committee two years ago was not before the House. Besides, it could have no bearing on the question before the Committee.

MR. WILLIAM RUTHERFORD said that with deference to the Chairman he would like to read an extract to show that this practice was objected to by the Public Accounts Committee.

MR. McKENNA said the practice was enjoined by Act of Parliament.

MR. WILLIAM RUTHERFORD said that if this particular Resolution was imposed when there was a war going on, or when they were winding up a war, then he could understand it. There were circumstances under which this kind of practice might be resorted to; but there was no emergency now.

THE CHAIRMAN said that he had already ruled two or three times that the hon. Gentleman was out of order.

SIR E. CARSON called attention to the fact that the Public Accounts Committee had not published their Report in reference to this matter.

MR. CLAUDE HAY said it had been pointed out that this expenditure was controlled in two ways—firstly, by the Comptroller and Auditor-General, and, secondly, by the Public Accounts Committee. It was clear that the Public

Accounts Committee had not rendered to the House of Commons their Report on the matter, and as the House was deprived of this safeguard he begged to move to report progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report progres; and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Claude Hay.*)

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. HALDANE, Haddington) said this matter had been investigated by a Committee presided over by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Derbyshire, than whom, he ventured to say, there was no more trusted Member of this House. He wished to know from that right hon. Gentleman whether the only reason why the Report had not been published was that one of the members of the Committee was ill, and that had delayed the publication of their Report. He would also ask whether these items had not been investigated by the Comptroller and Auditor-General. Was the suggestion that these items were new when they were part of the accounts of 1905–6? As to the amount required in regard to provisions, forage and other supplies, the Comptroller and Auditor-General pointed out that the number of soldiers on the establishment during the current year was in excess of what was estimated for, and further provision had to be made which amounted to £59,000 out of £119,000. There were also a number of mules which had to be provided for.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH (Derbyshire, W.) said it was most unfortunate that they should have to take this appropriation prior to the Report of the Public Accounts Committee, but owing to the illness of an official they were compelled to do so.

MR. WILLIAM RUTHERFORD objected to passing these proposals without the protection of the Report of the Public Accounts Committee. He supported the Motion to report progress.

MR. McKENNA said the hon. Gentleman might take it from him that the Public Accounts Committee had passed every one of these items.

SIR E. CARSON inquired if there was any precedent for passing these Resolutions before the presentation of the Report of the Public Accounts Committee.

MR. McKENNA could not say whether there was or not, but at all events he pointed out that the Committee had before it the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General.

MR. HICKS BEACH (Gloucestershire, Tewkesbury) said a similar point was taken against these Resolutions last year by the then Opposition.

MR. CLAUDE HAY thought the Committee should agree to his Motion to report progress.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 32; Noes, 252. (Division List No. 285.)

AYES.

Arkwright, John Stanhope
Ashley, W. W.
Balcarres, Lord
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry,N.)
Beach,Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Bottomley, Horatio
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Courthope, G. Loyd
Craig, Chas Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Dalrymple, Viscount
Fetherstonhaugh, Godfrey
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Forster, Henry William
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hervey,F.W.F.(BuryS.Edm'ds
Hill, Henry Staveley (Staff'sh.)
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter(Dublin,S.)
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Roberts, S. (Sheffield,Ecclesall)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Starkey, John R.
Thomson, W. Mitchell-(Lanark
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Claude Hay and Mr. Bowles.

NOES.

Acland, Francis Dyke
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, A.Acland(Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury,E.)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Beck, A. Cecil
Benn,SirJ.Williams(Devonp'rt)
Benn,W.(T'w'rHamlets,S.Geo.)
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Billson, Alfred
Black,Athur W. (Bedfordshire)
Boland, John
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brodie, H. C.

Brunner, J.F.L.(Lancs., Leigh)
Bryce,Rt.Hn.James(Aberdeen)
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Buxton, Rt.Hn.Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton,Rt.Hn.RichardKnight
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Clarke, C. Goddard
Clough, W.
Cogan, Denis J.
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins,SirWm.J.(S,Pancras.W)
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, C.H(Sussex,E.Grints'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crean, Eugene
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Delany, William
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dolan, Charles Joseph
Duckworth, James
Duffy, William J.
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne,MajorE.Martin(Walsall)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Erskine, David C.
Essex, R. W.
Everett, R. Lacey
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Gladstone,Rt.Hn.HerbertJohn
Glendinning, R. G.
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Halpin, J.
Hammond, John
Hardie,J.Keir(Merthyr Tydvil)
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harrington, Timothy
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)

Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazleton, Richard
Hedges, A. Paget
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson,J.M.(Aberdeen, W.)
Henry, Charles S.
Herbert, Col. Ivor (Mon., S.)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hodge, John
Hogan, Michael
Hope,W.Bateman(Somerset,N.
Horniman, Emslie John
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones,William(Carnarvonshire)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent Paul
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Law, Hugh A. (Donegal, W.)
Leese, SirJosephF.(Accrington)
Lehmann, R. C.
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Maclean, Donald
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down,S.)
MacVeigh, Chas. (Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Mansfield, H. Rendall (Lincoln)
Marks,G.Croydon (Launceston)
Meagher, Michael
Menzies, Walter
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murnaghan, George
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Chas.N. (Doncast'r)
Nolan, Joseph

Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Connor, James(Wicklow, W.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Doherty, Philip
O'Donnell, T. (Kerry, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Grady, J.
O'Hare, Patrick
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Paul, Herbert
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Philipps,Col. Ivor (S'thampt'n)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh,Central)
Priestley, W.E.B. (Bradford,E.
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert
Redmond,John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Rees, J. D.
Rendall, Athelstan
Richards,Thomas (W.Monm'th
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robinson, S.
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Scott,A.H.(Ashton underLyne)
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick,B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanley,Hon.A.Lyulph(Chesh.)
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Sutherland, J. E.
Tennant, Sir E. (Salisbury)
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Villiers, Ernest Amherst
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Ward,W.Dudley(Southampton
Wason,John Cathcart(Orkney)
Watt, H. Anderson
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
Weir, James Galloway
Whitbread, Howard
White, George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitehead, Rowland

Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williamson, A.
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Winfrey, R.
Wodehouse, Lord (Norfolk, Mid)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

Original Question again proposed.

MR. CLAUDE HAY drew attention to the item of £39,458 excess over estimated gross expenditure on War Office salaries and miscellaneous charges, and asked the Secretary of State for War if he would give some explanation. He also expressed the hope that this very large figure would not reappear in the Estimates, because if such a large excess were allowed to arise on this item there must be even worse organisation at headquarters than the House had been led to think.

MR. HALDANE said if the hon. Gentleman had taken the trouble he could easily have ascertained the cause of this excess. The late House of Commons resolved to reorganise the War Office and for that purpose appointed the Esher Committee, which made certain suggestions as to departmental changes, the carrying out of which required new offices and a fresh staff. The cost was nearly £40,000. The changes were directed to be made by the late Government, and were provided for by transfers which the accounts now regularised.

MR. WILLIAM RUTHERFORD thought the right hon. Gentleman was rather unfair to his hon. friend, who, of course, was not receiving a salary in connection with the Department. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would be good enough to explain how the sum of £33,492, balances irrecoverable, came about.

MR. HALDANE said the Appropriation Account for 1904–5, which was accessible to every hon. Member in the Library, showed on page 112, details of the balances irrecoverable and claims abandoned or insufficiently accounted for during the War in South Africa.

Original Question put, and agreed to.

Schedule.

Number of Vote.	Army Services, 1904–1905. Votes.	Gross Expenditure.		Appropriations in Aid.	
		Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure 1.	Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure. 2.	Deficiencies of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 3.	Surpluses of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 4.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1	Pay, &c., of Army (General Staff, Regiments, Reserve, and Departments)	—	166,856 6 11	—	7,751 1 11
2	Medical Establishments: Pay, &c.	—	223 19 2	—	5,037 6 7
3	Militia: Pay, Bounty, &c.	—	58,279 1 9	2,527 15 9	—
4	Imperial Yeomanry: Pay and Allowances	—	46,175 10 3	—	770 11 2
5	Volunteer Corps: Pay and Allowances	12,562 16 5	—	—	567 5 8
6	Transport and Remounts	—	2,777 12 6	—	269,809 12 1
7	Provisions, Forage, and other Supplies	115,062 16 11	—	—	15,128 14 8
8	Clothing Establishments, and Services	—	22,939 19 10	—	1,968 3 8
9	Warlike and other Stores: Supply and Repair	10,285 12 6	—	—	31,117 2 3
10	Works, Buildings, and Repairs: Cost, including Staff for Engineer Services	—	33,771 18 8	—	22,350 11 8
11	Establishments for Military Education	2,211 14 11	—	4,527 10 8	—
12	Miscellaneous Effective Services	7,617 12 3	—	—	2,647 11 9
13	War Office: Salaries and Miscellaneous Charges	39,458 7 8	—	1,357 7 8	—
14	Non-effective Charges for Officers, &c.	—	24,735 1 8	—	10,133 15 7
15	Non-effective Charges for Men, &c.	35,675 15 9	—	—	16,361 19 2
16	Civil Superannuation, Compensation, and Compassionate Allowances	—	4,814 15 2	62 13 9	—
	Balances irrecoverable	33,492 6 10	—	—	—
		256,367 3 3	365,574 5 6	8,475 7 10	383,643 16 2
		Net Surplus, £109,207 2 3		Net Surplus, £375,168 8 4	

Surplus surrendered to the Exchequer ... £484,375 10s. 7d.

Resolutions to be reported this day.

COLONIAL MARRIAGES BILL.

Order for the Second Reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

LORD R. CECIL said this was a Bill of real importance, and it was not his fault if it came on at a quarter to one in the morning. The proposal in the Bill was that a marriage with a deceased wife's sister celebrated in a Colony where it was legal was to be treated in this country as legal. With that proposition he did not quarrel. It was a reasonable concession to make. He ventured to ask the Government whether they could see their way to extend the provisions of this Bill generally to all the marriage laws of the Colonies. The larger question of the Deceased Wife's Sister's Bill did not appear to arise in this case, but with regard to the suggestion he had made he would like to have the right hon. Gentlemen's views.

*THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. CHURCHILL, Manchester, N.W.) said the noble Lord was quite right: the general Question of the deceased wife's sister did not arise in this Bill in any way. The argument for this Bill was solely the Colonial argument. It had been brought to the notice of the Colonial Office on previous occasions that there was a real grievance connected with marriages of this class contracted in the Colonies. Great pain was caused to people whose marriage was quite legal in the Colonies, but who, when they came over to this country found themselves under a social and almost a moral stigma, and who were in addition to that exposed to a disability in respect of inheriting real estate. That the Government desired to remove. Our Colonies would cordially welcome the removal, and it would be regarded throughout the Empire as a graceful and wise act on the part of this House. His noble friend, whose view on this point he himself shared, asked why not make it more general? Why fix it to one particular degree. The Government were very anxious to do that because the principle upon which the Colonial Office acted in this question was to make the procedure of the marriage laws of the Colonies legal in this country. But upon investigation great difficulties were discovered of an indefinite character. It would be going somewhat beyond the limits to which they were prepared to go to say that real estate in this country should change hands in pursuance of any law of marriage that should be made in the Colonies. That would be going beyond the principle the Government admitted. He hoped this explanation would enable the House to come to a decision upon this matter.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.) only desired to emphasise what the hon. Gentleman had said. When he was in Australia in the previous year he found there was a very strong feeling about this matter. There was a perfectly unanimous feeling in favour of this Bill, which would be received in the Colonies in general, and in Australia in particular, with general satisfaction.

SIR BRAMPTON GURDON (Norfolk, N.) said he could not help thinking it was unfortunate that the Government had not thought fit to adopt the larger view on this question which would have covered the Colonial question. By this Bill the Government had established a principle in favour of the rich as against the poor.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS (IRELAND) BILL.

As amended by the Standing Committee.

MR. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.) said he understood an arrangement had been made between the promoters and the opponents of the Bill, which would save the House a prolonged contest on this occasion.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.) said he was in charge of this Bill and he knew of no arrangement having been made beyond the compromise made in the Committee upstairs. With the compromise he had nothing to do. He was prepared to accept it, but said that under the circumstances, as he had not been consulted in any way, he should reserve to himself the right to oppose the Bill at its further stages. For any other arrangement he took no responsibility whatever. So far as he was personally concerned the arrangement or compromise originally made had been accepted reluctantly by some in order to get the contents of the Bill as now amended, and he trusted the Bill as amended would now be passed without any other compromise being entered into.

MR. CULLINAN said under those circumstances he begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 6, to leave out from the word 'until,' to the end of the clause, and insert the words 'the thirty-first day of December, one thousand nine hundred and ten and no longer unless Parliament shall otherwise determine, and on the said day all the provisions of any Act now in force regulating the hours of opening or keeping open of any premises for the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday, and shall come into operation and take effect as if this Act had not been passed.'"—(*Mr. Cullinan,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said the hon. Member for Belfast had correctly explained what had occurred. The compromise was unanimously accepted by the Standing Committee. It was quite true that the hon. Gentleman did not approve of it, and that a great many of his temperance friends did the same thing, but there it was. Within the last hour he (Mr. Russell) had had some conversation with certain of his friends and with some of the opponents of the Bill, who were prepared to let it go through if the limit for *bona fide* travellers was made five miles outside the five exempted cities instead of six. Having regard to the period of the session and with the prospects of a stormy night before him—because he remembered twenty-eight years ago when the House sat up all through the night to pass the original Bill, and when Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright specially sat up to assist in carrying it—he consulted the right hon. Member for South Dublin, the right hon. Member for Trinity College, the hon. Members for East Clare, the hon. Member for West Meath and others. The hon. Member for South Belfast was not in his place, or he would also have consulted him. Looking at the period of the session and believing as he did that there was not very much difference between making the limit five, and making it six miles, so far as the five exempted cities were concerned, he had consented to that arrangement. He was willing to accept the compromise. While he was perfectly willing to accept the arrangement come to, he could bind nobody but himself. It rested with his hon. friends opposite to say what they thought about the matter.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.) said he wished to appeal to the hon. Gentleman who introduced this Bill, the hon. Member for South Belfast, to fall in with the suggestion which had been made by the hon. Member for South Tyrone. After all, this was a great opportunity for dealing with a question which had been very warmly discussed for the last twenty or thirty years. He thought this was an opportunity that ought not to be thrown away. As the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Tyrone had said, the Bill as it now came before the House was a compromise. They knew perfectly well it was impossible by a compromise to please everybody. There would be extremists on both sides, who would declare themselves quite unsatisfied. The hon. Member for South Tyrone and others had been attacked for accepting this compromise by the extreme temperance party in Ireland, and those interested in the licensed trade in Ireland had been assailed for having consented to the compromise. They could not possibly please everybody, and the only thing they could hope to do was to satisfy the great bulk of people upon both sides. It was quite true to say that this Bill represented a compromise which had the support of the great bulk on both sides in this question in Ireland. The only thing which had occurred that night was that a further extension of the compromise had been proposed by those who still opposed the Bill. That further extension demanded the reduction of the limit for the *bona fide* traveller around the large cities in Ireland from six miles to five miles. As the hon. Member for South Tyrone had said there were a great many districts in the country where the *bona fide* traveller question was not a strong one. When it was proposed in Grand Committee to reduce the original limit from seven miles to six miles it was objected to from both sides. There were those who got up and said that six miles was too small a limit to fix, and others got up and said that six miles was too great a limit. So that it was impossible to do more than arrive at a figure which commanded general support all round. The figure six was in the Bill, and it was now proposed by those Gentlemen who still opposed the Measure, and whose opposition was entitled—although it represented a minority—to the greatest possible respect and attention—that the compromise should be further extended by making the figure five instead of six. The Member for South Belfast had said he did not like the compromise at all. In Belfast the extreme temperance reformers bitterly attacked the compromise, and the only large public meeting held in reference to the Bill was held by the extreme temperance Party, who protested against the compromise. In view of these circumstances he thought he might appeal with great confidence to the House not to allow that opportunity to pass of doing something which was really desired by the vast bulk of the Irish people. There were extremists on both sides, those who thought the Bill went too far and those who thought that it did not go far enough; but taking the general mass of public opinion in Ireland, represented in this House and outside of it, and judging it by every test they could apply, the vast bulk of the Irish people did ask for this Bill. He would earnestly appeal to the hon. Member for South Belfast, in view of the time of the session and the extreme difficulty of dealing with matters of this kind, to further extend the compromise so as to allow the Bill to leave the House and go to the people of Ireland with the unanimous assent and approval of the different Parties concerned. He admitted that the good effect of the Bill would be spoiled if it left the House after heated discussions and after some recriminations had been indulged in. This was a genuine and honest attempt to deal with what had been regarded as a need in Ireland. An opportunity was given of having an unanimous decision, and he appealed earnestly to the hon. Member for South Belfast to accept the compromise, to recognise that it was the general sense of the House and to make the best of it. The hon. Member for South Belfast and himself did not agree on many other questions, but on this question they did agree, and he again asked his hon. friend to join with him in promoting in Ireland a genuine measure of reform.

Mr. SLOAN said the hon. Member who had just sat down had made a very strong appeal to the House, and especially to himself as being technically in charge of the Bill, to agree to this compromise. The hon. Member for South Tyrone, when this Bill was in Committee, had regarded with the utmost contempt any suggestion of making the limit five miles instead of six. The Committee agreed to the limit of six miles, although one or two Members protested against it. They had been fighting for this Bill for thirty years. Two Royal Commissions had approved of the Bill, which had passed the House of Commons on two or three occasions and had also passed the House of Lords. It was desired to get Sunday closing in the five exempted cities under the Act of 1878, to get nine o'clock closing on Saturday night in those cities, and to have the *bona fide* traveller limit extended from three miles to six miles. If the hon. Member for South Tyrone was correct in what he stated that the *bona fide* traveller did not matter very much in the country districts, why was it that the hon. Member for East Clare was anxious to have the country towns exempted from any extension under the Bill? The present limit was three miles, and his hon. friend wanted it to remain that. The Grand Committee agreed to the compromise arranged between the licensed trade and the Member for South Tyrone, and in that form the Bill had come down to the House. Three hours ago there was not in this House a stronger opponent of any further compromise to the *bona fide* traveller than the hon. Member who had just sat down.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said the hon. Gentleman was perfectly right in saying that he was prepared to stand by the arrangement made in Grand Committee, and he was prepared to do so still if necessary, but he recognised that it was an important thing for the future of the Bill and its good work that it should leave the House if possible with the unanimous assent of all parties. He thought he was promoting a good spirit and doing a good work in making this further concession. He asked his hon. friends not to send the Bill to Ireland from this House after it had caused heat and discussion.

MR. SLOAN said he was sorry the hon. Member for South Tyrone held him guilty of recriminations.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I said recriminations would serve no purpose.

MR. SLOAN said he was not guilty of recriminations, but at the same time he wished to point out that they who were in favour of the whole Bill had sacrificed a considerable part of it. Although they did not care for the Bill as amended they accepted it in the spirit in which it had been given. They were not prepared to make further concessions at two hours notice, and if these concessions were made they would break down the original compromise. He asked those hon. Members who were prepared to do their best to support him to give him what was reasonable and fair. He asked the House to consider, in view of this further compromise, the great concessions they had already made, and having made these concessions they should certainly get the Bill without any further compromise or any further concessions. He was sorry he could not give way to the strong appeal by the hon. Member for East Clare, but on the ground of principle he could not do it.

MR. J. P. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green) said that as one of those who led the opposition to the Bill when it was first before the House he was willing to withdraw his opposition in view of the compromise arrived at. As to the suggestion that there was to be no finality in this question of temperance legislation, he thought the time had arrived when a proper trial should be given to the compromise arrived at here before any other legislation of the character suggested by the hon. Member for South Belfast was attempted. He was therefore prepared to accept the compromise referred to by his hon. friend the Member for South Tyrone and on his part to withdraw further opposition to the Bill.

MR. WALTER LONG (Dublin, S.) said he would only interpose for a moment or two. It was quite true, as the hon. Member for South Tyrone had said, that that hon. Gentleman was good enough to approach him in regard to a compromise. Since then he had heard from time to time what had been the negotiations in progress. He could quite sympathise with his hon. friend the Member for South Belfast in the view he took, namely, that after many years of hard labour, with a very clear perception in their minds of what they wanted, the hon. Gentleman and his friends had got, as they believed, within reach of their goal; and now they saw that under the compromise, if they accepted it, they must consent to take something less. He therefore quite sympathised with him in the view he took, that he was unable at present to agree to the suggestion before the House. Might he point out to him that there was no question upon which legislation proceeded so entirely by compromise as this question of temperance legislation? Going back in memory twenty-five years to the legislative proposals made in this House in regard to temperance legislation affecting England, he ventured to say that the advocates of temperance would have been wise if they had accepted the compromise that might then have been made instead of rejecting it because it did not go the length they desired. What was the position at the present moment? If his hon. friend, in the desire to get all that he wanted, refused to accept this compromise, and invited the House to a prolonged contest which might be wasted, he would abandon and render fruitless all the work which had been done up to the present time, and for what? After all, the concession was not a very great one. He believed it was quite true to say that the *bona fide* traveller question was only really important in the towns. The difference of one mile was not a very serious difference, and he would appeal to his hon. friend to consider whether, in the interests of the cause of which he was an advocate, and on behalf of which he had laboured so hard, it would not be better to take only half a loaf—even if he regarded it so—than to reject it, and to leave the question where it was; which possibly meant a postponement for two or three years, or even more, before they got any satisfactory settlement.

Mr. SLOAN: We have already taken the half loaf.

Mr. WALTER LONG said his hon. friend remarked that he had already taken the half loaf, but he had not, because if the concession was not agreed upon now the half-loaf would have to be thrown aside. But if he made that concession he would pass this Bill, which still went very far, and would be a great deal better than nothing. It was to take upon himself a great responsibility if he rejected this proposal, which had been made in the interests of peace, and in the interests of temperance. It was better to compromise, and to make that large advance in the cause in which many of them were interested, and which certainly in Ireland occupied a position quite different from that which it occupied in England. There was much more general agreement there, and there was, he believed, a general consensus of opinion that they ought to proceed on the lines now proposed.

Mr. CULLINAN, on behalf of those who had very strongly opposed the Bill, desired to say that they had given way to a great extent and they had been anxious, if possible, to meet their opponents half way in an arrangement of this kind, with the object that had been explained by the hon. Member for East Clare, namely, that this question might be settled in a manner to make for peace. Under these circumstances he begged leave to withdraw the Motion.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.) moved, "Clause 1, page 1, line 8, at end to add 'notwithstanding anything in any public or local Act.'" He said he proposed this Amendment really to give effect to the intentions of the promoters. That intention, as expressed in the Bill, was that this first clause should extend to the whole of the metropolitan police district, and the clause actually said so. It said that this Act of 1878 should extend to the whole of the metropolitan police district. The intention there was perfectly clear, but unfortunately the words chosen did not carry out that intention. The reason was that a local Act, passed for Dublin in the year 1900, contained a section which excluded a small area then added to the City of Dublin from the law regulating the rest of the City of Dublin. What he proposed to do was simply to repeal by implication the section to which he had referred, and thus to put the whole of the metropolitan police district upon the same footing. If that Amendment was not carried a very great anomaly would be created. They would have two different laws regulating two different parts of the City of Dublin—two different laws within the same municipality. He hoped that, after this explanation, his Amendment might be deemed a fair and reasonable proposition.

Mr. CULLINAN seconded the Amendment.

Amendment moved—

"In page 1, line 8, at end, to add "notwithstanding anything in any public or local Act."

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL moved—

"In page 2, line 2, at end, to add the words, 'nothing in this Act shall in any way interfere with the rights of any licensed person who is the owner or lessee of a theatre, music hall, or other place of public amusement; and all such persons shall have the same rights and privileges as they now have under the existing licensing law, as if this Act had not been passed.'"

Mr. MOONEY (Newry) seconded the Amendment.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. COGAN (Wicklow, E.) moved to insert—

"In page 2, line 10, after 'person,' 'residing or lodging in the metropolitan police district of Dublin, and the cities of Cork, Waterford, Limerick, and Belfast.'"

Mr. CULLINAN seconded the Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 12, to leave out 'six' and insert 'five.'"—(*Mr. Cogan.*)

*Mr. BARRIE (Londonderry, N.) said he hoped this Amendment would not be persisted in. Knowing the strong feeling there was in Ireland in favour of Sunday closing—a feeling not confined to the north of Ireland—he had ventured to put down an Amendment reinstating the clause relating to Sunday closing. In view, however, of the approaches made to him by hon. Members below the Gangway, and being anxious that the passing of this Bill into law should not be jeopardised in any way, he consented to withdraw the Amendment which stood in his name on the understanding that they would have the help of their friends below the Gangway in adhering to the compromise which was unanimously arrived at upstairs. He ventured very respectfully to submit to the House that that compromise should be loyally adhered to. It was a unanimous compromise. Those in Ireland who were anxious for Sunday closing felt that the country was ripe for it, but they decided to waive their objections, and withdraw their Amendments, believing that the Members below the Gangway would loyally adhere to the arrangement made upstairs. He therefore submitted, as a matter of fair play, that these Amendments should not be persisted in, and that the Bill as approved and amended upstairs should be accepted by the House in the same spirit as prevailed in Grand Committee. He would only say further that he and his friends believed the real gain of this Bill, as originally framed, was total Sunday closing. All the other gains, which they were now getting were very small, comparatively speaking, but they accepted the arrangement made in view of the compromise, and in the spirit of that compromise, and for these reasons he did very sincerely hope that the Amendment would not be persisted in.

*Mr. T. W. RUSSELL said he was delighted to find that the hon. Member was so strongly in favour of the Bill in the form in which it had been left by the Standing Committee. There were great differences of opinion in Ireland upon the subject of the five or six miles. He did not like it. He would have liked the original Bill. But none who had spent twenty years in this House could fail to learn one lesson, namely, that he could not get everything that he liked. It was one of the finest places for smashing or destroying ideals to be found in the whole world. He had given way that night and consented to substitute five miles for six in order not to jeopardise the Bill. He had done it because he thought a man who would travel five miles for a drink on Sunday would travel six, and that the difference would not be much, after all. He was told it would cover frequented places round Belfast, it would cover nearly the whole of those round Dublin, and it would cover the other exempted cities. At all events, under the arrangement they would get something, and they had previously got nothing for the past twenty-eight years. When they consented to this compromise, it was also agreed that there should be a round table conference during the autumn, at which every outstanding question of temperance legislation should be discussed between the temperance party and the trade, and that if possible an arrangement should be come to that would permit an agreed Bill next session. That was a very great matter to anyone interested in temperance reform, and he thought, upon the whole, the reformers would be able to meet their friends in Ireland. Probably they would agree with him before they were much older that the best thing had been done under the whole circumstances of the case.

MR. SLOAN said if the hon. Member's speech were permitted to go without reply it would convey the idea that if he had not accepted this compromise of five miles the Bill would have been wrecked, and that there would have been no hope of its passing.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I said jeopardised.

MR. SLOAN said his opinion was that, if the hon. Gentleman, and those who supported the Bill, had stuck to their guns, those whose support they sought in this House would have been prepared to sit the Bill out, and to see it right through. And therefore it was wrong to say that that compromise was made for the purpose of getting the Bill. He could not understand why his hon. friend the Member for South Tyrone had agreed to the compromise of taking a mile off the limit around the large towns, and leaving the country districts alone. He would like some explanation from his hon. friend why the country districts were to be left alone.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said he had stated that the real difficulty of the *bona fide* traveller question centered round the largely populated cities. Everybody who knew Ireland was well aware that that was the case. The *bona fide* traveller was a nuisance wherever he went, but the nuisance was a comparatively small one in country districts.

MR. SLOAN said his information was altogether different from that. He did not know what the feeling of the House was now after the speeches which had just been delivered. Whether it would be necessary on some other occasion in the future to agitate for the whole Bill he did not know. He hoped the Conference which it was proposed to hold in the autumn would be more considerate to temperance reformers' views than the present compromise.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH (Fermanagh, N.) said the limit fixed by the compromise was going very low. He would much rather have the Bill as it came from the Grand Committee, and he was against any further tampering which would tend to weaken the Bill.

Amendment agreed to.

Bill read the third time and passed.

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS (REPAYMENT).

Committee to consider of authorising the extension of time for the repayment of a loan made by the Public Works Loan Commissioners to the South Staffordshire Mines Drainage Commissioners, in pursuance of any Act of the present session, to grant money for the purpose of certain local loans out of the local loans fund, and for other purposes relating to local loans (King's Recommendation signified), to-morrow.—(*Mr. McKenna.*)

Whereupon Mr. SPEAKER, in pursuance of the Order of the House of the July 13th, adjourned the House without Question put.

Adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 31*st July*, 1906.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Metropolitan Electric Supply Bill; Brought from the Commons; read 1^{a}; and referred to the Examiners.

Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments to be considered To-morrow.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill; Macclesfield and District Tramways Bill; Poole Corporation Water Bill; Corporation of London (Blackfriars and other Bridges) Bill; London County Council (Tramways and Improvements) Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

Bute (English and Welsh) Estates Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to.

County of Durham Electric Power Supply Bill [H.L.]; Great Northern (Ireland) and Midland Railways Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Nettlebed and District Commons (Preservation) Bill [H.L.]; Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire Electric Power Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, made and agreed to.

Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.]. Commons Amendments considered (according to order) and agreed to.

Tramways Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [H.L.]. Commons Amendments considered (according to order), and agreed to.

Rutherglen Burgh Order Confirmation Bill. Read 3^{a} (according to order); Amendments made. Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

Newburgh and North Fife Railway (Extension of Time) Order Confirmation Bill; Paisley Roads Order Confirmation Bill; Inverclyde Bequest Order Confirmation Bill; Perth Corporation Gas Order Confirmation Bill. To be read 3^{a} To-morrow.

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION BILL

Petitions against; Of Inhabitants of West Felton; Bolington; Sandhurst; Staunton-Harold; Cheshunt and Waltham Cross; Grosmont; Great and Little Saling. Of the Company of Merchants of Edinburgh; the Governing Body of the Sarum and Wilts Diocesan Voluntary Schools' Association; Llandyssil Rural District Council. Of parents of children attending Hull National School.

Read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

NAVY.

Memorandum explanatory of recent and forthcoming changes in the administration of His Majesty's Dockyards in the United Kingdom.

MOROCCO, No. 1. (1906).

Despatches from the British delegate at the International Conference at Algeciras, forwarding the General Act of the Conference, signed April 7th, 1906, and other documents relating to the affairs of Morocco.

JUDICIAL STATISTICS (IRELAND), 1905.

Part I. Criminal Statistics.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION.

Report of the Commissioners for the period from April 1st, 1905, to March 31st, 1906.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

SHIPPING CASUALTIES.

Shipping casualities which occurred on or near the coasts, or in rivers and harbours, of the United Kingdon, from July 1st, 1904, to June 30th, 1905; and shipping casualities which occurred to British vessels elsewhere than on the coasts of the United Kingdon, and to foreign vessels on or near the coasts, or in rivers and harbours, of British Possessions abroad, reported during the same period, &c., &c.: with charts and appendices.

POST OFFICE.

Fifty-second Report of the Postmaster-General on the Post Office. Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

ARMY.

(Imperial Yeomanry)—Further regulations relating to the Imperial Yeomanry. (Army Reserve)—Further Regulations relating to the Army Reserve. (Militia)—Further regulations relating to the Militia. List of exceptions to the army regulations as to pay, non-effective pay, and allowances, sanctioned by the Treasury pursuant to the Royal Warrant, dated October 27th, 1884, during the year 1905–1906.

INCLOSURE, ETC., EXPENSES ACT, 1868.

Fees to be taken in respect of transactions under the Tithe Acts, 1836 to 1891, in accordance with the provisions of the Inclosure, etc., Expenses Act, 1868, in lieu of the fees heretofore authorised for such business. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889.

University Court Ordinance, No. XVII. (St. Andrews, No. 3): Institution of degrees in agriculture and relative regulations. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 193.)

IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.

Report to the Board of Trade on the work of the Imperial Institute at South Kensington during the year 1905. Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

LIFE INSURANCE COMPANIES.

Report from the Select Committee (with the proceedings of the Committee) made, and to be printed. (No. 194.) Minutes of evidence together with appendices. Laid upon the Table, and to be delivered out.

NATIONAL ART COLLECTIONS.

THE EARL OF CARLISLE: My Lords, I beg to ask His Majesty's Government whether they will make an inquiry into the growth of the collections under the National Gallery Trustees, and the spaces available for the extensions of the galleries at Trafalgar Square and Millbank, before any irrevocable steps are taken which would make such extension impossible.

***THE LORD STEWARD OF THE HOUSEHOLD (The Earl of LIVERPOOL)**: My Lords, in answer to the noble Earl I beg to say that the First Commissioner of Works will make inquiry as to the probable future needs of the galleries, and will reconsider the whole question before next year's Estimates are framed.

VISCOUNT KNUTSFORD: I hope the inquiry will extend also to the National Portrait Gallery, which is quite as much in want of room as the other galleries.

***THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL**: It will extend to that gallery as well as to the National Gallery and the Tate Gallery.

PRIVATE BILLS.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (The Earl of ONSLOW): My Lords, it is usual at this period of the session to go through the Standing Orders with a view to their revision, and it is proposed to make the alterations set forth on the Paper. These Amendments have been on the Order Paper of your Lordships' House for some days, and I have no doubt those interested have studied them. In these circumstances I do not think it is necessary for me to explain their purport. I beg to move that the Standing Orders be amended as set forth.

Moved, That the Standing Orders be amended as follows—

"That the Standing Orders be amended as follows:

NOTE.—The words in SMALL CAPITALS are to be omitted, and the words printed within brackets are to be inserted.

[The Two Classes of Local Bills.]

1. All Bills (not being Estate Bills) which seek powers with reference to any of the following subjects are in these Orders termed Local Bills, and are divided into two classes, according to the subjects to which they respectively relate :—

1st Class.—Arbitration in respect of the affairs of any company . . . . . Crown, church, or corporation property, or property held in trust for public or charitable purposes.

[Electricity Supply.]

Market or market place, erecting, improving repairing, maintaining or regulating.

[Pilotage.]

15. On or before the fifteenth day of December immediately preceding the application for a Bill for constructing gasworks or sewage works, or works for the manufacture or conversion of the residual products of gas or sewage [or for constructing any station for generating electrical energy on specified lands] or for making or constructing a sewage farm, cemetery, burial ground, crematorium, destructor, or hospital for infectious disease, notice shall be served upon the owner and lessee of every dwelling-house situate within three hundred yards of the lands in or upon which such gasworks, sewage works, works for the manufacture or conversion of residual products, generating station, farm, cemetery, burial ground, crematorium, destructor, or hospital, may be made or constructed.

Insert as a new Standing Order :

[17a. On or before the twenty-first day of December immediately preceding the application for a Local Bill whereby any express statutory provision relating to nuisance arising on any lands is sought to be altered or repealed, notice in writing of such Bill and of the intention to alter or repeal such provision shall be served upon the owner and lessee of every dwelling-house situate within three hundred yards of the said lands].

34. On or before the twenty-first day of December a printed copy of every Local Bill of the Second Class which proposes to authorise any work in London, shall be deposited at the Office of the London County Council.

Insert as a new Standing Order :

[34a. On or before the twenty-first of December a printed copy of every Local Bill which proposes to authorise any persons other than the road authority to break up or otherwise interfere with any streets or roads, shall be deposited at the office of the road authority].

70a. Every Provisional Order Confirmation Bill and every Local Bill brought from the House of Commons shall, after the First Reading, be referred to the Examiners, but in respect of such Standing Orders only as have not been previously inquired into.

[In the case of any Provisional Order Confirmation Bill in which provisions have been inserted in the House of Commons to which the Standing Orders of this House would apply if the Bill were a Local Bill, the Examiners shall inquire whether, with respect to those provisions, the Standing Orders have been complied with and report to the House accordingly].

Leave out Standing Order 102B—

102B. ANY PROVISIONAL ORDER CONFIRMATION BILL MAY, BEFORE BEING COMMITTED TO A COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE, BE REFERRED TO THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES, WITH RESPECT TO ALL OR ANY OF THE ORDERS SCHEDULED THERETO, TO BE DEALT WITH IN THE SAME MANNER AS AN UNOPPOSED LOCAL BILL.

And insert as a new Standing Order :

[102b. Every Provisional Order Confirmation Bill shall as respects any unopposed Orders scheduled thereto, before being committed to a Committee of the Whole House be referred to the Chairman of Committees to be dealt with in the same manner as an unopposed Local Bill].

112. In the case of a Railway Bill a company shall not be authorised to raise by mortgage or debenture stock a larger sum than one third of their capital or, until fifty per cent. ON [of] the whole of the capital has been paid up, to raise any money by mortgage or debenture stock.—(*The Earl of Onslow.*)

On Question, Motion agreed to. Standing Orders amended accordingly, and to be printed as amended. (No. 196.)

RUTHERGLEN BURGH ORDER CONFIRMATION BILL.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3^a."—(*Lord Ribblesdale.*)

On Question, Bill read 3^a.

LORD RIBBLESDALE: My Lords, the object of the Amendments which I have handed in is to give effect to an agreement arrived at between the parties which has had the approval of the Scottish Office.

Amendments made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

PUBLIC SLAUGHTER HOUSES BILL [H.L.].

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: My Lords, this Bill is not the product of the moment. It concerns a question which has been discussed for some time past. It owes its birth to the Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Admiralty to consider the humane slaughtering of animals, of which my hon. friend Mr. Arthur Lee was Chairman. The Report of this Committee was laid before your Lordships two years ago. The Bill is concerned with a subject upon which I am sorry to say Great Britain is considerably behindhand as compared with foreign nations. In 1903 there were only eighty-four public slaughter-houses in this country. London at that time had 600 private slaughter-houses and not one single public slaughter-house except Deptford, which is largely used for slaughter of imported cattle.

The state of the law at the moment is as follows. Local authorities have power to license slaughter-houses, and no new slaughter-house can be built without a licence. They have power to register them and to inspect them, and they also have power to build. The authorities having these powers are borough and urban authorities, and in certain cases the Local Government Board can apply the powers to rural authorities; but parish councils and authorities of that kind have no possibility of coming under these Acts. The object of this Bill is to go one step further than hitherto, and to enable public authorities to build slaughter-houses and to close all private slaughter-houses after they have provided proper facilities for the public.

The first motive for this Bill—it is the smaller motive, but I think it is one which will find great sympathy among your Lordships—is based on the score of humanity. There is a tremendous difference on this head in the ways animals are killed, and the Committee to which I have referred came to the conclusion that the humane slaughtering of cattle could only be secured in public slaughter-houses where the men engaged have naturally the advantage of greater experience and more scientific appliances. There is no actual clause in this Bill to put in force the recommendations of the Committee, but it is obvious that it will be much easier to carry them out in public slaughter-houses when the countless number of private slaughter-houses throughout the country have been closed.

We could have gone further if we had liked. There are certain countries on the Continent in which the law does go to the extent I have mentioned, of prescribing the way in which animals are to be killed, but we think we can leave it to public opinion if we provide the proper facilities. The second recommendation of my honourable friend's Committee was to this effect—

> "In the interests not only of humanity, but of sanitation, order, and ultimate economy, it is highly desirable that, where circumstances permit, private slaughter-houses should be replaced by public abattoirs, and that no killing should be permitted except in the latter, under official supervision."

Attention has been called to this subject lately by certain revelations that have taken place on the other side of the Atlantic. The details are extremely squalid, and have been made public by means of a book which I believe enjoys the unique happiness of being the only novel that has ever been purchased for your Lordships' library. At any rate, what happened in Chicago deserved the dignity of mention in a message to Congress from the President, and I think we may take it that a great many of the statements put before us have been justified. None of the facts that have become known would have been possible had public slaughter-houses been the rule on the other side of the Atlantic. I wish to say at once that I do not believe there is the least danger of a discovery of any similar scandals in this country, but still it is always best to be on the safe side. The more publicity the better.

There are a sheaf of precedents in private Bills for this legislation, and they are set forth in the Appendix to the Committee's Report. There is one precedent to which I should particularly like to draw your Lordships' attention. I refer to the Scottish Act of 1892. I appeal particularly to noble Lords from

Scotland to support this Bill and give us in this country the benefits that they have enjoyed for the last twelve years. It is obvious that the advantage of a public slaughter-house in a town is very great as compared with a number of private slaughter-houses. Sanitary science has advanced by leaps and bounds, and it is only by concentration in a central building that we can ensure keeping pace with it. It is obviously better for the health of a city that this work should be performed in one central building.

There is a further advantage, and it is that public slaughter-houses provide a safeguard against bad and diseased meat. The Committee made strong recommendations as to an efficient system of inspection, and there is a clause in this Bill which will considerably strengthen the hands of local authorities in dealing with this question. The law upon this point is at present very unsatisfactory. There is only power to inspect meat when it is exposed for sale. By the time that it is exposed for sale all those parts of the body which it is particularly necessary should be inspected in order to detect disease have been removed and are no longer available for examination by the inspector. I have before me a Report lately presented to the Sanitary Department of the City of London by the Medical Officer of Health, and this is what he says—

> "An examination for the detection of disease can be made properly only at the time of slaughter; and such examination, to be of any real value, must cover, first, the inspection of the animal while alive, and, secondly, the examination after slaughter of the carcase, together with the organs, by a recognised expert. Any inspection short of that could not afford sufficient protection to the public from disease. Inspection on arrival in market and on exposure for sale is sufficient to deal with the question of unsoundness, but not with regard to disease. The obvious remedy in the first place is the compulsory use of public slaughter-houses."

Your Lordships will see that this double inspection to which the Report refers is absolutely impracticable when you are dealing with a large number of private slaughter-houses; and I claim that this Report, which is only one of many, must have great weight with your Lordships in considering this Bill.

I claim that I have shown a case for the Bill, and I will only now briefly go through its clauses. Clause 1 is based on the precedents to which I have referred. It is the operative clause of the Bill, giving power, after public slaughter-houses have been provided, to prohibit the use of other slaughter-houses. Clause 2 gives the local authority power to acquire existing slaughter-houses or to agree for their use as such to cease. Clause 3 enables the local authority to pay compensation to owners or others injuriously affected by a prohibition before the expiry of the licence; and provides for the reference of the matter to arbitration, following the precedent in the Local Government Act of 1894. Clause 4 gives power to the council to make by-laws to regulate charges. I will read the clause to your Lordships—

> "A council may make by-laws, subject to the approval of the Local Government Board, to prescribe fees and charges to be demanded and received by them in order to remunerate the council for the cost of construction, maintenance, and working of the buildings provided by them, or of any convenience connected therewith."

This is taken from the precedent of the Burgh Police (Scotland) Act, 1903. Its object is to ensure that local authorities shall be reasonable in their charges. By Clause 5 the Local Government Board may extend the powers to the council of a rural district.

Clause 6 extends the power of inspection. At present, the inspector does not come in early enough, and this clause gives power to inspect at the time of the slaughter. I do not think I need go further into the provisions of the Bill, which I contend involves no hardship on anyone, and will be a great benefit to the public. I beg to move the Second Reading.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2a."—(*The Earl of Donoughmore.*)

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: My Lords, I desire to offer no opposition to the Second Reading of the Bill, but I am a little surprised that it should be brought forward at this time of the session. No doubt there is some good reason why my noble friend did not bring the Bill in before; but he has not told us what that reason is, and I am afraid that under any circumstances the Bill at the present time has the very poorest chance of passing into law. However much we may discuss it, it has to go to another place, where I think they have ample "feeding stuff," as I think it was expressed the other day, to keep them going right up to Christmas.

With regard to the Bill itself I have no objection whatever to its principle. I think it is very desirable that urban authorities should establish slaughter-houses, make by-laws, and secure that animals are killed in accordance with those by-laws; but what I should like to ask is: Why is it necessary that all private slaughter-houses should be compulsorily closed? There very likely are private slaughter-houses which are open to grave objection, but the time to take objection to them is when they come up for the renewal of their licences; and subject to their complying with all the by-laws of the urban authority I cannot see why they should not be allowed to continue their business, provided, of course, that they can obtain a licence.

I believe it is the fact that in Edinburgh the municipal council have succeeded in obtaining a monopoly of the slaughtering business, and I daresay the same thing is true in Glasgow; but those of your Lordships who know anything of Scotland know quite well that Edinburgh and Glasgow are always bringing Bills into Parliament and slipping these clauses into them. They appear to have such an amount of influence with the Scottish Office that they can do pretty much as they like; but I do not see myself why, without some good reason being given, we should prohibit all private slaughter-houses provided they conduct their business in a proper way.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES (Earl CARRINGTON): My Lords, the Bill which the noble Earl opposite has introduced does assimilate the law of England to that of Scotland. The system in Scotland has had a good trial and has worked extremely well. The noble Earl has so fully explained the provisions of the Bill that I do not think it is necessary for me to say more than that the Government are very sympathetic towards it. They think it is a reform which is very much wanted. Those of your Lordships who live in small towns must be aware what horrible places some of these private slaughter-houses are. On behalf of the Government I wish the Bill well. It is not my intention to oppose it in any way, but I reserve the right to move Amendments in Committee if thought necessary.

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Tuesday the 23rd of October next.

MARRIAGE WITH FOREIGNERS BILL.

[SECOND READING].

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

EARL BEAUCHAMP: My Lords, this is a Bill on which I do not think there can be two opinions. It is one in which the noble Marquess opposite, when he represented the Foreign Office in another place, took especial interest, and I hope he will give every assistance in passing it into law. There are two main clauses. The first is with regard to the marriage of British subjects with foreigners abroad. Some foreign countries demand that when their subjects marry a foreigner, there should be a certificate from the country to which the foreigner belongs to the effect that there is no impediment to the marriage. In this country we have no machinery by which that certificate can be supplied. This has given rise to considerable inconvenience, and the Home Office have done what they could to enable people to get that certificate in a roundabout way.

Again, more than one case of hardship has occurred in respect to the marriage of foreigners with British subjects in the United Kingdom. Some foreigners come into this country and marry an English woman, and then perhaps go and live abroad. Probably not even during the lifetime of the husband is anything found out. It is only afterwards that unkind relatives intervene and point out that the marriage is illegal, and the unhappy widow is left without any provision and is deprived of the money to which she has been looking forward. This is a subject in which the Bishop of London has also taken an interest, and I venture to hope your Lordships will give the Bill a Second Reading.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*Earl Beauchamp.*)

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, as far as we are concerned who sit on this side of your Lordship's House we shall offer no opposition whatever to the passing of this Bill. The two points dealt with, though widely dissimilar in character, involve grievances of rather an urgent kind. I can assure your Lordships that when I had to deal with it I found the law in such a condition that in respect to the marriage of a British subject abroad the difficulties were sometimes almost insuperable; and it was only by directly approaching the Government of the foreign country concerned and securing a certain dispensing power which they possess that in one particular case I was enabled to help a gentleman of my acquaintance who desired to marry a German lady. The position of foreigners marrying in England is also a very difficult one. I have not studied with any very great care the actual wording of this Bill, but I presume from the speech of the noble Earl that it is in the main taken from the Bill which was drafted when we were responsible for affairs, and therefore I have no doubt it is admirably drafted.

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow.

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER.

The Earl of Liverpool and the Lord Denman added to the Select Committee.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS (IRELAND) BILL.

Read 1ª, and to be printed. (No. 195.)

To be read 2ª on Tuesday the 23rd of October next.—(*The Earl of Mayo.*)

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Standing Order No. XXXIX. considered (according to Order), and suspended for this day's Sitting.

POST OFFICE SITES BILL.

POST OFFICE (LITERATURE FOR THE BLIND) BILL.

CHARITABLE LOAN SOCIETIES (IRELAND) BILL.

House in Committee (according to Order). Bills reported without Amendment. Standing Committee negatived. Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended) Bills read 3ª, and passed.

REVENUE BILL.

Read 3ª (according to Order), and passed.

FERTILISERS AND FEEDING STUFFS BILL.

Amendments reported (according to Order); a further Amendment made. Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended) Bill read 3ª with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

OPEN SPACES BILL.

Amendment reported (according to Order). Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended) Bill read 3ª with the Amendment, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) BILL.

Amendments reported (according to Order) and (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended) Bill to be read 3ª after the remaining Orders of the Day and Notices.

DEAN FOREST BILL.

Read 3ª (according to Order), and passed.

DOGS BILL.

Amendments reported (according to Order); further Amendments made. Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended) Bill read 3ª with the Amendments and passed, and returned to the Commons.

DEANERY OF MANCHESTER BILL.

House in Committee (according to Order). Bill reported without Amendment. Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended) Bill read 3ª, and passed.

THE TRANSVAAL CONSTITUTION.

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY: My Lords, I rise to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can give the House any information as to the terms on which a constitution is to be given to the Transvaal.

***THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (The Earl of ELGIN)**: My Lords, I have had no inclination to underrate the magnitude of the task before me this evening; but, if I had, I have had many reminders of it. My noble friend Lord Harris on Friday last, speaking on another matter, referred to this subject, and gave me a warning in solemn tones; and the echoes of that warning had scarcely died away within this House when they swelled to a greater volume in the Albert-hall, and have been reverberating ever since through the Press.

I am grateful to my noble friend opposite for his warning, because I am sure it was couched in the spirit of kindness which I have experienced from him for many years; but I demur to the more sonorous periods of the Albert-hall, which spoke of us as only temporary guardians of the Empire. Those who forget the nature of their tenure of these benches are apt to have a rude awakening, and I can assure your Lordships that we who now occupy these benches are fully aware that we have to deal with great questions, and we do not deny our responsibilities. But I think, on the other hand, we have a right to expect considerate treatment and a fair hearing from your Lordships' House. The practice of your Lordships' House has always been to give a fair hearing, and I am quite sure that to-night, when I feel in full measure that I require forbearance, I shall receive it at your Lordships' hands.

I do not want to revive the discussion of February last as to the respective merits of representative and responsible government. I hold to the opinions which I then expressed. But we are told that in introducing responsible government to the Transvaal in the manner which we now propose we are abandoning an unbroken precedent in the development of colonial institutions. I am not prepared to admit that; and, anyhow, if it was true, I hold that we are not alone responsible. Self-government no doubt grows up gradually in our Colonies, but it seems to me that it is an entirely different thing on this occasion, when, although we are dealing with new Colonies, we have to reconstruct a system which has in former times been one of self-government. I can understand a logical mind like that of the noble Viscount (Lord Milner) on the Cross Benches considering that a period of probation is a necessity; and, indeed, I must confess that I did not at the time, and I do not now, know how to construe the speech which he made on this subject to this House in any other way than this—that he would not have been prepared to grant self-government until the generation which knew the war had passed away.

However that may be in the case of the noble Viscount, I do not think it can be read into the declarations of our predecessors. I will not quote them all; I will just take one. In the despatch which is the covering despatch of the Constitution of 1905 there is the following paragraph—

> "The terms of peace to which I have referred contemplate representative institutions leading up to self-government. By self-government is meant, of course, the system under which not only legislation, but the very existence of the Executive is based on the consent of the majority in the Legislative Chamber. His Majesty's Government are aware that large sections of the people in the Transvaal have expressed the view that self-government in this sense should at once be granted; but they think now, as they did when the terms of peace were made, that some time, although not, they hope, a very

long time, must still pass before the people of the colonies recently annexed after a long war should be entrusted with so great a control of their destiny."

I believe the previous declarations of Mr. Chamberlain went as far, at least, in that direction, but I do not find anything of the kind in the "unbroken precedent" of the development of colonial institutions.

I can understand a denial of representative institutions, but I maintain there is nothing more impolitic, that there is nothing more cruel than to insist upon an intermediate period, which must be a period of unrest, uncertainty, and intrigue. We entirely appreciate the disadvantages of delay, and our object has been to shorten the delay; but I maintain that the delay would have been prolonged by the Constitution of 1905. We are attacked because we have not laid Papers. I do not like the *tu quoque* argument, but I might say that we do noble Lords opposite the compliment of following their example. No Papers at all were laid in 1905. I am told that representative government differs from responsible government in this matter. I do not admit it; but if it was true, there are precedents for the course we are now following. The last of our North American colonies to receive responsible government was Newfoundland. That was done in 1855 by letters patent without any previous statement having been made in Parliament, but they were challenged in the House of Commons on a Motion for the adjournment of the House.

These constitutional instruments are full of opportunities for controversial argument, and the debate would be conducted under the most disadvantageous circumstances. The arguments here would be conducted by men who might be familiar with the principles which they were arguing, but who are almost necessarily in many cases ignorant of the local circumstances. On the other hand, these instruments are to come into force in colonies where the exact opposite obtains. There men would take a lively interest in all local conditions and they would almost of necessity be practically ignorant of the constitutional arguments with which the discussion would be chiefly invested in this House. I maintain that it avoids immense friction, almost irretrievable friction, if these changes are made on the responsibility of His Majesty's Government, as they were on the last occasion. That, at any rate, is our position. We insisted that time was wanted for consideration and inquiry. We have also taken the opportunity of conducting inquiries on the spot by confidential agents. The late Prime Minister put forward what seems to me a rather remarkable proposition. He said—

"We have a right to peruse this Report for which we taxpayers have all paid."

My Lords, how far is that doctrine going to be carried? I suppose the taxpayers pay for all Foreign Office telegrams, and I do not know what the noble Marquis opposite would do, if he resumed the seals of that office, in dealing with that *dictum*.

As at present advised, I must decline to give any engagement with regard to the Report of the Committee. The Government have no wish, they have no right, to devolve responsibility on a Committee. The action they now take is their own. But I hope the House will believe that I mean no disparagement or depreciation of the work of the Committee. On the contrary, I think it would be unpardonable if I did not on this occasion express the obligation we feel under to the Committee for what they have done. They have shown remarkable energy and diligence. I may tell your Lordships that when I took leave of them I did venture on a suggestion which I thought at the time was a counsel of perfection, that they might be able to complete their investigations by the end of June. My Lords, before the end of June they were on the sea on their way home; and I may also confess that when I gave them that advice I had in my mind that I might be called upon to make a statement such as I have been asked to make to-day. I think there is only one opinion of the manner in which the Committee have done their work. They have been, by all accounts, accessible to all; they have been patient in hearing and indefatigable in endeavouring to reach a peaceful solution, All that was within their instructions; but they were not sent out to make a bargain. His Majesty's Government from the first reserved in their own hands the decision as to the principles on which the constitution was to be based, and the decision to which we have come is not based on any concluded agreement· Indeed, no such agreement exists; but many conferences have been held between the Committee and the various parties and the local Government, and I am sure that those conferences have not only thrown light on points of difference, but have indicated, perhaps have fostered, the possibilities of a settlement. The Government owe much to the Committee for what they have done, and we acknowledge the devotion and success with which they performed their very delicate mission.

Now, my Lords, what I have undertaken to-day is to give a summary—for I cannot do more—of the main provisions of the Letters Patent to be issued to the Transvaal; and I say the Transvaal advisedly, because I do not propose to-day to deal with the Orange River Colony. It has always, I think, been the view that there was reason against a simultaneous treatment of the two colonies. They have different characteristics, especially that in the Orange River Colony there does not occur, at any rate at present, the same urgency in the conditions of labour. There is no arrangement which had been put forward by the late Government which has to be cancelled or altered. I do not say in the least that we do not intend to proceed with all convenient despatch with the case of the Orange River Colony. All I can say is that I do not propose to deal with it to-day.

In withdrawing the Letters Patent of 1905, I stated that we did not by any means reject all the provisions which are to be found in that instrument. There may have been some misunderstanding as to what was meant, but I do not think it would serve any useful purpose that I should enter into an elaborate comparison on this occasion. I shall not, however, hesitate to use terms which have been made familiar by the Constitution of 1905, and I shall endeavour, so far as my ability serves, to explain any alterations, where that is necessary.

Now, my Lords, I will give a simple and categorical summary of the main features of the Constitution we propose. We propose that, subject to the qualifications which I will mention immediately, representation should be given on a voters' basis coupled with manhood suffrage and with a residential qualification of six months. We propose that the existing magisterial districts should be retained, but that they should be divided where necessary into single-member constituencies, the process being, as far as possible, to follow what are called the field-cornetcy boundaries. We propose also that there should be automatic redistribution and a new election of the Assembly every five years. Under the Constitution of 1905 doubt had arisen about the military vote. I do not think it had ever been intended to give the vote to soldiers on actual service, and, indeed, proposals had actually been put forward when we came into office for dealing with that very point. At any rate, in the new Constitution, no such vote will be allowed. On a good many of these details there is not so very much difference of opinion.

I will say a word or two with regard to manhood suffrage. The franchise under the Constitution of 1905 was a £10 franchise, and, looking to the cost of living in the Transvaal, I do not suppose the difference between a £10 franchise and manhood suffrage affects so many people as we should be inclined to think from the conditions of life in this country. But we had to face requests that we should consider two cases put forward with some urgency by the Boers before we came into office with regard to the sons of farmers and certain other burghers who would not come in under the franchise of the instrument of 1905. It is largely a matter of the nature of the tenure of the land, under which the head of the family has the only property qualification, and the sons of the house are not in a position to obtain it. We consider that it is more desirable to deal with this matter by lowering the franchise for British as well as Boers rather than by creating special franchises. An Order in Council will issue immediately to provide for the addition to the list which will be necessary in consequence of this alteration, and we are advised that that work can be carried out in about three months.

With regard to magisterial districts, I gather that there really is not now any very serious objection taken by the parties to the adoption of these as the main electoral districts. I have a prejudice which would perhaps be more suitable if I sat on the other side of the House in favour of the preservation of ancient landmarks, but in this particular case it has material advantages. It will shorten the delimitation, because if we had proceeded as was proposed under the Constitution of 1905 no delimitation could take place until the voters' roll was complete. Under the present circumstances it is possible to proceed with a good deal, at any rate, of the delimitation work at once, simultaneously with the additions to the roll. I think it right in courtesy to mention to the noble Lord behind me, whom we are glad to welcome to this House, and who may be described as the champion of proportional representation, that at his request I brought this matter before the notice of the Committee, and they made inquiry into the matter in the Colonies, but they report that they found these proposals so unacceptable and so unpopular that they did not see their way to make any representations in their favour.

In reading out the summary I made a reservation with regard to the voters' basis. In one sense that might be considered a very serious difference of opinion, but I think that it might be a great deal over-stated. Only one step had really been taken under the Constitution of 1905. The proceedings had commenced for the formation of the voters' roll, and while the whole matter was under the consideration of the Government we did not think it right to interrupt those proceedings, and the roll was completed in March. The voters' roll under that Constitution was intended, in the first place, to be used for the division of the country into equal electoral districts, and, in the second place, to be used for the elections themselves. I think it will be obvious that any irregularities in the roll would very seriously affect its use for the first purpose, and I am sorry to say that certain suspicions did arise with regard to the accuracy of the roll. I do not make myself responsible for any particular allegations. It is said that the roll showed an actual excess of voters above the number of adult males shown by the census, at any rate in certain districts. If that is so the figures are irreconcilable, but to prove irregularities of that kind some inquiry was absolutely necessary.

The position is this. The High Commissioner concurred in thinking that before the roll could be used for the first purpose of the late Constitution a scrutiny was absolutely essential. The effect of that would be, we are advised, meaning as it does not only a scrutiny, but the postponement of delimitation until the roll is established by the scrutiny, to cause a delay of nine or ten months. If there is one point on the desirability of which I think everybody in the Colonies is unanimous it is the avoidance of delay. In these circumstances His Majesty's Government have fallen back upon the alternative which is open to them, and propose to use the figures of the census for the distribution of seats. As a matter of fact the difference in results is exceedingly small. The main difference arises in the Witwatersrand, and I admit at once that the difference in the Witwatersrand in all the circumstances is material. According to the voters' roll, the number of members allotted is thirty-six, and according to the number of adult males it would be thirty-three. The difference of three seats, which would not be a very large matter in a country like this, accustomed to large figures, could not be overlooked in the Transvaal. I do not overlook either the fact that the British population is concentrated in the Witwatersrand.

The allocation which His Majesty's Government propose is thirty-four seats to the Witwatersrand, including Krugersdorp rural; six seats to Pretoria and twenty-nine to the rest of the country. This allocation follows the proportion of the census figures with, I believe, one single exception, and that is the transfer of one seat from the rest of the country to the Rand. The justification for taking this step, which depends on almost fractions of a unit, is two-fold. In the first place, it recognises increases of population in the Rand, and, in the second place, we have the satisfaction of knowing that, though they demur to it, the Boers will not raise any serious objections, provided there is a settlement. I am aware that there are also doubts raised on what I may, perhaps, call electoral estimates. I dare say a good many noble Lords in the House have had experience of electoral estimates. Even though I never sat in the House of Commons I know something about them, and I must confess that the more I know about them the less I trust them. But there is this fact to be borne in mind, that though some of the British Party contend that the addition of two seats to the number is of importance, there are some who do not agree to that proposal and who will not reject a settlement on the terms which I have described.

I have this further support in this matter. The High Commissioner, who has taken a very deep interest in the whole of these proceedings, informed the Committee when they put forward this proposal that he approved of it. I did not wish to quote even that statement much less to quote any letters that I might have seen without the High Commissioner's knowledge and approval. On Saturday last I telegraphed to him and asked him what he would allow me to do. I last night received his answer, and he authorises me to say that he did express to the Committee his approval of this allocation.

> "But," he says, "I should be much obliged if you will at the same time give the reasons why I concurred. They are, first, that in my opinion this distribution of seats represents as nearly as possible the distribution which would result on the basis of voters and equal electoral districts from the formation of a new voters' roll based on an adult white male British subject franchise; and this being so, secondly, that the adoption of this compromise should save several months' delay, and as not a wholly new voters' roll but simply an addition to the present voters' roll will have to be made, the advent of self-government should be antedated by several months. I attach very great importance to this result as I fear the Transvaal is suffering grievously from the suspense."

Under this arrangement the number of the Assembly will be sixty-nine, but we are disposed to adopt a provision which has been put forward in several quarters, that the Speaker, after election, should become a paid officer of the House and should vacate his seat. Of this proposal, also, Lord Selborne is strongly in favour. It avoids the inconvenience which may often happen, which, indeed, often does happen, in small Assemblies from the fact that where there is a narrow majority the majority are not very anxious to put forward a man at all for the office of Speaker, and are particularly anxious not to put forward one of their best men. This provision will, therefore, avert, we hope, the putting into the chair of an inferior Speaker.

We propose, as is common in countries which are bi-lingual, that the members of the Assembly shall be allowed to use either Dutch or English in the debates of he House. We propose also that there shall be a Second Chamber. We are of opinion that in its permanent form it should be elective; and that it will be convenient, in these circumstances, to follow generally the Cape model. But we feel that, at the outset, the multiplication of elections might cause a good deal of inconvenience, especially as they occur in a country which has not had experience of this sort of thing; and, therefore, for the first Parliament, we would propose that the Legislative Council should be nominated and to retain the nomination in the hands of the Crown. Your Lordships will see that, by the time the first Parliament expires, the arrangements can be complete and the election of the Second Chamber can then be carried out.

There will also have to be provision in some form for dealing with the Inter-Colonial Council. The Inter-Colonial Council is, as some of your Lordships are aware, a joint institution of the two Colonies, and it has under it the management and collection of the revenues of the railways and the control of the South African Constabulary. I think it will be obvious that when we have two self-governing Colonies, there must be some opportunity at any rate for reconsideration of the arrangements which now obtain, but we also are of opinion that it would cause great inconvenience, and, indeed, might absolutely dislocate administrative action, if suddenly at the very outset the Colonies had found themselves with this institution swept away. Therefore, what we propose to do is to provide for a period during which the Inter-Colonial Council may be continued and means for conference between the two Governments with regard to the form in which it should continue in the future.

I will not trouble your Lordships by doing more than simply mentioning some other provisions, such as dealing with the civil list, the payment of Members which, I suppose, is universal in the Colonies, and matters of that kind; but I recognise that there are one or two points of considerable importance to which your Lordships will expect me to make some reference. In the first place, there is the question of land settlement. That is a matter which has been brought up in this House by noble Lords who have expressed considerable anxiety as to the future of the settlers placed on the land. Without entirely adopting those contentions, His Majesty's Government are most willing to do anything they can to remove anxiety. They admit that, especially in the Orange River Colony, good results have come from land settlement.

VISCOUNT MILNER: Hear, hear.

*THE EARL OF ELGIN: Your Lordships may remember that a sum of £3,000,000 was set aside out of the guaranteed loan for the purpose, and a sum of £2,500,000 has been expended on land or on loans to settlers. We are advised by the Law Officers that the repayments of the settlers must be devoted to one of two purposes—either to the original object for which the fund was formed or to diminishing the debt charge on the guaranteed loan. I think the proposal that has been most often put forward to remove anxiety with regard to the settlers has been the institution of a Land Board, and His Majesty's Government are not disposed to deny that a Land Board may supply the best machinery for administering these Colonies, but they are obliged to attach conditions. It seems to them it would be entirely contrary to the general principle of responsible government that an arrangement of that kind should be carried out except by general consent. If the general consent of those concerned in the Colonies can be obtained, His Majesty's Government see a real advantage in an institution of that kind.

There is another question on which I should like to say a word. It has been a somewhat painful duty to examine a very considerable number of what are really hard cases arising out of claims for compensation for war losses. We maintain that these cases have been fairly decided under the rules of the Central Judicial Committee, but that does not prevent our acknowledging that there is, and has been, considerable individual suffering. His Majesty's Government cannot reopen the general question, and they are not prepared to apply to Parliament for more money for this particular object, but they will only be too glad if in any way the local Government can see their way to do something in this connection.

Before I pass from these two matters I desire to say a word on the general financial position. Your Lordships will remember that a loan of £35,000,000 was given after the war to the Colonies under Imperial guarantee, and it is calculated that the saving to the Colonies in consequence of the Imperial guarantee is no less a sum than £350,000 a year. The consent of the House of Commons was obtained to this loan very much in consequence of the promise of what is called a war contribution of £30,000,000. I am not going into details with regard to the negotiations on that subject, but what I wish to point out is that the existence of this promise is a basis of obligation which, though probably not legal, has a moral and honourable force. And it also has this effect, that, while it subsists, it impairs the borrowing powers of the Colonies themselves. There have been various suggestions from both Parties in the Colonies for a release of this obligation. That release would, of course, abandon once for all any idea of giving relief to the long-suffering British taxpayer, but His Majesty's Government do not wish to approach it in any narrow spirit, and if anything could be done whereby means for laudable objects in South Africa could be put forward, His Majesty's Government might be disposed to make proposals with regard to this matter. But to-day, and at present, I have no definite proposal to put forward, though His Majesty's Government propose to instruct the High Commissioner to make any inquiries he can with regard to that subject.

I have still to deal with what in some respects is one of the most important matters in South Africa, and that is the question of the natives. I should like to make one general remark. It has always appeared to me that there was something very peculiar in the relations of the Continent of Europe and the Continent of Africa in regard to this matter. I can understand an overflowing population from one country having a right to take possession of unoccupied and vacant lands, but during the last twenty years or so the European nations have divided up Africa amongst themselves, so far as I can see on absolutely arbitrary lines, and at any rate there was never any pretence whatever of consulting the desires or wishes of the millions of inhabitants of that great continent. I am not disputing in any way that there were difficulties which required a remedy,and very likely this was the only remedy which could have been adopted. But I do say that there is a risk in multiplying what we call white men's countries, where there are a very small number of whites in the midst of an overwhelming number of blacks. I for one do not admit that our fellow-countrymen abroad are in the least less humane than we are ourselves, but they are nearer the danger, and they have less means of meeting such circumstances as I have described. It appears to me that if the rights of natives could be so regulated as to diminish the chances of conflict between black and white, it would be well to do so. I make these observations because I regret that the terms of the Vereeniging treaty confines the franchise to white subjects. I regret it, because I am of opinion that a reasonable representation of natives would give strength and not weakness to the Government of the country, and I cannot but hope that this will be recognised in some time to come.

With regard to coloured people, who may be said, shortly, to be those in whom there is a strain of white blood, they have made appeals to the effect that the terms of Vereeniging do not exclude them. I have seen representatives of their number, men of intelligence and education, who argued their case moderately and well. They referred with great emphasis to a letter of the noble Viscount on the Cross Benches, which was quoted in a London newspaper. I can only say that I can find no trace in the official correspondence of any suggestion by him that the terms of peace did not definitely confine the franchise to white British subjects. And we are advised that public opinion in the Colonies is definitely and strongly against any other interpretation. I am afraid therefore that we do not see our way to making the modification which these gentlemen ask, and I am not quite clear on what possible principle we could have found a definition enabling us to do so.

What we propose is that all native territory which has been and is administered by the High Commissioner should remain under his control, and that Swaziland should also be placed under the administration of the High Commissioner. Shortly put, in this we follow the precedent of Basutoland rather than of Zululand. We also propose that there should be in the Letters Patent the customary safeguards for native rights, which generally consist of prohibitions of the alienation of lands set apart for native locations except by legislation, and which sometimes provide sums of money to be reserved for education or other purposes, and sometimes make the Governor, or some other officer, paramount chief or protector. I do not wish to be taken as dealing with this in detail, but we recognise in full our duty towards the native population.

The Letters Patent will provide for the reservation of any Bill whereby persons not of European birth or descent may be subjected to any disability or restriction to which persons of European birth or descent are not also subjected, and no law sanctioning any condition of service or residence of a servile character will be assented to. It will also be necessary for us in the Letters Patent to carry out the pledge in regard to the Chinese Labour Ordinance which we gave in the spring, and a clause will be introduced to insure that the present Ordinance will not be inherited by the new Legislature, but that the new Legislature shall frame, if so advised a new Ordinance connected with this purpose.

I have endeavoured to avoid the war cries of any controversy and to speak in language of moderation. I have felt it the more my duty to do so because in the later proceedings in regard to this matter, as I am glad to admit, the parties to those controversies have maintained great self-restraint and not a little of mutual forbearance. My Lords, why should I speak of British supremacy? I am here speaking of the constitution of a British colony. But I will say this for myself, that I shall not be satisfied with my share in this work if British interests in their widest sense are not safe in the Government we establish. I am fortified in my confidence in this matter not so much because the Government have given, as has been their duty, the most careful and impartial consideration to all the circumstances connected with it, but because I have behind me the concurrent opinion of those who have investigated the matter on the spot; not only of those who have been deputed by us to do so, but of the High Commissioner and others, who are servants of the Crown.

It is no small thing that we offer to the Transvaal. In my humble opinion there is no position that exists, or ever has existed, which combines the maximum of independence and of security as does a self-governing British colony. We might even go further, if we look beside the circumstances of the present moment to the prospect which perhaps after all is not so far distant, of a great South African Dominion or Commonwealth. The workers on the foundation must not hope to claim the glory of the superstructure; they must be content with a humbler, perhaps even an obscure, position. But I venture to submit that in this case the foundation-stone has been well and truly laid.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH: My Lords, it has seldom fallen to the lot of a Secretary of State to make a pronouncement in this House of graver character or of greater importance than the statement we have listened to this afternoon. We have known for a long time past that His Majesty's Government were determined to grant responsible institutions to both the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony; and we know now, from the statement which the noble Earl has made, the method by which these principles will be carried into effect with regard to the Transvaal; and I presume that, at some later date, we shall have the proposals with regard to the Orange River Colony. Let me say at once that it was the belief of the late Government that it was essential, for the quiet and orderly development of the political affairs of the Transvaal, that the establishment of elective representative institutions should precede the grant of self-government. Those principles were laid down in the Treaty of Vereeniging. The people of the Transvaal themselves were prepared to acquiesce in them, for they realised that an instalment of self-government in the shape of representative institutions would be the best means, and, indeed, the only means, of ensuring the permanent security of British interests in the Transvaal.

The course of introducing responsible government, after Crown Colony government, as the noble Earl proposes to do, is entirely contrary to all colonial precedent. Representative institutions preceded responsible government in the cases of Lower and Upper Canada, and indeed after the union of those two colonies in 1840. They preceded the granting of responsible government in the cases of New Zealand, Australia, Natal, and the Cape; and, having listened carefully to the noble Earl's statement in favour of granting responsible self-government, I confess that to my mind he failed to produce a single good argument to justify a departure from these unbroken precedents. The only arguments he ventured to put forward was that His Majesty's Government were obliged to reconstruct a Government which once possessed a self-governing character. But it must not be forgotten that in the Transvaal there are two distinct races, one of which were recently our enemies in the field and are to-day politically hostile to us. Surely, if there was one instance where it would be wise for representative institutions to precede responsible government, it was in the case of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies.

The noble Earl and His Majesty's Government are determined to grant responsible government. I presume that in determining on this course their ideas are in conformity with those submitted by the Ridgeway Committee. The noble Earl waxed eloquent on the great work which this Committee had done. I have no doubt he was perfectly accurate; but he gave no information to the House as to whether or not the views of His Majesty's Government were in accordance with the views which had been submitted to them by that particular Committee. We still feel strongly the fact that not even a portion of the Report of that Committee, which has been paid for by the taxpayers of this country, has been presented to Parliament. Noble Lords opposite have often told us that we are woefully in want of information, and lamentably ignorant on these affairs; yet once they are in possession of the material required they refuse to allow even a portion of it to be published to Parliament, so that your Lordships and the Members of the other House could learn the recommendation upon which the Government have based their policy.

The noble Earl said that we did not publish any Papers when we issued our Letters Patent, and he declined to draw any distinction between representative and responsible institutions. I must confess I thought that a very remarkable statement emanating from the noble Earl, and it is one which I really need not pursue any further, because it is perfectly clear that in the case of representative institutions the results are pretty accurately foretold, whereas, in the case of responsible institutions, it is impossible to foretell the result. His Majesty's Government have removed what were considered the safeguards for preserving British supremacy which existed under the Lyttelton Constitution; but we did expect that the terms upon which responsible government was to be granted would be terms which the British could accept with the feeling that their interests had been safeguarded and protected, and that they had not been in any way employed as a pawn in the final settlement.

I do not quarrel with the noble Earl on the ground that His Majesty's Government are going to grant the old magisterial areas, that the field-cornetcy boundaries are to be continued, or that the election of the Assembly is to take place every five years. Nor am I concerned to discuss with him the fact that he has granted a Second Chamber, although incidentally I may say that for my part I am glad that a Second Chamber has been created. I only hope it may be of value; but I rather fear that those nominated to it will not be the most distinguished and prominent citizens, for these will obviously be elected to the Lower Assembly. Consequently the Members of the Upper House, although no doubt in every way worthy men, will carry less weight and less authority than the members do in the Second Chamber in other colonies, or, indeed, in this country. Nor, my Lords, am I concerned to follow the noble Earl in his views with regard to the Inter-Colonial Council.

I desire to refer to the electoral proposals upon the basis of the voters' roll and manhood suffrage. The late Government were not opposed to the principle of the voters' basis. We considered that that was fair and reasonable; but, as far as I can understand, you have not granted this to the Britishers as a right but as a kind of concession, to be counter-balanced by an equal concession to the Dutch in the shape of manhood suffrage. Having asserted the principle of the voters' basis on behalf of the English, you render that less valuable than it should be because you apply it, not to the voters' roll of the year 1906, but to the census of 1904. I am assured—and the authority I think is a pretty good one—that there are 4,000 more British on the voters' roll of the year 1906 than there are on the voters' roll for 1904. After all, this voters' roll, which the noble Earl somewhat depreciated, is the latest source of information which you possess as to those who are entitled to vote in the Transvaal, and why you should fail to accept it I cannot understand. The voters' basis which I claim the British should have as

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a right you give them as a concession, and, having given it as a concession, you render it partially valueless by applying it to the census of 1904.

In order to balance this imaginary benefit to the British the noble Earl and his colleagues have decided to grant manhood suffrage, the application of which can benefit only one class of the community—namely, the Dutch in the country districts. I confess, having listened very carefully to the noble Earl, that I was not particularly impressed by the arguments which he adduced in favour of manhood suffrage. After all, manhood suffrage is unknown in any other Colony in South Africa. It is unprecedented in any of the Colonies in the British dominions except New Zealand, and New South Wales, and even there it was never granted concurrently with the principles of responsible Government. In those Colonies where manhood suffrage exists those who granted it had not to deal, as you have in the Transvaal, with a portion of the population politically hostile to them. The noble Earl did not tell us whether, in granting manhood suffrage in the Transvaal, he first consulted the views of those in authority in Natal; whether he asked Dr. Jameson at the Cape what his opinion was with regard to the advantages of manhood suffrage in the Transvaal. You decided it, I presume, without any reference at all to the views and opinions of the other Colonies.

I have dwelt on the question of manhood suffrage because it bears so peculiarly on the rest of the case—the number of seats which have been granted, and the relation of the number of voters to the number of seats. There are some 44,903 voters in the Witwatersrand district, and in the rest of the country there are 43,420 voters. The Colonial Secretary and his colleagues have decided, in a somewhat arbitrary way, to grant the Witwatersrand area a number of seats amounting to thirty-four, Pretoria six, and the rest of the country twenty-nine. In other words, the population of the Witwatersrand, composed of English and those who are loyal and comprising the majority of the population, have been given a minority of seats, namely, thirty-four; and the Dutch who live in the country districts, who are in the minority of voters and who are politically opposed to us, have been given a majority of seats—namely, thirty-five. And in order to make quite certain that in the country districts the English representatives who stand at the next election shall have no chance whatever of being elected, you have introduced manhood suffrage, knowing full well that thereby you will place on the roll of voters a further 7,000 or 9,000 Dutchmen who, by their increased vote, will prevent any English representative being returned, certainly for the country districts, and perhaps even for Pretoria itself.

I contend that the electoral basis which the noble Earl has adumbrated is unfair, arbitrary, and unusual. It is unfair, because the voters' roll of 1906 is not taken; it is arbitrary because the majority of voters in the Witwatersrand are given fewer seats than the minority of voters in the country districts and in Pretoria; and it is unusual because in order to poll the full strength of Dutch opnion you have resorted to manhood suffrage, unprecedented in the previous history of South Africa. We are asked to-day to accept the divisions of these constituencies, not because they are fairly or properly divided but because the Dutch, according to the opinion of His Majesty's Government, should have a greater proportion of seats in the areas where they live than the British, although they are in the minority with regard to their voting strength. We are asked to accept the principle of manhood suffrage, not because it is right but because by so doing the number of seats which are allotted to the Dutch are bound to go to them. It does seem to me to be a matter of grave doubt whether the first appeal to the constituencies can possibly result in the return of a majority pledged to the control of British institutions. Whether I am right or wrong this much I do contend, that in so grave a matter where the future ascendancy of the British race is involved the result should not be left in doubt. It should not be gambled with, and a Government which, by its policy, leaves this decision in doubt is unmindful of the great trust imposed upon them and will indeed be considered by some to have betrayed that trust altogether.

So much for my opinion. But what about the feeling of the colonists in the Transvaal? Do you think they will draw such moderate conclusions after having read the proposals submitted to Parliament? I think they will consider that the terms of this Constitution have been largely drawn up against themselves. And having created a feeling of injustice in the minds of these men you will alienate their sympathies and goodwill, and by so doing do you think you are likely to contribute to the final peaceable settlement of this great problem? I am inclined to quote words which the late Lord Salisbury uttered several years ago on this particular subject, when he said that—

> "The distrust engendered by any betrayal of our fellow British subjects would endanger the future of our dominion in South Africa."

I indeed fear, having listened to the terms of this new Constitution, that you will engender distrust in the minds of many of our fellow subjects in South Africa and lead them to feel that they have not been treated with proper fairness, but, indeed, have been betrayed.

This is the picture which His Majesty's Government present to us this afternoon. By their Constitution for the Transvaal we know that probably a Dutch Ministry will come into office. We know that when responsible Government is granted to the Orange River Colony it will become overwhelmingly Dutch; and we know that next year there is every prospect of a Dutch Ministry coming into power in Cape Colony. The Dutch have said frankly and openly that once they get political power in their hands the Civil servants shall be Dutch, the police shall be Dutch, the Constabulary, which to-day are English, shall become Dutch, the Education Department shall be controlled on Dutch lines, and money shall be allocated by a Dutch Parliament to indigent Dutchmen in need of it. The prospect we have to look forward to is the probable Dutch ascendancy throughout the whole of South Africa, from the Cape to the Zambesi.

I do not know what the feeling of noble Lords in this House is, but this much I feel sure I may say, that we did not fight the late war in order to have this kind of picture presented to us now, after having spent so much treasure and sacrificed so many lives, and after having given five years of good, resolute, strong rule in the Transvaal under the administration of two such great Pro-Consuls as Lord Milner and Lord Selborne. All the good done is to be dissipated in six months by the policy of His Majesty's Government and by the terms of the settlement which has been explained to us this afternoon. We fought for the ascendancy of British institutions, and to secure that the man who should have the last word in the settlement of these problems should be the Briton. But the ascendancy of British ideals is likely to be impaired throughout the length and breadth of South Africa by the Government proposals, and I am therefore utterly unable to give any meed of approval to them.

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*LORD SANDHURST: My Lords, as a member of the Committee who have just returned from South Africa, perhaps you will allow me to address a few words to you on this subject. I know well how much controversy ranges round this subject, but I do not propose to embark on the field of controversy. One of my objects in rising is to express my grateful thanks to both Boer and Briton for the uniform kindness with which they received us, and to say that from the day we landed to the day we left South Africa, neither from Press nor platform did we ever hear the slightest insinuation as to our being subject to any political bias.

We have heard from the Secretary of State that the High Commissioner has agreed with the enumeration of the seats—thirty-four for the Rand, six for Pretoria, and twenty-nine for the rest of the Colony. Of course, I do not speak with the same authority as the Secretary of State for the Colonies, but I am pretty confident that what I say is correct, that in no salient point does the High Commissioner, Lord Selborne, disagree with our Report; and from what I was able to learn from the statement of the Secretary of State his proposals follow substantially the lines of our Report. We were a political Committee, but we endeavoured, and I hope with success, to bear an even mind in the various matters that came before us. It was our business to hold a great many interviews with all Parties and to have confidential communications with a great number of people. We had upwards of 500 witnesses before us and received between seventy and eighty deputations. It is difficult, I admit, for any one to gauge correctly the situation in South Africa; but when the noble Duke says the Government are behaving with unfairness I think I am correct in saying that the main arrangements which have been put forward by the Secretary of State have secured the agreement of the political Party known as the Responsibles, of the political Party known as Het Volk, of the Labour Party, and also of a great number of the Progressives. What the opinion of the Progressives may be to-day I cannot say, but I know that before we started from South Africa these figures went to the Progressive Association. They were sent out to the various branches, and, although I have no figures to quote from, I am pretty confident that the vast majority of those branch associations were in favour of a settlement on the lines proposed.

There is one matter I wish to call attention to arising out of the speech of the noble Duke—namely, the question of the Civil servants. I am not in the least afraid that Civil servants will be dealt with unfairly owing to their nationality or their political opinions, if they have any. But it is rumoured, with what truth I cannot say, that certain departments are a great deal overstaffed, and in the Transvaal there was two months ago a Commission sitting under the Presidency of one of their most distinguished Judges of the High Court, to inquire into the Civil Service. If it should so happen that, as a result of this inquiry, or owing to any consequent administrative retrenchment, it is necessary to turn some of these men out of their employment, I hope their cases will be taken into consideration and that places will, if possible, be found for them in other Colonies, or else that they may be absorbed in the Civil Service at home.

In regard to the Second Chamber, I am aware that there was, and is, a good deal of opposition to it among certain Parties; but I agree with the noble Earl in thinking that it would be unwise to depart from the precedent which has ensured a Second Chamber to all the Colonies having responsible Government. As your Lordships are well aware, Cape Colony has a Second Chamber which is elective, and Natal has a Second Chamber which is nominated for ten years. The Secretary of State said that the principle was to be elective, but that at any rate he was going to nominate it for the first Parliament. So far as my humble opinion goes, I would rather have seen the Second Chamber on the principle of nomination rather than on the principle of election. As to the grant of manhood suffrage, I would ask the noble Duke and your Lordships whether it is not wiser on the part of His Majesty's Government to endeavour to make some arrangement by which a minimum of irritation may ensue.

We had a great many interviews with various Parties, and also a great many interviews with the Boers, and I always found them very reasonable in their views. They anticipated a British majority, and were perfectly content to abide by it. My noble friend (Viscount Milner) on the Cross Benches smiles at that. A good deal has taken place in South Africa since my noble friend left that country, where, if I may venture to say so, he left a great reputation for untiring zeal, ability, and loyalty to his post. It is, I think, worth saying that the Boers have realised that there was at any rate a disposition on the part of the Committee to be considerate and to listen to all they had to say, and I cannot but think that our endeavours may have worked some slight good in that direction.

Doubt has been thrown on the possibility of a British majority. None of us can look into the ballot boxes of the future. Personally, I consider there will be a British majority, but I do not see how anyone can expect to have what is known as a Rand majority. Many of the witnesses we had before us said—

> "Give us a British majority if you like, but do not give us a Rand majority."

With regard to the Rand magnates, as they are called, I know that both in this country and in South Africa there is a considerable feeling hostile to them. I consider that prejudice unjustifiable. I saw a good deal of these gentlemen and I am far indeed from believing the statement which we have seen at times asserted that the measure of their loyalty and the reason of it is their dividends or the price of their stock. I do not believe that for one moment. The greater part of them fought in the late war, and I regret that strong terms, and, as I think, misleading terms, should be applied to them. But I do consider that their apprehensions are in some degree exaggerated, and I regret that many of them have shown so much distrust of the Boers.

While, as I have said, we also were favourably impressed with the Boers, between the Boers and the British there is a great deal of mutual respect, and I hope that as time goes on the racial feeling and bitterness which has existed will be found in a much less degree. I cannot help feeling that with responsible government, when they have to fight out their own political battles, they will come to realise more and more every day that they are subjects of the same Sovereign and have both to overcome the same problem. I was very fortunate indeed in the colleagues who served with me on the Committee. Sir West Ridgeway, the Chairman, has had a very varied career and is a man of vast experience, tact, and energy; whilst in Sir Francis Hopwood we had one of the ablest of the permanent Civil servants, and in Colonel Johnston a gentleman whose capacity for dealing with figures is well known. I would say, in conclusion, that if his Majesty's Government follow the lines of the Report of the Committee, as the Secretary of State leads me to believe they have, and if we have been able to show the Government the lines on which there would be the least friction all round and if an improved state of things results from the granting of the Constitution, the labours of the Committee will not have been in vain.

*Lord HARRIS: My Lords, I should not have ventured to address your Lordships to-night had it not been for a remark by my noble friend who has just sat down. I do not profess to have an intimate knowledge of the political affairs of the Transvaal, such, perhaps, as he has acquired from his recent travels there and the numerous interviews he has had; but in the course of ten years practical business connection with the Transvaal it is inevitable that I must have seen many men and heard the views of politicians of all shades of opinion there. It might amuse the noble Lord the Colonial Secretary to know that in a conversation I had with a Boer, a person of some influence in the counsels of the Boers, the suggestion was made that what are called the Rand magnates should join with the Boers in opposition to His Majesty's present Government.

In the course of ten years I have had opportunities of considering the varied opinions as to the best sort of Government for the new Colony, and I take the earliest opportunity of repudiating, so far as I can speak from the information that has been given to me, the idea that the Progressive Party accept this settlement as a just one. I understood the noble Earl to say that he was under the impression that these figures had been circulated to the various branches of the Progressive Association, and that to a considerable majority these proposals were acceptable. I have no hesitation in saying—and my information comes from just as good a source as the noble Lord's—that if the Progressive Party had an opportunity of expressing their opinion on these proposals they would absolutely repudiate them. I suppose there is no more important *personnel* in any system of Government than the Civil servants. The warning of the noble Lord who has just sat down will be regarded as a very serious one by many Civil servants in the Transvaal.

Lord SANDHURST: I said I did not fear that there would be any dismissals owing to political views or nationality.

*Lord HARRIS: I have no doubt that my noble friend wished to be as encouraging as he possibly could to the many Civil servants in the Transvaal, but I am afraid the encouragement he has given will have a very ominous appearance to them. We know well what the Boers say. I could read many statements to your Lordships by prominent Boers in which they say that the British Civil servants have got to go, and are to be replaced by Boer Civil servants. At the present moment there is no security, as far as I know, for any Civil servant in the Transvaal. I do not know whether they are entitled even to six months notice ; but there is nothing to prevent the Civil service being composed almost entirely of Boers.

The giving of permission to use the Boer language in the Legislative Assembly cannot be complained of. It has already been given to Cape Colony, and the granting of it to the Transvaal cannot be opposed. But the use of the Taal will follow in the Government offices and in the schools and will permeate the whole population. It is a low, degraded language, compared to the language of commerce, the English language. This effete language will again become prominent in your most recently-acquired British Colony ; and there is a danger underlying that. One of the first thing that His Majesty's late Government tried to do was to encourage an appreciation of the commercial value, the educational value, the literary value of the English language as compared with Taal.

It is said that at the first election there may be a British majority. The noble Lord thinks that in this British Colony, for which this country has sacrificed so much, there may be a British majority. What if there is not ? If there is not a British majority at the first election what chance is there of a British majority afterwards ? The noble Duke has warned His Majesty's Government that the effect of manhood suffrage must be to add, quinquennially it may be, but at every period of a fresh election, some 5,000 Boers to the voters' roll. This is effected by mere accretion of age. The same chance does not accrue to the British in the Transvaal—in the first place, because their sons are very much younger and would not therefore come up to the voting age in such numbers ; secondly, there is, not unnaturally, a greater tendency to send them home to be educated, and in a great majority of cases they do not return.

The one chance for British supremacy in the Transvaal is that the commercial situation may improve and the British be encouraged to go out there. Abnormal numbers of British have been returning by steamer from Cape Town during the last two or three months, and all in the second and third class. There is an exodus from the Transvaal and has been ever since His Majesty's present Government have been in power. If that is going on as they remain in office I am afraid the chance for British supremacy in the Transvaal is not a very good one. If not, what have you done ? You have handed back a British Colony which this country has sacrificed much to gain, and which it was compelled to take over. The noble Earl and his colleagues may use what arguments they like as to the origin of the war, but they cannot deny that British territory was invaded, that we had a right to put the invader back, and that we were entitled to pursue our advantage. That was the origin of the war, and the war having been carried out to its end you are now doing something which imperils British supremacy in those Colonies.

The scheme of representation proposed by His Majesty's Government has a very plausible appearance. There are to be thirty-four seats for the Witwatersrand, six for Pretoria, and twenty-nine for the rest of the country. Add the country and Pretoria together and you get thirty-five as against thirty-four for the Witwatersrand. It looks fairly well balanced, and His Majesty's Government are no doubt hopeful that that is the way it will be looked at. But they know as well as I do that the Witwatersrand is not nearly so united as are the country districts. It is absurd to talk of the mining magnates being unanimous. I have had to do with many communities in my life—commercial, industrial, sporting, and official—and I never came across a body more disposed to be disunited than the so-called Rand magnates. The noble Earl the Colonial Secretary has already taken advantage of their disunion. Only the other day he acknowledged that by communicating with one of the groups—the Robinson Group—he had succeeded in causing disunion amongst them. It is as easy as possible.

There are many other interests on the Rand besides that of the Rand magnates. There is the Labour Party to be considered, and there are various other interests which are by no means in unison with the Rand magnates; and to suppose that the Witwatersrand represents an united body is utterly fallacious. The noble Lord opposite, Lord Sandhurst, made use of another very curious expression. He said, if I followed him correctly—

> "If the Government follows on the lines of our Report——"

but I rather gathered from the speech of the noble Lord that they were not following in the lines of the Report. I hope I have not misquoted the noble Lord. That was a very curious expression. The noble Lord knows his own Report quite as well as the Secretary of State, and he must know for certain whether the noble Earl was following on the lines of that Report or not. His remark makes me extremely suspicious that there was something in what the noble Earl said which led him to believe that he was not following on the lines of that Report entirely. If such an expression can be used by the noble Lord who knows the contents of the document in question, you can understand clearly what extraordinary rumours are getting about as to whether His Majesty's Government have or have not followed on the lines of that Report.

Lord SANDHURST: I am very sorry if I expressed myself clumsily, but I heard the noble Earl's statement, and I distinctly understood him to follow on the lines of the Report.

***Lord HARRIS**: The whole of it?

Lord SANDHURST: Yes.

***Lord HARRIS**: Then I misunderstood the noble Lord. If he had said so distinctly, without using the word "if" in the first instance, I am sure I should not have made the mistake.

I will not detain your Lordships any longer. I have only to repeat what I have already said, that that Party who believe, and honestly believe—and I am sure that many people in this country believe that they are right in that supposition—that they are the true protectors of British interests in the Transvaal, absolutely repudiate the idea that they have accepted this settlement as a just settlement. They have not accepted any of these attempts at mediation which are no doubt made by the direction of His Majesty's Government. They have made a plain and firm stand upon what they believe to be British rights There is such and such a population of British in the Transvaal; there is such and such a population of Boers; give us half the number of the Members in the House. That is our right if we are only half and half, but as a matter of fact we are more than half. Give us our proportion—more than half—which is our just right as British subjects. You have not done that, and it is by that that you will be judged decades hence. The noble Earl said, in his concluding remarks, that he firmly believed the foundation stone of this building of Constitutional government had been well and truly laid. He may be right. It is Constitutional government; it is responsible government; I admit it, and the foundation and the building may both be sound. But what is the flag that is going to wave above it ten or twenty years hence? Is it going to be the Union Jack, or is it going to be the flag of the Transvaal Republic?

***Lord COURTNEY**: I must apologise to your Lordships for venturing to submit what I am afraid will be the opinion of a single man, and one not likely to command much support in your Assembly, but under the circumstances, I cannot refrain from stating the conclusions to which my best study of the question compels me to come. My opinion about sundry parts of the recent history and recent transactions in South Africa are pretty well known. Unlike the noble Lord who has just addressed you, I do not desire to go back upon the history of the beginning of the war. I desire to start from the conclusion of peace, and I believe that we ought to do our best to promote the building up of a united society in the Transvaal, in which the divisions of the past shall be lost. I, therefore, deprecate any continuous harping upon the question of British interests, and all references to any one section of the population of the Transvaal as being politically hostile to us. Starting from the peace which was made at Vereeniging, and accepting the incorporation of the Transvaal in the British Empire as something agreed upon by all, the test which I apply to the proposals of His Majesty's Government which have been outlined by the noble Earl the Secretary of State is this: Do they tend to promote the development of unity of feeling, do they give us any promise of securing in the end a state of society in which the words "Boer" and "British" may be of historical interest but will have no present political importance? Grave apprehension has been expressed as to the effect of having a Boer Prime Minister or a Boer majority in the forthcoming Legislature of the Transvaal. May we not address our attention to another part of His Majesty's dominions, and realise what has been secured in the Dominion of Canada, where you have as Prime Minister a French Canadian, supported in power by voters who have given him a large accession of members from the French province of Quebce? Does anyone now doubt the loyalty of Canada as part of the British Empire? The noble Lord who has just spoken, and the noble Duke who spoke from the Front Opposition Bench, would be agreed in bearing testimony to the loyalty of the Dominion in the late war—a loyalty not confined to Britons, but a loyalty which the French also manifested—not, I admit, to the same extent in the way of going to the war, but still a loyalty which was manifested by French as well as by British. In the Dominion the distinction so far as regards the British connection between those of French origin and those of British origin is lost. Ought we not to endeavour to do something, in laying the foundation stone of this Constitution, which will promote the end which we are all seeking, of losing in future the distinction between Boer and Briton except as mere historical differences of origin? The apprehension which I have in respect of the scheme of His Majesty's Government is that it will tend to maintain these differences. The adoption of the system of single-member constituencies may even prevent these differences from dying away. The Government may have had no other course open to them, but by adopting that system they will in every political fight, and in every contest for seats in the new Legislature, have a competition between the representatives of two Parties and two Parties only, and my great fear is that that competition will be a racial competition and will maintain instead of dissipating existing differences.

I will not go into this subject at any length; I am always tempted to do so, but on this occasion I will restrain myself. I desire your Lordships to realise the difference of political effect if you have in the Transvaal an area which is going to be divided into five single-member constituencies instead of having one constituency returning five Members representing the different opinions which may prevail amongst the inhabitants of the area. In the first place, in dividing the area into single-member constituencies, each area will bring forward two competitors for every seat; the division between the two Parties will be on racial lines, and you will have a division of the Legislature also on racial lines. This is the justification of those calculations which Lord Farris and the noble Duke opposite have indulged in, as to the possible position of the two Parties in the forthcoming Legislature. If, on the contrary, you had the system of having five Members representing one constituency, you would have them representing different sections of the population. You might have one Member representing the magnates to whom reference has been made; one representing the traders and merchants, who are apart from the magnates; a third representing the actual workers; a fourth representing the Boers who are disposed to be friendly with us, and the men of moderate opinions; and a fifth representing the stubborn Dopper class whose hostility is always paraded before us. You would get a picture, in the representation of the constituency, tending to make itself a reproduction of the community, and tending, in the Legislature itself, to reproduce the co-operative life of the community.

I regret that the opportunity for achieving this end has been lost. We have, on the contrary, this scheme of sixty-nine Members returned by single-member constituencies — thirty-four by the Witwatersrand, six by Pretoria, and twenty-nine by the rest of the colony. They are to be elected after contests of the kind to which I have referred. All sorts of calculations have been made as to how these sixty-nine Members will be divided. I have the greatest distrust of them all. I doubt whether any person can say what will be the result of the elections of these sixty-nine Members. You are launching into what I believe to be a somewhat unknown future, which depends very much upon the way in which you cut up your constituencies so as to get the single Members for the different divisions. Lord Harris stated quite properly, if I may venture to say so, that in the Witwatersrand the people are not unanimous, and that the thirty-four Members who will be elected cannot be relied upon to be of entirely the same complexion. Then there is a part of the Rand which is largely occupied by the Dutch. It depends upon the way in which you cut up the areas whether these Dutch will get their proportionate share or whether they will be lost, or almost entirely lost, in the representation of their British neighbours, and get no share at all. In Pretoria the six Members will probably be four British and two Boers; the division of the representation of Pretoria depends upon the way in which Pretoria is cut up. The temptation to gerrymander and to manœuvre and to adjust the different seats will be immense, and will always be recurring. You have, after all, a scheme before you which is something like a puzzle map made by children—a scheme having no stability in itself and giving no promise of strength in the future, but something which is likely to go on developing more gerrymandering, so that you have before you a prospect of division instead of a prospect of reunion such as I would gladly have seen.

As I have already said, the alternative was rejected by His Majesty's Government on the Report made by the Commissioners, because they found that the scheme of proportional representation to which I have been referring found little or no favour in the Transvaal.

Lord Courtney.

The noble Earl the Secretary of State—and I thank him for it—desired the Commissioners to inquire into the matter; they did inquire, and made this Report. I believe there has not been in the past, and there is not at present, a great desire in the Transvaal for the principle to which I have referred; but there is a growing desire for it. I venture to think that what we find often depends upon what we look for, and I am not quite sure that on the part of His Majesty's Government, although there may have been a realisation of the importance of the question, there was any very earnest desire to promote or develop in the Transvaal any tendency towards the true method of representation which I advocate.

In passing, let me refer to the principle of one vote one value to which the noble Duke referred as being of immense importance. What is the meaning of the value of a vote? Surely the value of a vote depends upon the effect which the voter has in sending a representative to the Legislative Chamber. If all the voters in a particular district have the same fractional effect in sending a representative to the elected Chamber, they have votes which are of the same value. But that is not so if the country is so divided that the minorities everywhere fail in getting election, because in that case the value of their votes is reduced to nothing. I might refer to the example of Wales in the recent General Election, when not a single Unionist was returned for the whole of the Principality. What, in such a case, is the value of a Unionist vote in Wales? It is no use cutting Wales up into equal electoral areas; that is roughly done at present; the value of the Unionist vote in Wales is nothing. And so the idea of one vote one value, for which the people of the Transvaal cried out, will not be realised in the scheme which they are going to have; but a little effort might, I think, have induced some of them to discover the true way of getting what they desire.

Under such a system you would have a representation proportional to the divisions of the total electorate. If the British electorate were in a majority, their representation would in the result be in a majority. Thus you would get one vote one value, and obtain what the noble Lord says cannot thoroughly be relied upon in the present case. The difficulty was that the people of the Transvaal were not educated to entertain the proposition. The idea found favour with some of the magnates, and with the labourers' party, but it did not recommend itself to the Boers; it did recommend itself to sundry elements of society in the Transvaal, and I think that in the future it will come to be appreciated. But for the moment it has been rejected, though not, I think, on account of the difficulty of the system, but on account of the fact that it had not been properly looked at by the people. I say that it was not on account of the difficulty, because the principle of proportional representation has been adopted now amongst communities which certainly cannot rival the white community of the Transvaal or exceed them in political intelligence. It has been adopted most successfully in Belgium, and I have in my hands the Constitution of Finland, in which it is incorporated; it has also been adopted in our own Colonies—in Tasmania for example—and what can be worked, and worked with effect and without error, there, can surely be worked in the Transvaal. I have detained your Lordships too long on what is after all an academic question, since I am ready to admit that for the moment the system could not be forced upon a colony which did not desire it. But I am thinking of the future, and I have in mind what I believe will be the certain failure of this method of constructing the Constitution of the Transvaal to realise the ideas of those who have framed it. When that happens, they may turn to what I believe to be better counsels in working out the future of the country. On that ground, and on that ground only, I have ventured to offer these remarks.

Then I would say one word as to the proposed constitution of the Second Chamber. In this Assembly one would not speak in any way depreciatorily of a Second Chamber; but I may remind the noble Duke opposite who spoke of the Second Chamber as provided in all our Colonies, that in the Dominion of Canada the Second Chamber has been dropped by province after province, and will soon be non-existent in the Provincial Legislatures. In the Dominion of Canada the Senate is admitted to be a failure, and a distinguished senator the other day made a speech advocating its entire reconstruction. I refer to this question of the Second Chamber in the Transvaal for this reason: it is to be nominative. I can hardly conceive how that nomination is to be effected. It is a very difficult think to nominate a Second Chamber there which shall be so composed as not to be regarded as hostile by one or the other Party. But that nomination is to prevail only during the first Parliament. After that, it is to be elected, and if I understand the noble Earl aright it is to be elected after the pattern of the Second Chamber in Cape Colony. But in Cape Colony the Second Chamber is elected upon a system of proportional representation—I admit a very rough system—by the operation of the cumulative vote, just as the Legislature in Illinois is elected by the operation of the cumulative vote. The system works extremely well, and I believe that even that rough method would have been preferable for the election of the First Chamber, because it would have given more security for the presence of men of moderate views—men who are ready to co-operate with their fellow-men, who are hoping to build up society, and whose efforts are directed towards establishing that union in the place of disunion which is the great want of South Africa. It is because of the absence of any prospect of realising that ideal, and because a plan has been adopted which I deplore, that I have ventured to address your Lordships, and I thank you for having listened to me.

*VISCOUNT MILNER: My Lords, I think it very likely that there are no two Members in this House who differ more profoundly in their general view of the South African situation than the noble Lord who has just addressed you and myself. It is pleasant occasionally to find points of cordial agreement with one's political opponents, and I can only say that in the very forcible and, as seems to me, convincing argument which he has addressed to your Lordships in favour of the system of proportional representation, which I believe would be advantageous everywhere, and which

I believe is particularly suitable to the conditions of South Africa, I entirely concur. I did in my humble way attempt while I was in South Africa to bring other people to take the same view on that subject, and I often used arguments, not certainly so eloquent or so forcible, but yet bearing a very strong family resemblance to those which have been now addressed to you. But I regret to say—I do not know what effect the noble Lord might have produced —that all my efforts met with total failure. I do not mean to say there was absolutely nobody who agreed with me, but certainly the number of those, of whatever race or class, who were willing to give any hearing to a proposal for proportional representation was so small that I fully understand why His Majesty's Government have found it impossible to base their new system upon that principle. I regret it, and I hope, with the noble Lord, that when the time for making the Second Chamber elective comes, this matter may be reconsidered; for it is certainly very remarkable how much more fairly the system of proportional representation works out in the Cape Colony than the system, not in that case of single member, but of double-member constituencies without any provision for minorities. In the Cape Colony, taking the bulk of the country districts, you have, roughly speaking, about two Boers to every white man who is not a Boer. Under the system which prevails for the Lower House the representation of those districts is exclusively Boer; one-third of the population is absolutely excluded from any representation whatsoever. Under the system which prevails for the election of the Upper House, as nearly as possible one-third of the representatives of those districts are British. Inversely in the case of the Cape Peninsula, where there is an enormously preponderant British population, but still a considerable Dutch population also, you get in the Lower House no single Dutch representative; whereas, in the Upper House out of three representatives, one represents the Dutch section of the community. You could not have a more curious illustration of the great difference in fairness between the two principles as applied to the conditions of South Africa. And I cannot help hoping that between this time and the time when the constitution of the projected Upper House comes to be decided, there may be such a development of opinion as will enable the Government of that day to adopt and justify them in adopting the far sounder principle for the elections of the Upper Chamber. That, no doubt, is a by-point, but I do not consider it a point of small importance. It may not be of burning interest to-day, but it certainly has a greater bearing than is commonly supposed upon the development of a better feeling between the two great races of South Africa whom we are all agreed in desiring to see ultimately amalgamated and fused. And for that reason, even at this moment, when matters of more urgent importance are engaging your Lordships' attention, I hope I may be pardoned if I have spent some time in paying my tribute to the principle.

I am not going, especially at this late hour, to attempt to cover the whole ground of the noble Earl's statement. Your Lordships were kind enough to listen to me at enormous length on the subject of South Africa at an earlier stage of the session, and I do not wish to repeat anything I said then. But I may be allowed to express my confirmed conviction, which nothing that has happened since has in the least shaken—but which a great deal that has happened strongly confirms—my conviction that a great and capital error was made when His Majesty's Government reversed in certain material respects the policy which had been followed by their predecessors. I say, probably for the last time in your Lordships' House, for I do not wish always to harp on this string, that I believe nothing but a little patience and persistence in that policy was needed in order to lead us gradually to a satisfactory result. From my point of view there were two prime fundamental principles of a wise policy in South Africa. The first was to go on steadily, but at the same time cautiously and circumspectly, in the matter of constitutional development, and the other was to use every effort to press forward the material recuperation and development of the country. From my point of view, His Majesty's Government have departed from both those principles.

They have rushed, as it seems to me, with precipitate speed, into the granting of complete responsible government, and at the same time they have taken a course which imperils the material prosperity of the country by threatening that which is the fundamental condition of the prosperity of every industry within it—namely, an ample labour supply.

My Lords, it is my conviction that mischief has been done which can never be retrieved. I dismiss that. There is nothing more to be said about it. The problem before us now is how far that mischief may be mitigated by any arrangements which we make at the present time. I desire to be absolutely fair to the proposals which we have heard outlined to-day. I feel naturally at a very great disadvantage in discussing them without having more time to examine them carefully. But, as I have said, I desire to be fair, and I will try to err on the side of approval rather than of criticism in regard to any points on which I may be in doubt. There are a certain number of points to which I do not wish to refer, because so much has already been said about them; but there are others well worthy of consideration which have not been touched upon. If your Lordships will allow me I will dwell briefly upon those points which seem to me to have been omitted. And in the first place, I hope I may be allowed to say that I did not wish or intend to give offence to the noble Lord the member of the Commission by smiling at anything he said; but it was a little difficult not to smile when I heard that he was relying to some extent for a British majority upon the fact that the Boers who, we are pleased to know, have given their approval to the proposals of His Majesty's Government, assured him that under those proposals there would be a British majority. I cannot, however, be surprised that the fact that the Boers gave that assurance is not altogether satisfactory to their political opponents. I firmly believe that what Lord Harris said is true, that though these proposals may have the approval of the Boer community, they have not the approval of the vast majority of the British community, and quite naturally so. How could it be otherwise? Look at the facts. The Government make a great point of the fact that they have accepted the voter basis. That is commonly regarded as a great triumph for those who are desirous to see a Party in power in the Transvaal which will steer the country during the next few critical years more or less on the lines hitherto followed in the direction of the consolidation of British institutions. But I ask how, given the voter basis, it is possible that the Boers should not be satisfied or that the British should not be dissatisfied with this result? What is the result? It is that in the distribution of seats there are nominally thirty-four for the Rand—there are not really thirty-four, as I will explain in a moment—six for Pretoria, and twenty-nine for the rest of the country. But this is really our old friend "thirty-three, six, thirty" under another name, because the thirty-four for the Rand include Krugersdorp rural, which, although by a geographical accident it is included in the Witwatersrand area, is thoroughly Boer, and, if I may say so, is as purely a back veldt constituency as almost any in the Transvaal. That being so, I must really be allowed to retransfer that seat to the side to which it belongs.

*THE EARL OF ELGIN: It makes no difference to my argument.

VISCOUNT MILNER: It is material to my point. The position is this: We have thirty-three seats for the Rand, six for Pretoria, and thirty for the rest of the country. What is the effect of that? I deprecate as strongly as the noble Lord who has just spoken all nice calculations as to how this distribution will exactly result. I think it is absolutely wrong to let the whole future of the country depend upon chance to the extent to which we are leaving it in these arrangements. But, circumstances being what they are, I am forced to consider what is likely to be the result of this particular distribution of seats. I think I will have the noble Lord who was a member of the Commission, and everybody who knows anything at all about it, with me, in saying that the result of this distribution may be to give a small British majority, or it may be to give a small Boer majority; but no self-respecting man who knows anything about the facts can say confidently that it will produce the one result or the other. That is the position; we have a distribution of seats and of political power by which the future Executive of the Transvaal—for, mind you, the most important function of this New Assembly will be to determine who are to be the depositaries of executive power—and the composition of the Legislature upon which that Executive depends is left in absolute uncertainty—a matter of doubt. From my point of view it is unwise, it is absolutely wrong in the present circumstances to follow a course which may result within one year in the handing over the government of the Transvaal to Mr. Botha and Mr. Smuts. It is no use blinking matters. That is the result which may follow from the steps you are taking. No man who knows the circumstances can deny that that result may follow; and it is sufficient for me, and I believe it is sufficient for the majority of people in this country, to know that that is a possible result of the arrangements now being made, to lead them to condemn the scheme. I say that, however anxious we may be to treat our new fellow-subjects with absolute fairness, however deeply we may desire that they, British and Boer, should live together in friendship and amity, it is too soon after the events of the last few years to run the risk of seeing the whole executive power in the colony transferred to the hands of men who must at present be totally out of sympathy with the British institutions which they will nevertheless be called upon to work. That is what you have to face; let there be no illusion on the subject. From our point of view, from the Imperial point of view, from the point of view of the peaceful development of South Africa, it is a dangerous prospect.

But what I want particularly to call attention to is what must be the feeling of the British population when they are asked to accept this as a fair result of the voters' basis. The best they can hope for is a small majority, but they may be in a minority. What are the numbers on the voters' basis? To the best of my recollection—I do not know what may have happened since I left South Africa—the numbers of adult males included in the census were something like 38,000 or 39,000 on the Boer side, and something like 50,000 or 51,000 on the British side. The British, therefore, are in a majority of something more than five to four on the voters' basis which the Government say they are adopting. Can you expect those, who on the voters' basis are in that majority, to be satisfied with a distribution of seats and with electoral arrangements generally which make it doubtful whether they will have any majority at all in the Legislature? No wonder that the Boers are satisfied with the arrangement. Whatever their anticipations as to how it may work out, it is perfectly natural that they should welcome a distribution of seats so advantageous to them.

That, I say at once, is the one great objection by the side of which everything else is of minor importance. We say it is too soon after recent events to risk the chance of a Boer Executive in the Transvaal. We maintain that as a matter of practical policy. But if you press us on the ground of abstract justice, we say further that though you have adopted the voters' basis your arrangements will work out in such a way as to stultify that basis, because they give to a great majority of voters a doubtful majority of seats, or no majority at all.

Passing to other points, I may say I welcome the creation of a Second Chamber. But, though it will have its advantages, it seems to me that the amount of protection it will afford will be comparatively small, for, after all, that which we look forward to with most alarm is the possibility of the executive power falling into hands where we do not desire to see it. Against the danger of administrative action on the part of an anti-British Executive, against that which is the most serious danger, an Upper Chamber is hardly any protection—I had almost said no protection whatever. The protection which an Upper Chamber can afford is confined to legislation action—

an important protection, I admit, but one which does not touch the most vital point of all, namely, the question into whose hands the executive power of the new Colonies is likely to pass.

A far more important concession—if I am justified in so calling it—on the part of the Government to its critics, is the postponement of the establishment of responsible government in the Orange River Colony. Upon this point, however, I desire to ask whether the postponement is due to an appreciation by the Government of the extreme gravity of the situation impending in South Africa, or whether the postponement is merely for reasons of administrative convenience and because it is at this moment impossible for them to get through the work of framing a new constitution for the Orange River Colony. I sincerely trust that the postponement of the grant of full responsible government to the people of the Orange River Colony is due to a recognition of the fact that we cannot afford to run too many risks at once in a situation of such great delicacy as is presented in South Africa to-day.

Before I sit down I should like to refer briefly to what the noble Earl has said with reference to land settlement. When I heard his first sentence on this subject I was in great hope that he was going to propose a measure which would not only afford the one possible really sure safeguard to existing settlers but would at the same time ensure the continuance of what he himself admits to be a valuable experiment of land settlement in the new colonies. But I am sorry to say my hopes were soon dashed when he proceeded to say that the introduction of this system of putting the settlers and the work of land settlement under a separate board, nominated, I presume, by the Imperial Government, must depend on the concurrence of a majority in the respective colonies. Now, my Lords, if it is to depend on the concurrence of the majority in the Orange River Colony whether the experiment of British settlement is to continue, it would be simpler and more straightforward to tear up the whole thing at once. It is perfectly out of the question that any elected majority in the Orange River Colony would consent, if it were left to it to decide, in favour of a continuance of British settlement. I had rather hoped that the intention of His Majesty's Government on this subject might have been more favourable than I gather from the noble Earl that it really is. But on the remote chance of my view still be adopted, I would once more urge, not only the justice and the extreme simplicity, but the immense future advantages that may be derived from keeping the system of land settlement under a board responsible not to the local but to the Imperial authorities. I would further point out what is often overlooked, that there is really no reason whatever why this should not be done without any interference whatever with responsible government when that is granted. Why should the people and Government of Great Britain not own and administer lands in the new colonies, when any number of British companies own and administer land there? It is not my suggestion that the Land Settlement Board should interfere in any way or involve any interference whatever with the ordinary law or the ordinary administration of the new colonies. It would administer the land as the property of the people of this country, for the benefit of the people of this country, and indirectly also for the benefit of the people of South Africa, but under the ordinary law of South Africa. But the fact that the administration was in the hands of a British Board nominated by the Imperial Government would not only be a security for existing settlers—I venture to think it is the only security they can have—but it would also ensure the continuance of the permanent application of the land settlement fund, as it was paid back by the present settlers, to the purpose for which it was originally intended. This may be the last opportunity I may have, and I venture most strongly to urge on the Government the adoption of some such plan as this, because there is nothing they or any British Government can do which would more conduce to the drawing together and the improvement of the relations of the two races about which the noble Lord has spoken, and which he representing one pole of opinion, [and I perhaps representing the other, are in cordial agreement in regarding as the ultimate object of our South African policy.

Now, my Lords, one word as to the question of the franchise for the coloured population. It is not of immediate practical importance, but a direct appeal has been made to me by the Colonial Secretary which it would not be fair to evade. He seemed to doubt whether it could be fairly argued and he appeared to question how I could come to the conclusion that Clause 8 of the Treaty of Vereeniging, which provides that natives shall not be given the vote until after the introduction of representative institutions, did not apply to coloured people. I cannot remember that during the discussions at Vereeniging this point was raised; though my impression is that if it had been raised I should most undoubtedly have objected to its application to the coloured people. But I do not care for these hypothetical arguments. The matter was to the best of my belief not raised, and the question has to be decided by the actual text of the treaty. The text of the treaty says "natives" and does not say "coloured people." I think I am right in saying that the Dutch word "naturellen" was used. I venture to say that nobody familiar with the common use of language in South Africa would hold either that "natives" included coloured people, some of whom very much more resemble whites than natives, or that "naturellen" included "kleurlingen" which is the universally accepted word in South Africa for coloured people. I fully admit with the noble Earl that South African feeling would be against giving any franchise rights even to coloured people. I regret it. I have fought that battle over and over again. But I am bound to admit that in this matter as in the question of proportional representation mine has been almost a solitary voice. At the same time I maintain that I am justified in upholding the position that, whatever may be the necessity arising from South African feeling on this subject, the Terms of Vereeniging did not preclude the granting of the franchise to coloured people; and I must say that the case for the civilised coloured man is extraordinarily strong.

Two things more I have to say and then I have done. The first is with regard to the Civil Service. I gather from the noble Earl that provisions are going to be made for the protection of the Civil servants who may be discharged.

*THE EARL OF ELGIN: I did not say so. What I said was that I was not going to discuss it to-day.

*VISCOUNT MILNER: I can only regret that what seems to me an absolutely vital and necessary provision in this matter has been omitted or is being omitted from the Letters Patent.

*THE EARL OF ELGIN: I did not say it was omitted, either. I only said I was not going to discuss it to-day.

*VISCOUNT MILNER: I do not wish, then, to do more than to urge upon the noble Earl and his colleagues that this is a serious and vital matter. I was not at all convinced by what was said by the noble Lord, the member of the Committee, on this subject. No doubt at this stage we can hardly expect those in the new colonies who are hostile to the existing Civil Service, with the prospect of their being put into power hanging in the balance, to adopt a threatening tone. You would naturally think they would in these circumstances be most careful to avoid threats, but even now one of the leaders of what I may call the Transvaal Opposition has gone the length of pointing out that, although some of the British Civil servants may be good, many of them are superfluous luxuries, and that one of the duties of a Boer administration would be to find places for the dispossessed Boer officials. How are they to find them places, especially if at the same time they are practising economy, except by causing vacancies in the berths at present filled by British Civil servants? It is a clear danger. It is not a danger against which His Majesty's Government can, I think, in honour, hesitate to provide.

My last point is this: I do not know whether it is possible for the noble Earl to give us a little more enlightment as to what is going to happen with regard to the important question of labour in the period between the granting of the Letters Patent and the time when the elected Legislature of the Transvaal may be able to deal with that question. What I understand is proposed is that the moment a new Legislature is elected in the Transvaal the existing statute will lapse. In that case we shall have an interval—it may be a considerable interval—during which there will be no law at all providing for the regulation of the relations between the imported foreign labourers and their masters. This is a very serious and grave addition to the doubts and uncertainties already resting upon the principal industry of the Transvaal, uncertainties which more than anything else are responsible for the extreme depression which at present exists in that country. There is one other question in that respect on which I should like the views of his Majesty's Government. When the Transvaal Legislature does deal with this question of imported labour, which is of such fundamental importance to that country and the whole of South Africa, is it going to be left free to deal with it? Is the policy of the Government to-day the policy with which they started—the policy of leaving it to a responsible Government in the Transvaal to decide that question, or is it the policy which they subsequently adopted under pressure from a certain section of their own followers, of leaving it to the Transvaal Legislature to decide only within certain indefinite limits which are to be imposed by the British Government's "moral sense"? The question is one absolutely vital; and I may say this—that if there is one thing which would reconcile those of us who look upon the establishment of responsible government in the Transvaal with the greatest alarm, it would be the feeling that on this most essential question the people of the colony were to be allowed to work out their own salvation. That is, to my mind, the one, the only strong argument in favour of granting responsible government at the present moment. But if at the same moment that we grant responsible government and take all the risks of granting responsible government—risks which, in my opinion, are greater than we ought to take—we are to deprive the colony, to which we profess to be giving full freedom, of the right of deciding the most urgent and vital of all the questions affecting its immediate existence, the one solitary argument in favour of responsible government is knocked away, and in the balance of considerations there is nothing to set against the evil of the proposed settlement. It is in every respect a settlement as disadvantageous to the colony as it is calculated to endanger the relations of the colony and the mother country.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: My Lords, I do not intend to occupy the time of the House for more than a very few moments. Personally, I should be glad to leave the question where it has been left by the noble Viscount who has just addressed the House with so much effect. I feel, moreover, that I am approaching the question at a great disadvantage, because, like most of your Lordships, I am called upon to discuss proposals which have indeed been unfolded to us in a very clear speech by the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies, but proposals which have not yet been put in writing, and which we have had no opportunity of considering as they deserve to be considered. I feel that here again we are suffering from a tendency which I detect in so many proceedings of his Majesty's Government—a tendency to do things in a tremendous hurry. I remember the time when Mr. Gladstone was irreverently described by a young Conservative statesman as "an old man in a hurry." I think this Government may be described as a young Government in a hurry. In this case they have forced the pace at a very furious rate. I have heard since coming into the House this evening a report that appeared to be something more than an idle rumour—that the report of Sir West Ridgeway's Committee was not actually signed until to-day. That may be a mare's nest. If so I shall be glad if the noble Marquess will correct me.

Why is it that it is so urgently necessary that the Transvaal, if it is to receive responsible government, should be given that responsible government at once and *per saltum*? Is it not the case that other British colonies have had to wait and go through a period of transition during which they were given representative institutions, but were not given responsible government in full measure? Is that not true of some of the Canadian colonies, of the colony of Natal and of the Cape Colony? And if in these cases it was thought desirable and fair to the colonies themselves that they should pass through this period of probation, surely there could not be a stronger case than that of the Transvaal for allowing a colony which has just passed through the throes of a great war to be denied for a reasonable time at all events the immense privileges which His Majesty's Government are going to heap upon them. His Majesty's Government have themselves admitted that they were without the full measure of knowledge necessary to form an opinion upon this point. They admitted it when they sent out the Ridgeway Committee to South Africa. They admitted it when they said they were in deplorable ignorance (I think "deplorable" was the word they used) in regard to the actual facts of the case. Then, my Lords, why is it that we are refused information with regard to the Report of the Committee? I am told that in another place hopes have been held out that portions. at any rate, of the Report will be made public; I should be glad to know whether that is the case or not? But I protest against the suppression of the Report when at the same time it is being quoted, or virtually quoted, as it has been during the course of this discussion. The noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies protested against the habit of debating these questions in ignorance of the facts; but why are the facts not given us;? Why are we compelled to debate these proposals in ignorance of the document which forms their basis and foundation? Then it is suggested that the members of the Committee deserve our applause for the manner in which they performed their work. I have no doubt they do; but I want to know a little more as to the output of their work.

As I listened to the speech of the noble Earl opposite it certainly seemed to me that he was able to make some points which showed that both the Committee and His Majesty's Government had approached these questions with a desire to deal fairly with those most affected. The statement that the case of the Orange River Colony was not to be dealt with for the present showed a laudable amount of caution, which perhaps is not equally manifested in all the other proposals of His Majesty's Government. I also observe the announcement that there was to be an arrangement for a paid Speaker of the House of Commons, and that there was to be a Second Chamber; but, like the noble Viscount on the Cross Benches, I feel some doubt as to the value of that Chamber as a corrective of what may be the action of the other House.

Upon another subject I thought the noble Earl spoke with much feeling and common-sense—I mean when he referred to his desire that the rights of the native population should receive ample recognition and protection. I did not follow with the same approval, perhaps, because I did not perfectly apprehend them, his observations on the question of the native franchises, but I am glad to know that the native territories are to remain in the hands of the High Commissioner, and that precautions will be taken to guard this indigenous population from the hardship which often attends the first contact of civilisation with barbarism.

But, my Lords, after all, the real question which evidently most interests your Lordships this afternoon is the question of the franchise. That question is one of an extremely technical character. I do not profess to have any expert knowledge of it, and I should, therefore, much prefer to remain content with the criticisms of the noble Duke behind me and the noble Viscount, both of whom have studied the question more closely than I have. But the explanations which have been given to us certainly have left upon our minds a general impression that the new franchise will be founded on a basis which seems to us thoroughly inequitable. I should like to ask in particular whether it is not the case that in other South African colonies it has been found advisable to attach to the franchise a property qualification and other limitations which it is not proposed to insist upon in this instance? I attach importance to that because it seems to me to have a material bearing on the great question of colonial federation. The noble Earl, in the course of his speech, looked forward to the moment when such federation might become possible; but will it not be a formidable obstacle to federation if the franchise in the Transvaal Colony is accompanied by qualifications different from those attaching to the franchise as you find it in the other South African colonies?

As to the effect of these arrangements on the prospects of a British majority, be it smaller or greater, all I will venture to say is this, that it seems to me almost tragical that at this moment we should really be considering whether the allocation of half a dozen votes on one side or the other of a certain geographical line will or will not have the effect of putting an end to British preponderance in these colonies—for that is what it comes to. We ask ourselves, in whose interest is it that we are called upon to make these immense concessions? I would not say a hard word of the Boers. I respect them as men who fought gallantly against us in the field; but if they were gallant adversaries they were also implacable adversaries, and I am afraid if we look things fairly in the face we must admit that nothing but the effluxion of time will heal the breach created by the war between the two races in South Africa, and that any anticipation that in the immediate future the conduct and demeanour of the Boer population is likely to be different from what we have known it to be is certainly destined to be disappointed. Let us not forget that these Boer statesmen have made no secret whatever of their intention and of the action they are likely to take when they have obtained the preponderance which we believe you are going to give them. We have had speeches made by the men of the Boer race in which they have announced openly that it is their intention to reinstate the Dutch officials, that they mean to arm the population, that they intend that the Dutch language shall prevail over the British, and last, but not least, they have told us pretty clearly what their ideas on the fiscal relations which will subsist between the South African colonies are likely to be. Can we be surprised if we are told, particularly by our friends in South Africa, that we are throwing away the sacrifices to which we submitted at the time of the South African War? My Lords, what we are doing will, I am afraid, be a shock not only to British opinion but to the best colonial opinion in South Africa. Feeling that very strongly, we, at any, rate, are bound to tell you that if these boons are to be given to the people of the Transvaal, they must be regarded as given by His Majesty's Government, and that we, at any rate, take no responsibility for the course you are about to pursue.

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (The Marquess of RIPON): My Lords, I fully expected that the speech of my noble friend would be couched in different terms from those which were employed by the noble Duke earlier in the discussion, and I am very glad to observe the moderation of the language used by my noble friend. He began his remarks by saying that we were in a very great hurry, and he referred to a famous saying of the late Lord Randolph Churchill about "an old man in a hurry." I confess I cannot think that the course which His Majesty's Government have taken in this matter has been the result of anything like hurry. On the contrary, although we have thought that a settlement of the question of the future Government of the Transvaal was a matter of very urgent importance, we have all along taken the utmost care that we should not proceed without full information and consideration, and therefore it was that, although we knew that to keep this matter open and unsettled was in itself a great disadvantage, we took the step of sending out the Ridgeway Committee for the purpose of obtaining the detailed information which alone we felt would enable us to form a satisfactory conclusion upon the matters at issue.

I have been very much struck, in the course of the whole of this discussion, with the fact that a telegram from Lord Selborne, which was read by my noble friend the Colonial Secretary, has not received the slightest notice from any of the noble Lords who have spoken. We have heard a great deal at times from noble Lords opposite about "the man on the spot." We have given you to-night, upon some of the leading points in this matter, the opinion of the man on the spot, but you have contented yourselves with simply passing by the opinion of Lord Selborne in absolute and very discreet silence. I have here the telegram and I will just read to you in regard to this question of the "young Government in a hurry," what Lord Selborne says with reference to the urgent importance of getting this matter settled. In giving his approval to the proposed distribution of seats, and authorising it to be stated, he gives, as one of the reasons for agreeing to those proposals, that he attaches great importance to the early settlement, "as I fear that the Transvaal is suffering grievously from the suspense." We have felt all along, and we have recognised, the great importance of the settlement, and we have done out utmost to bring it about. We have not been at all in an unnatural hurry; on the contrary, if we are to be blamed at all, it is for taking too much time in deciding the question and bringing it to a final issue.

We have heard a good deal to-night, from the different speeches to which we have listened, of complaint because we set aside the Lyttelton Constitution, as it is called. That was a Constitution offering what is called representative government with a nominated Executive. The opinion has been put forward that that sort of government is very valuable as a transition to responsible government. During a long course of life, in which I have given not inconsiderable attention to Colonial matters, I certainly have never entertained that opinion. I have always believed that the system of representative Government mixed with a nominated Executive was the worst system of Colonial administration that could be devised. That is a very ancient opinion of Colonial authorities. I will quote just one. Many noble Lords in this House, will recollect our friend Lord Norton, who was so recently, to our great regret, taken from us. Lord Norton, when he was in the House of Commons as Sir Charles Adderley, was a great authority upon Colonial questions. He had studied them closely, and he spoke upon them with great weight. What did he say upon this particular system of representative Government with a nominated Executive? He took the example of Natal, and in a book which he published many years ago upon the Colonial policy of Lord John Russell's Administration, he used these words in speaking of the then Constitution of Natal, which was of the character so much admired by noble Lords opposite. His words were—

> "The hybrid Constitution of transition times, which was conceived only in the idea of training Colonists to self-government, Crown Government with embryo-representative institutions in the womb, here, as everywhere else, fails to satisfy or to control people. It excites an appetite without even preparing for its satisfaction, and provokes opposition without a vent for its action short of revolution."

Those were the principles in which many years ago I was brought up in reference to these matters. I only mention that matter now to show to your Lordships that this panacea for all possible evils is not the perfect system which noble Lords seem to believe. On the contrary, I believe that it would have been much better to have kept the Transvaal, or any other Colony, under the regular system of Crown Colony government until the day when you could have given responsible Government. In my opinion, it is not a system for training up men for responsible government, but is rather calculated to make responsible government, when it is granted, less successful.

One objection was taken by my noble friend who has just sat down to the manhood suffrage in the Transvaal, on the ground that it would make it more difficult to bring about federation. I entirely agree with my noble friend, and I think I heard the noble Viscount on the Cross Benchess indicate the same opinion, that the ultimate aim of all our South African policy ought to be federation. I may be wrong, but if my memory serves me aright I do not think that the franchise in the Cape Colony is the same as the franchise in Natal. Therefore you have already two franchises, and if that be a difficulty in the way of federation, I do not believe that the difficulty will be increased by the granting of manhood suffrage, under all the circumstances of the Colony, to the Transvaal.

But, my Lords, as I have said before, I rest my defence of the distribution of seats that we propose upon the fact that it has received, under all the circumstances of the case, the concurrence of Lord Selborne. That is a very important fact, and one that satisfies me that in that respect His Majesty's Government have been wise. We believe that under the franchise which we propose there will be a British majority in the new Parliament. I always feel, as I believe my noble friend opposite feels, a certain dislike of this sort of gerrymandering arrangements. They are not nice. But, my Lords, at the same time I have no hesitation in saying that I believe that for the interests of the Colony as well as for the interests of this country, it is desirable that there should be a British majority in the Transvaal. But what I am not inclined to give is a Rand majority. Noble Lords in this discussion seem to have given very little consideration to those other British people who do not belong to the associations of the Rand. But they are entitled, just as much as any of the Rand representatives, to take their place as British subjects, and to be counted among the British majority if it is to be gained. As has been said by more than one speaker in this discussion, although it may be rash to make prophecies in regard to the results of a general election, yet I venture to say that there has seldom been a case in which more careful and impartial consideration has been given to the matter than has been given in this instance by His Majesty's Government and by those whom they have employed for the purpose of ascertaining the facts. I believe that the proposals that have been laid before your Lordships by my noble friend this afternoon in his singularly careful and moderate speech are proposals which, as far as it is humanly possible in the affairs of this world to meet such things, meet the many and the great complications and difficulties which beset this question—which complications and difficulties, if noble Lords will forgive me for saying so, will not have been diminished by the discussion of to-night.

The noble Viscount on the Cross Benches asked when we were going to settle the Constitution of the Orange River Colony. That is a very different question from the question of the Transvaal, and it is a question of greater difficulty. Though, according to our critics, we are in such a desperate hurry to rush to conclusions, we have not yet come to a conclusion upon this subject; therefore I cannot answer the noble Viscount's question, and I do not think he will condemn His Majesty's Government if we take time to consider the matter.

As regards land settlement, I have nothing to add to what fell from my noble friend. It was only an indication of what was intended, but I am sorry it did not commend itself to the noble Viscount.

Then the noble Viscount said he did not believe that the words of the Treaty of Vereeniging covered the question of the coloured people. His authority upon the subject is doubtless very great, but the obligation is one contained in the convention by which peace was brought about, and nothing would be more unfortunate than that any doubt should be cast upon the intentions of the Government to adhere absolutely to the meaning of the Convention. I have no doubt myself that if we were to interpret it in favour of a distinction between coloured people and natives, strictly so-called, we should be incurring—I was going to say the terrible accusation—and I think it would be a terrible accusation—of having gone away from our pledged word. I would rather give the larger interpretation in order to make it clear that we adhered to the arrangement which we made than attempt to put any strict legal interpretation upon the language used.

But, because I say that, it must not be thought that His Majesty's Government are the least wanting in interest, either in the native population or in the coloured people. We desire honestly to adhere to the letter, aye, and beyond the letter, if it may be so, of the Treaty of Vereeniging, but subject to our obligations on that point, as my noble friend has told you already, we shall take every precaution that is consistent with the establishment of responsible government, for the protection of the native population of every kind. We have told you the course we intend to take. That course has been attacked, sometimes in language of great strength and vehemence, but it is a course at least honest, and intended for the advantage of the country, of the Empire, and of the inhabitants of every race of those new Colonies which we have annexed.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) BILL.

Order of the Day for Third Reading, read.

Lord DENMAN: My Lords, I beg to move that the Bill be now read a third time. In doing this, I should like to express my thanks to your Lordships for the courtesy extended to me during last night's debate, and my especial thanks to Lord Ashbourne for his very kind assistance in dealing with the new clauses rendered necessary in respect to the compromise arrived at concerning this Bill. I hope we have now come to a complete agreement upon it.

Moved, "That the Bill be read 3ª."—(*Lord Denman.*)

On Question, Bill read 3ª.

Drafting Amendments agreed to.

Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed.

MUSICAL COPYRIGHT BILL.

Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª To-morrow (The Earl Beauchamp). (No. 197.)

House adjourned at One o'clock a.m., till half-past Three o'clock p.m.

The Marquess of Ripon.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 31st July, 1906.

The House met at quarter before Three of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill; Pontefract Corporation Bill; Sutton District Water Bill. Lords Amendments in pursuance of the Order of the House [30th July], considered, and agreed to.

Metropolitan Electric Supply Bill. As amended, considered.

Ordered, That Standing Orders 223 and 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

Bill accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Bristol Corporation Bill (by Order). Lords Amendments to be considered upon Thursday, at a quarter past Eight of the clock.

Hackney Electricity Bill (by Order); Hampstead Garden Suburb Bill (by Order); London County Council (Money) Bill (by Order); North West London Railway Bill (by Order); St. Pancras Electricity Bill (by Order); South Lincolnshire Water Bill (by Order); South Wales Electrical Power Distribution Company Bill (by Order); Watford and Edgware Railway Bill (by Order). Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Bute (English and Welsh) Estates Bill [Lords] (by Order). Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment.

Nettlebed and District Commons (Preservation) Bill [Lords] (by Order); Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire Electric Power Bill [Lords] (by Order). Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Glasgow and South Western Railway Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment.

Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Great Northern (Ireland) and Midland Railways Bill [Lords]. Ordered, That Standing Order 243 be suspended, and the Great Northern (Ireland) and Midland Railways Bill [Lords], be now read the third time.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means*).

Bill accordingly read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Standing Orders (Private Business). Standing Order 1 read, and amended, in line 14, by inserting after the word "Purposes," as a new line, the words "Electricity Supply."

In line 25, by inserting after the word "Regulating," as a new line, the word "Pilotage."

Standing Order 15 read, and amended, in line 4, by leaving out the word "and," and inserting the word "or," instead thereof.

In line 4, by inserting after the word "for," the words "constructing any station for generating electrical energy on specified lands, or for."

In line 9, by inserting after the word 'products," the words "generating station."

Ordered, That on or before the twenty-first day of December immediately preceding the application for a Bill whereby any express statutory provision relating to nuisance arising on any lands is sought to be altered or repealed, notice in writing of such Bill, and of the intention to alter or repeal such provision, shall be served upon the owner and lessee of every dwelling-house situate within three hundred yards of the said lands.

Resolved, That this Order be a Standing Order of this House.

Ordered, That on or before the eighteenth day of December a printed copy of every Bill of the 1st Class which proposes to authorise any persons other than the road authority to break up or otherwise interfere with any streets or roads, shall be deposited at the office of the road authority.

Resolved, That this Order be a Standing Order of this House.

Standing Order 72, read, and amended, by adding, at the end thereof, the words, In the case of any Provisional Order Confirmation Bill in which provisions have been inserted in the House of Lords to which the Standing Orders of this House would apply if the Bill were a Private Bill, the Examiners shall inquire whether, in respect of such provisions, the Standing Orders have been complied with, and report to the House accordingly.

Standing Order 153, read and amended, in line 3, by leaving out the word "on," and inserting the word "of," instead thereof.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill; Rutherglen Burgh Order Confirmation Bill, with Amendments.

Amendments to—Folkestone, Sandgate, and Hythe Tramways Bill [Lords]; South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

PETITIONS.

LAND VALUES TAXATION, &c., (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition of the Incorporated Society of Law Agents in Scotland, against; to lie upon the Table.

STREET BETTING BILL [LORDS].

Petition from Clitheroe, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Petitions against; From Burghfield; North Perrott; Pauler's Pury; St. Cleer; and West Hallam: to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL (RELIGIOUS TEACHING.)

Petitions against alteration of Law; From Ashow; Bromsgrove; Copdock;

Hartley; Leck Wooton (two); Leigh; Llangyfelach (two); Loose; Severn Stoke (two); Shelsley; and Wolphanpcote; to lie upon the Table.

INFANT LIFE PROTECTION.

Petitions for alteration of Law; From Chapel-en-le-Frith; and Headington; to lie upon the Table.

LAND TENURE (SCOTLAND) BILL,

Petition of the Incorporated Society of Law Agents in Scotland, against; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CRIMINAL AND JUDICIAL STATISTICS (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Criminal and Judicial Statistics of Ireland for the year 1905. Part I. Criminal Statistics [by Command]; to lie upon the Table,

IRISH LAND COMMISSION.

Copy presented of Report of the Commissioners for the period from 1st April, 1905 to 31st March, 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

MOROCCO (No. 1, 1906).

Copy presented, of Despatches from the British Delegate at the International Conference at Algeciras, forwarding the General Act of the Conference, signed 7th April, 1906, and other documents relating to the Affairs of Morroco [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

INCLOSURE, &c., EXPENSES ACT, 1868.

Copy presented, of Fees to be taken in respect of transactions under the Tithe Acts, 1836 to 1891, in accordance with the provisions of The Inclosure, &c., Expenses Act, 1868, in lieu of the Fees heretofore authorised for such business [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889 (ORDINANCE).

Copy presented, of University Court Ordinance No. XVII. (St. Andrews, No. 3) (Institution of Degrees in Agriculture and relative Regulations) [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 294.]

POST OFFICE.

Copy presented, of Fifty-second Report of the Postmaster-General [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

SHIPPING CASUALTIES (1904–5).

Copy presented, of Abstract of the Returns of Shipping Casualties which occurred on or near the Coasts or in Rivers and Harbours of the United Kingdom from the 1st July, 1904 to 30th June, 1905, and of the Returns of Shipping Casualties to British Vessels elsewhere than on the Coasts of the United Kingdom, and to Foreign Vessels on or near the Coasts, or in Rivers and Harbours, of British Possessions abroad, &c., with Charts and Appendices [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.

Copy presented, of Report to the Board of Trade on the work of the Imperial Institute at South Kensington during the year 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

NAVY (DOCKYARDS).

Copy presented, of Memorandum explanatory of recent and forthcoming changes in the administration of His Majesty's Dockyards in the United Kingdom [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

WEST INDIAN ISLANDS (EXPORTS).

Return ordered, "of the average annual Exports to the United Kingdom and the United States of America during each quinquennium ending 1904, 1899, 1894, and 1889 from the British West Indian Islands; how much of such Exports were of sugar and molasses; how much were of fruit (fresh and dried), coffee, cocoa and tobacco; and the proportions for each such period going to the United States of America and the United Kingdom, respectively."—(*Mr. Essex.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Cost of Battleships—Wages and Material.

MR. ARTHUR LEE (Hampshire, Fareham): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he can state approximately what proportion of the total cost of a first-class battleship, of the "Dreadnought" or "King Edward" classes, is represented by wages paid to workmen employed in the building operations and in producing the necessary material.

(*Answered by Mr. Edmund Robertson.*) No accurate calculation is possible, but as I have already stated in reply to a Question asked by the hon. Member for King's Lynn on March 7th, there is reason to believe that the proportion of the total cost of a battleship which represents wages is well over 70 per cent.

Repayment to Civil Contingencies Fund.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will state the name of the clergyman resident abroad in respect of whom a sum of £10 is to be repaid to the Civil Contingencies fund for stamp duties on Letters Patent conferring on him a degree; and will he state the character of the degree.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) The name is the Reverend Herbert Udny Weitbrecht, the degree that of Doctor in Divinity.

Repayment of Stamp Duties on Letters Patent Conferring Knighthoods.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury, seeing that a sum of £367 4s. is placed on the Civil Service Supplementary Estimates under Class 7 as repayments to the Civil Contingencies Fund in respect of stamp duties payable on Letters Patent conferring knighthood on twelve persons resident abroad, will he state whether these gentlemen are British subjects; and, if so, will he explain why they are not required to pay their respective portions of the stamp duties.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) All the persons in question are believed to be British subjects. If they had been resident in the United Kingdom they would have received knighthood personally at the hands of the Sovereign, and Letters Patent would not have been necessary. In these circumstances they were relieved from the duties on the Letters Patent according to the usual practice in such cases.

Erection of Barracks at Norwich.

MR. FELL (Great Yarmouth): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, having regard to the saving that will be effected by the reduction of the forces decided upon, he will now have sufficient funds to enable him to proceed with the erection of the new barracks at Norwich.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) Will the hon. Member kindly refer to my reply to a Question on this subject put by the noble Lord the hon. Member for Maidstone on Monday, 30th instant ?†

Barrack Repairs Contracts—Fair Wages Resolution.

MR. CLYNES (Manchester, N.E.): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that a number of the firms which recently tendered for the painting, &c., of various barracks in northern districts are regarded by the organisations of workmen as firms which do not conform to the established conditions of work and wages in the trade; and whether he takes any steps to ensure that firms doing work for his department do not repudiate the accredited representatives of the workmen and recognise the trade customs and wages obtaining in the particular trade and district.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) Such contracts contain the usual provision that the wages paid in executing them shall be those generally accepted as current in each trade for competent workmen in the district where the work is carried out. Any specific representation that this clause is being infringed will be duly inquired into.

Ratification and Publication of the Tibet Convention.

SIR H. COTTON (Nottingham, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Tibet Convention between His Majesty's Government and the Government of China, which was signed at Pekin on April 27th, has been ratified, and will be laid upon the Table before the adjournment of the House.

(*Answered by Secretary Sir Edward Grey.*) The Convention was ratified on the 23rd instant, and will be laid before the House almost immediately

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† See Col. 449.

The Portuguese Minister's Motor Car Accident.

MR. SIMON (Essex, Walthamstow): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention has been called to a collision which occurred in Golden Lane, E.C., on May 1st, 1906, between a motor car belonging to the Marquis de Jacome Correa, of the Portuguese Legation, and driven by the Marquis' chauffeur, Emile Brouard, and a bicycle belonging to and ridden by Mr. F. Broomfield, of 8, Boundary Road, Walthamstow, whereby Mr. Broomfield was seriously injured and his bicycle damaged by the negligent driving, as Mr. Broomfield alleges, of the Marquis' motor car; and whether, inasmuch as both the Marquis and his chauffeur are protected by their diplomatic immunity from proceedings being taken against them in the English courts, but it is competent to the Marquis to waive this immunity as regards his chauffeur, the Secretary of State will represent to the Portuguese Legation the propriety of waiving this immunity to this extent, so as to enable Mr. Broomfield to sue the chauffeur for damages for negligence.

(*Answered by Secretary Sir Edward Grey.*) The facts stated in the Question are being brought to the notice of the Portuguese Minister. But as the matter is one of diplomatic privilege recognised both here and abroad, no other action can be taken by His Majesty's Government.

Allowance to Officers in Northern Nigeria.

MR. O'NEILL (Antrim, Mid.): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies why the allowances to officers in Northern Nigeria have been reduced from 5s. per diem to 4s., although it is stated in a G. S. O. that an allowance of 5s. per diem would be temporarily issued until permanent buildings were made, and these buildings have not yet been erected.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) The system of giving a daily allowance, in addition to salary, to civil and military officers was adopted in 1900 on the establishment of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, and was an extension to civilians of the arrangement under which the officers of the military force previously in occupation of the country had been regarded as on service "in the field," and had been allowed 5s. a day as "field allowance." The conditions of the grant were laid down as follows.—Permanent houses have not yet been built in Northern Nigeria for the accommodation of Government officers, who will at first have to live in temporary wooden houses sent out from this country; and, in view of the inconvenience to which they will thus be exposed, and of the comparatively high cost of living under the existing conditions in Northern Nigeria, a "local allowance" of 5s. a day will for the present be paid to officers for each day of residential service, but this arrangement will be subject to revision when the present conditions in these respects are improved, and officers are provided with permanent quarters. Large sums have been expended in successive years on the building of houses for the European staff, and the sending out of temporary wooden houses has been discontinued. As regards Lokoja and Zungeru, the two chief centres of administration, Sir Frederick Lugard considered no further houses necessary last year, and in the current year has asked for and obtained sanction to only one building of importance. In the more distant stations the erection of permanent quarters is making steady progress. The allowance of 5s. a day has always been understood to be temporary, and the conditions quoted above are taken from the "general conditions of service," which are liable to alteration from time to time as circumstances require. It has been felt for some time that the circumstances of Northern Nigeria were now such as to admit of officers working there being treated less as though they were on service "in the field," and more like officers holding similar positions in the other West African Colonies, and it has accordingly been decided to take steps for the gradual abolition of the allowance in question.

Dismissal of Mr. Cecil Bisset.

MR. THOMASSON (Leicester): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will cause Mr. Cecil Bisset to be informed of the grounds on which he was dismissed from Kroonstad, of the reasons for the refusal of his application for compensation; and also, whether Mr. Bisset's affidavits referred to in the letter addressed to him by Mr. C. Grant, R.M., from the office of the

Resident Magistrate, Kroonstad, O.R.C., on May 19th, 1903, have yet been found.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) With regard to the first part of the Question, I have nothing to add to my Answer of June 28th,† which Mr. Bisset has no doubt seen. With regard to the affidavits, inquiry shall be made.

Report on Government Farms at Nairobi and Naivach.

SIR C. HILL (Shrewsbury): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will obtain and lay upon the Table of the House Reports on the Government farms at Nairobi and Naivach in the East Africa Protectorate, in continuation of Africa, No. 4, 1905.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) An expert is proceeding to the Protectorate at the beginning of September to inquire into and report on agricultural matters generally, and, in the circumstances, the Secretary of State does not consider it necessary to call for separate Reports on the Government farms at Nairobi and Naivasha.

Orange River Colony Constitution.

MR. BRIDGEMAN (Shropshire, Oswestry): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether His Majesty's Government have received any representations from the Governments of any self-governing Colony relative to the question of granting a constitution to the Orange River Colony; and whether any suggestion has been received from any Colonial Government that the question should not be determined except after discussion by a colonial conference.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) The answer to both Questions is in the negative; but if it be the pleasure of the House I will make a statement upon the constitutional questions in South Africa to the Supply Committee after Question time.

British Subjects in the Transvaal.

MR. HERBERT (Buckinghamshire, Wycombe): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the total number of white adult males in the Transvaal; of the total number how many are British subjects, and how many are not British subjects: of the total number of British subjects how many are of British birth, and not of British birth respectively; and of the total of those not of British birth, though British subjects, how many are Boers, and how many belong to other races.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) There is no reliable estimate for bringing the figures of the Census of April, 1904, up to date. The total number of adult male British subjects at that date is given as 91,484. The Census does not provide the means of answering the other points raised in the Question.

Tullamore and Killeigh Telegraphic Service.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): To ask the Postmaster-General whether the required guarantee has been given by the Tullamore (No. 1) Rural District Council in connection with the proposed telegraphic service between Tullamore and Killeigh, King's County; and can he say what steps are being taken to carry out the work.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The deed of guarantee is being prepared for execution. The work will be carried out as soon as possible when the deed is executed.

Appointment of Belfast Learners to Central Telegraph Office — Lodging Allowances.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether, in connection with the offer of appointments in the Central Telegraph Office to female learners at Belfast, it is proposed to give, on the acceptance of such appointments, an immediate increase in pay to compensate for the cost of living in lodgings in London, as compared with living at home in Belfast; and, if so, what would be the amount of such increase.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) No, Sir; it would not be practicable to grant such an allowance.

Feeding of School Children.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he can now give any information as to the working of the Local Government Board Order of

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† See (4) *Debates*, clix., 1112-3.

May, 1905, respecting the co-operation of boards of guardians in the work of providing food for children in attendance at public elementary schools, suffering from lack of food.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) The Local Government Board obtained from their inspectors some information on this subject in March last, from which it appeared that in some populous districts, such as the large Lancashire and Yorkshire unions, a good deal of work has been done under the Order, but that elsewhere the cases relieved under the Order had not been very numerous. In the Eastern Counties no relief under the Order had been found necessary, except at Norwich. In Birmingham, shortly after the Order came into force, the guardians were informed by the local education committee that there were 2,600 underfed children in the parish, and that they were being supplied with free meals. Numerous applications were made by the head teachers to the relieving officers on behalf of children under their care, but when inquiries were made as to the circumstances of the parents of these children, it was found that in many cases the guardians would not be justified in granting relief under the Order. The largest number of children on any one day to whom meals have been supplied by the guardians under the Order was 482. At Bristol the guardians made arrangements with the local education authority to obtain the assistance of a local society interested in the welfare of children. The first list sent in by the teachers specified seventy-four children as being underfed by reason of parental neglect, but inquiry by the relieving officers showed that only in one case would the guardians be justified in giving relief. Up to the end of January the names of fifty-five children were submitted as coming within the Order, but in only eleven cases was relief given. Thus out of 129 applications only in twelve instances did the guardians feel justified in giving relief. In Cheshire, Salop, etc., twenty-seven cases were relieved, viz., two at Birkenhead, three at Bucklow, eight at Congleton, four at Stoke-on-Trent, and ten at Wolstanton and Burslem. In several unions, however, voluntary funds were started, and thus children were relieved and kept off the rates. At Derby there were 127 applications, and seventeen children were found to be underfed. In Nottingham there were 107 applications and fifty-one relieved. In Leicester there were over 400 applications, but in no case was relief found to be necessary. In the township of Manchester 120 cases were relieved, about 380 in Chorlton, and many in Prestwich. The operation of the Order in Lancashire was mainly restricted to the neighbourhood of Manchester and Bolton. As regards the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire, there were 2,586 cases in Bradford, 375 parents of 1,073 children were notified that relief was given on loan, and fifty parents were proceeded against for recovery of the cost. Of the 2,586 cases, 1,513 were fed by the guardians on behalf of the education authority who administered a fund raised by the Mayor. In Leeds 500 cases were fed at the cost of a voluntary fund. 110 cases were fed at first in Hunslet, but the number was afterwards reduced to thirty. In Bramley the guardians fed 291, and a voluntary fund 2,523 cases. In London, generally speaking, very few cases were relieved under the Order, but in some ordinary poor relief was granted, and in others food was provided by school children's meals associations from moneys voluntarily contributed.

Cost of Maintenance of Barrack Schools and Village Communities.

MR. L. HASLAM (Monmouth Boroughs): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he will state approximately the comparative annual cost per child, including charges on capital account and maintenance in each of the several classes of institution known as barrack schools, village communities, scattered homes, and boarding out, provided under the Poor Laws; is he aware that the Hornchurch village community cost £190 per bed to build, and the Sidcup village community £280 to build per bed provided; and can he give the cost per bed of other village communities.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) I am sorry that I am not able to give the particulars desired.

Audit of Electric Lighting Accounts.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether, having regard to the ultimate purchase by the local authorities within the period fixed by Parliament, in pursuance of the powers given him under the Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation Acts granted by Parliament to companies in the administrative county of London, he will appoint as auditor of the accounts of such undertakings the auditor of the Local Government Board, who already audits the electric lighting accounts of the boroughs holding Orders within such area; or whether he will take steps to assimilate the two systems of audit in order to secure a uniform and reliable basis of comparison.

(*Answered by Mr. Kearley.*) So long as an electric lighting undertaking is carried on by a company, I do not consider that any advantage would be gained by making the accounts of the undertaking subject to a Local Government Board audit. The latter part of my hon. friend's Question seems to suggest that the forms of account prescribed by the Board of Trade require alteration. Those forms were settled after consultation with competent authorities, and the Board of Trade have not received any representations that they are in any way defective.

Return of Hours worked by Railway Men.

MR. BELL (Derby): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he can state when the Return of hours worked by railway men in March last, and called for in April, will be published; and whether he can facilitate the publishing of such Return.

(*Answered by Mr. Kearley.*) No Return of hours worked by railway men in the month of March has been called for, though a Return for certain classes of signalmen of hours worked in February was asked for in May. Many of the railway companies have forwarded their statements to the Department, and I hope that this Return will be published with no undue delay. A Return of the hours worked by enginemen, guards and brakesmen, signalmen and examiners during the present month is now being called for.

Return of Railway Accidents.

MR. BELL: To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he is aware that the Return of Accidents on Railways for the year 1905 has not yet been published; and whether he can indicate as to when it is likely to be published, and the reason of it being later than usual; and whether he can facilitate the issuing of these Returns.

(*Answered by Mr. Kearley.*) Quarterly Returns of accidents on railways are issued, and the total number of accidents in 1905 to passengers, railway servants, and other persons is given in the Return for the last quarter of the year which was published in April last. Since 1903 the detailed Annual Returns of Railway Accidents have been published together with the General Report on Railway Accidents. The Report for 1905 is now nearly completed, and will, I hope, be issued very shortly.

Foreshore Rights Between Blairmore and Innellan.

MR. WATT (Glasgow College): To ask the President of the Board of Trade to whom the beach below high-water mark belongs, between Blairmore and Innellan on the Firth of Clyde, to whom belongs the right of removing gravel therefrom; whether any private proprietors have this right; and, if so, who are they.

(*Answered by Mr. Kearley.*) At least half of the foreshore in question is under the management of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests. I have no information as to what rights are exercised over that part of the foreshore. The remaining part of the foreshore is under the management of the Board of Trade, who have conveyed or leased portions thereof to adjoining owners. I am not able to give the names of all the present owners or lessees. They are subject to covenants not to do any act which may obstruct navigation or be injurious to the public interest. Generally the removal of gravel is subject to the control of the Board of Trade. If the hon. Member could make it convenient to call at the office of the Board of Trade further particulars can be supplied.

Legality of Newspaper Lotteries.

MR. L. HASLAM: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether any, and, if so, what steps have been taken to ascertain whether the system of lotteries, practised by the proprietors of newspapers, by which money prizes are given for the chance finding of a number or numbers on tickets or otherwise is illegal.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) A case has been stated for the opinion of the High Court in connection with a matter which legally stands on a similar footing, but it is very doubtful whether this case will be heard during the present sittings of the Courts.

National Debt Commission Securities for Post Office Savings Bank Liabilities.

MR. CHIOZZA MONEY (Paddington, N.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury, with reference to the Return of the nature and amount of the securities held by the National Debt Commissioners to meet the liabilities of the Post Office Savings Bank, if he will state the actual cost and the present market value of the securities.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) The Return referred to by the hon. Member is prepared in accordance with the requirements of Section 9 (2) of the Savings Banks Act, 1904, and purposely excludes a valuation of the securities held in respect of the Post Office Savings Bank which was held by the Select Committee of 1902 to be misleading. To state the actual cost and present market value of the securities would therefore tend to defeat the intention of the statute in question.

MR. CHIOZZA MONEY: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury, with reference to Section 6 of the Savings Bank Act, 1861, whether the funds in the possession of the National Debt Commissioners, being the sums invested by them in trustee securities under that Act, are at the present time sufficient to meet the lawful claims of the depositors; if not, what is the amount of the deficiency; and, if a deficiency exists, whether, in accordance with the Act referred to, it will be certified to Parliament.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) The Post Office Savings Banks Fund does suffice, and always has sufficed, to meet the actual claims of the depositors. In the event of any deficiency having to be made good by an issue out of the Consolidated Fund, the amount of such deficiency would be duly certified to Parliament as the Act requires.

Licensed Houses on the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' Estates in Lancashire

MR. CROSSLEY (Cheshire, Altrincham): To ask the hon. Member for East Bristol, as Church Estates Commissioner, how many of the fifty-seven licensed houses on the estates of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in Lancashire were either leased for the first time or by way of renewal during the past ten years; where such houses are situate; and what inquiries, if any, were made by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners as to the needs of the neighbourhoods before granting or regranting the lease or leases concerned.

(*Answered by Mr. Hobhouse.*) The number is two, and both were renewals. The Commissioners were satisfied from their acquaintance with the circumstances of the estates and the districts that in neither case was there sufficient ground for refusing a renewal.

Trustees of Mr. Bourke Cochran's Gift to Sligo.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH (Fermanagh, N.): To ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether he can state who are the trustees of the fund of £10,000 given by Mr. Bourke Cochran for the benefit of Sligo, his native place; whether the trust being for a public object is one which, as Attorney-General, it would come within his duty to supervise; and whether, as it appears that the entire trust fund has been lost, he will take any steps to have an investigation of the application of the money by the trustees.

(*Answered by Mr. Cherry.*) I am not aware that there are, or ever were, any trustees of the sum mentioned in the Question, or that a deed of trust of any kind was executed by Mr. Bourke Cochran, who appears merely to have invested the sum of £10,000 in an industry connected with the town of Sligo, with the laudable object of benefiting his native place. It is no part of my duty to supervise that gentleman's investments, nor have I any right to inquire into them with a view to ascertaining whether they have been remunerative or not.

Sheep Scab in Gloucestershire.

MR. ESSEX (Gloucestershire, Cirencester): To ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether he will state the number of cases of sheep scab notified in the county of Gloucester during the twelve months ending February 1st, 1906.

(*Answered by Sir Edward Strachey.*) Four outbreaks of sheep scab have been reported in the county of Gloucester during the period named.

Pot-still Whisky.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether his attention has been called to the case in which a Belfast merchant has been fined £200 for blending, at his own premises, patent spirit with pot-still whisky; whether a similar practice is regularly carried on in the bonded warehouses under the supervision of the Inland Revenue officials, and the mixture so compounded retailed to consumers as pot-still whisky; and can he say what steps he proposes taking to prevent such fraud upon the public.

(*Answered by Mr. Asquith.*) I can only refer the hon. Member to the reply I gave to a similar Question by the hon. Member for Wicklow yesterday.†

Irish Resident Magistrates—Car Fares Allowances, etc.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will state, for the financial year 1905–6, the amount of car fares and subsistence allowances specially charged by resident magistrates in Ireland for special conferences with district inspectors of police regarding cases in which the latter are prosecuting on behalf of the Crown and the former adjudicating thereon; and what steps he proposes to take in this matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The resident magistrates' accounts for the year 1905–6 are at present at the Audit Office for examination. I am, however, informed that practically no expense is incurred by resident magistrates upon conferences with district inspectors. In the few cases, if any, in which such conferences may occur, the usual course would be for the district inspector to wait on the resident magistrate and not *vice versa*.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will state the amount of subsistence allowance for 1905–6 charged while at Bangor by the resident magistrate of Portadown; and, seeing that many of the places at which this resident magistrate presided, while staying at Bangor, were as easy of access from Portadown as from Bangor, whether he will give instructions that in future subsistence allowance is to be disallowed in such cases and in all similar cases throughout Ireland.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) As the resident magistrates' accounts for the year 1905–6 are at present at the Audit Office for audit I am unable to give the information asked for in the first part of the Question. The hon. Member may, however, rely upon the fact that these accounts are closely scrutinised, not only by the Financial Department of the Chief Secretary's Office, but also by the Controller and Auditor-General.

Revising Barristers' Expenses.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will state the amount of car-hire for 1905–6 paid to the revising barrister who sat at Newry, for journeys to and from Warrenpoint; and whether, seeing that there is good hotel accommodation in Newry, and that no official business was to be transacted at Warrenpoint, he will give instructions that in future such charges are to be disallowed, and also similar charges throughout Ireland.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) The amount paid in 1905–6 was £6 5s. The revising barrister explains that he did not consider that any extra expense was entailed by working the district from Warrenpoint, as compared with the cost of changing his quarters from place to place. Similar charges will not be allowed in future unless under very exceptional circumstances.

Tuberculosis in Ireland—American Bacon.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Irish

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† See Col. 413.

Government has directed its attention to the circumstance that the increase of tuberculosis in Ireland has followed on the increased use of low-class American bacon, believed by many people to be the flesh of tuberculous swine; whether, as there is no Government inspection of possibly tuberculous meat at the ports of entry, he will consider the advisability of issuing a circular to the various public health authorities in Ireland, calling their attention to the danger to health arising from the consumption of meat infected with the bacilli of tuberculosis and the necessity for vigilance of their inspectors in preventing unsound meat from being exposed for sale.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The entire question of the importation of food, which affects the United Kingdom generally, has been under the consideration of the Government, and my right hon. friend the President of the Local Government Board has introduced a Bill dealing with the matter. I refer to the Public Health (Regulations as to Food) Bill, which is down for Second Reading on October 23rd.

Suggested Government Hatchery on the River Erne.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will represent to the Department of Agriculture, etc., the desirability of maintaining a hatchery on the river Erne under the control of the Department instead of subsidising a private hatchery, the sufficiency and management of which is much doubted by many persons interested in the river and Lough Erne.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Department of Agriculture are satisfied that the hatchery referred to is very well managed. They are, however, prepared to enter into an agreement, upon the usual conditions, to enlarge the hatchery, but are not prepared to establish another hatchery in the river under their own control.

Lough Erne Fisheries.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any arrangement has yet been come to with the conservators in the Erne district as to contribution by the Crown, as owner of Lough Erne, towards the preservation of the fishing and enforcement of the laws against illegal netting and the destruction of spawning fish; and, if not, will he give the matter his early attention, with a view to more careful protection of salmon trout and other fish for the benefit of many poor fishermen to whom Lough Erne is a principal source of the means of earning a living.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Department of Agriculture are informed that no application has yet been made by the Board of Conservators to the Commissioners of Woods with regard to the proposed co-operation in the protection of the fisheries of Lough Erne. The Department understand that the matter will be considered by the Conservators at their next meeting.

Reinstatement of Samuel Maxwell on the De Vesci Estate.

MR. DELANY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Report of the inspector who some time since visited the De Vesci estate, Abbeyleix, Queen's County, has yet been received by the Estates Commissioners; and, if so, can he state what steps are being taken to reinstate or otherwise provide for Samuel Maxwell, an evicted tenant, on the property.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Estates Commissioners have not yet received their inspector's Report on Samuel Maxwell's application.

Chairs in Phœnix Park, Dublin.

MR. DELANY: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that chairs have been placed in the Phœnix Park, Dublin, for the occupancy of which visitors have to pay; can he say by whose orders and upon what authority those seats have been introduced and the charges to the public permitted; who collects and receives the funds; and whether the seats are Irish or Foreign manufacture.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) For the convenience of the public attending band performances, cricket and polo matches, etc., the Board, following the analogous arrangement in the public parks under the control of the Office of Works in London, have licensed experimentally the placing of chairs in the Phœnix Park, for which an authorised charge of one penny per diem is made and collected by the agents of the licensee. The Commissioners have no knowledge as to where the chairs were manufactured. The chairs supplied by the licensee are, of course, in addition to, and not in substitution for, the numerous seats and chairs already provided in the park by the Board for which no charge is made.

Tithe Rent Charges on Irish Estates.

MR. DOLAN (Leitrim, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that in cases where the rental of an estate has been diminished charges payable to the church property branch of the Irish Land Commission have remained unaltered; will he state the basis on which these charges are assessed; and will he have inquiry made into this matter, with a view to having tithe rent charges and similar charges diminished in the same proportion as the rental.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The hon. Member appears to be under a misapprehension. Under the Tithe Rent Charge (Ireland) Act, 1900, Sections 2 and 3, the tithe rent charge in any county is varied proportionately to the variation between the former rents and the rents fixed by the Land Court in the county. Under Section 90 of the Irish Land Act, 1903, perpetuity rents payable to the church property branch of the Irish Land Commission are similarly varied.

Grazing Rights of Tenants on the Montgomery Estate.

MR. DOLAN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that several tenants on the Montgomery Estate, which was sold about two years ago in the Land Judge's Court, have been prevented from purchasing their holdings; in view of the fact that these tenants have always enjoyed grazing rights on an adjoining mountain, without which it would be impossible for them to exist on their farms, and that the agent on the estate has informed the tenants that they will not be allowed to purchase their holdings unless they consent to abandon these rights, will the Chief Secretary inquire into the case with a view to expediting the sale to these tenants.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Registrar of the Land Judge's Court informs me that he is unable to identify the estate referred to, as there are several estates before the court in which the owner's name is Montgomery. If the hon. Member will give particulars which will enable the estate to be identified, the Registrar will make further inquiries.

Dismissal of Irish School Teachers.

MR. DOLAN: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the recent public pronouncements of Dr. Traill on compulsory retirement of teachers for enforced inefficiency, he will cause a public inquiry to be made into the injustice alleged to be done to teachers under the National Board.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Commissioners of National Education inform me that there is no reason whatever for a public inquiry into this matter. The dismissal of teachers for inefficiency since 1900 has, the Commissioners inform me, not been due to the abolition of the results system which was effected in that year. In the great majority of cases the teachers so dismissed had been censured for inefficiency prior to 1900. The Commissioners are having a Return prepared showing the record prior to 1900 of each teacher dismissed during the past five years.

Reinstatement of Patrick Fiely, of Gortinar, County Leitrim.

MR. DOLAN; To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have received from Patrick Fiely an application to be reinstated on his farm in Gortinar, near Manorhamilton, county Leitrim, on the estate of Owen Wynne, Hazlewood, from which he was evicted, although offering to pay all arrears; and whether the Estates Commissioners are taking action in this matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Estates Commissioners have received Patrick Fiely's application, and will have it inquired into by an inspector in due course.

Outdoor Relief in the Listowel Union.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the amount of outdoor relief paid in the Poor Law union of Listowel in the year 1880 was £8, whereas for 1905 it was £3,063 14s. 4d., and for 1906 £3,078 17s. 4d.; whether he can explain this increase; and whether, in view of the statement of the auditor in his last Report as to the burden which this amount is on the ratepayers, he will appoint a Commission to inquire into this increase in outdoor relief in the interests of the ratepayers.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I am informed that the figures set out in the Question are substantially correct. The Local Government Board have called the attention of the board of guardians to the great increase in the expenditure on outdoor relief in order that the guardians may exercise greater economy in the matter. The Board have also referred the observations of their auditor on the subject to the guardians for their consideration. It is, however, to be remembered that it is within the discretion of the board of guardians to administer outdoor relief to certain classes of persons. The appointment of a Commission to inquire into the matter does not appear to be necessary, especially as the sphere of the present Royal Commission extends to Ireland.

Separate Tents for Yeomanry Officers.

MR. GIBBS (Bristol, W.): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether while in camp during their annual trainings, the sole use of one tent is granted to each officer of Militia and Volunteers; and, if so, whether seeing that in the Yeomanry, officers below the rank of field officer are only allowed one tent between two, orders will be issued to place the Yeomanry officer on the same footing as the Militia and Volunteer officer.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) The Yeomanry officer is on the same footing as an officer of the Regular Forces. The Militia have been treated exceptionally owing to the length of their camps; but the question of treating all forces on the same lines as the Regular Forces is now receiving consideration.

Post Office Savings Bank Funds and Erection of Model Dwellings.

MR. CHIOZZA MONEY: To ask the Prime Minister, in view of the fact that over £150,000,000 has now been deposited by the working classes in the Post Office Savings Bank, whether he can see his way to introduce legislation to enable a proportion of the sum, say one-third, to be devoted to the erection of model freehold dwelling houses for the working classes, thus helping the poor with their own capital.

(*Answered by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.*) I am not prepared to introduce legislation for this purpose. I do not think that working-class dwellings are the most appropriate form of security in which to invest Savings Bank deposits. But it may interest my hon. friend to know that a considerable portion of the Savings Bank Funds is already applied, through the Local Loans Fund, in providing advances to local authorities for their expenditure on housing and other purposes. On the 31st December last the assets of the Post Office Savings Bank Fund included Local Loans Stock to the amount of £19,292,969.

Proceedings of Irish Intermediate Board.

MR. THOMAS O'DONNELL (Kerry, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland when he intends publishing the Minutes of meetings of the Intermediate Board, and correspondence dealing with the Resolution of this House of 21st May, proposing to alter their rules of 1907.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Intermediate Board have been asked by the Lord-Lieutenant to send him the Minutes of their proceedings for publication, but have refused to do so, stating that in their opinion no good purpose would be attained by the publication of their Minutes which have always been regarded as private and confidential. It was hoped that the correspondence between the Irish Government and the Board might have been before now published, but it has not yet been brought to a close. I trust, however, that it will within a few days be concluded, and as soon as that happens it shall be published.

Orange Disturbances in Ulster.

CAPTAIN CRAIG: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will furnish particulars of the one serious breach of the peace reported by the inspector-general of constabulary as occurring with the recent Orange demonstration in Ulster.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The case in question is one in which a young woman named Lucinda Roche was shot and seriously injured near Armagh. As a man is awaiting trial for the offence, it would be contrary to practice and undesirable that I should enter into the details of the case.

Restoration of Evicted Tenants—Case of Mrs. Colfer.

MR. FFRENCH (Wexford, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that application has been made to the Estates Commissioners to restore Mrs. Colfer, of Langnageer, to her holding on the Leigh estate from which she was evicted; and whether this case comes under the evicted tenants clauses of the Land Act of 1903; and, if so, can he state why the Estates Commissioners have taken no steps to restore Mrs. Colfer to her home.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Estates Commissioners have received from Mary and Patrick Colfer an application for reinstatement, and will have the case duly inquired into. The Commissioners are unable to say, until they receive their inspector's report, whether the case is one which comes within the terms of Section 2 of the Act of 1903.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Naval Discipline.

MR. BRAMSDON (Portsmouth): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether his attention has been called to sentences that have been inflicted by courts{martial, in some cases of a trivial character, on men in the Navy for striking non-commissioned officers, and to the fact that, with few exceptions, those sentences were of imprisonment with hard labour for terms ranging from six to eighteen calendar months; whether he is aware that in many instances those offences arose whilst the men were under the influence of drink, or were young to the service and had lost their tempers, and afterwards appeared to express genuine regret for their wrong doing; and will he say whether any such sentences were afterwards reduced by the Admiralty, and, if so, in how many cases.

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. LAMBERT, Devonshire, South Molton): I assume that the term "non-commissioned officers" is intended to include all "superior officers" of a rank below that of a commissioned officer. The Admiralty are unable to regard the striking by a subordinate of a superior officer in the execution of his duty as an offence of a trivial character, but courts martial have full opportunity of taking into account all such circumstances as those referred to by the hon. Member. As regards the last part of the Question, there have been four cases in which the sentences have been annulled or modified during the year 1905.

MR. BRAMSDON: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the offence of striking a superior officer in the Royal Navy is regulated by the 16th section of the Naval Discipline Act, 1866, which provides that every person subject to the Act who shall strike, or with any weapon attempt to strike, or draw or lift up any weapon against his superior officer, being in the execution of his office, shall be punished with death or such other punishment as is thereinafter mentioned; and whether, seeing that by Section 86 of the same Act the words superior officer include all officers, including petty and non-commissioned officers, and by the Admiralty Instructions also include acting petty and acting non-commissioned officers, lance-sergeants, and lance-corporals borne on the books of one of His Majesty's ships, the Lords of the Admiralty will consider the advisability of recommending that some statutory modication of Section 16 referred to, shall be made in order that, in time of peace at least, the maximum punishment should be reduced to that more in consonance with modern practice.

MR. LAMBERT: The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative. As regards the second part, the Admiralty do not consider it desirable to make any statutory modification of the Naval Discipline Act intended only to apply in time of peace.

Naval Courts Martial Sentences.

MR. BRAMSDON: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether their Lordships will consider the advisability of appointing a Committee to examine into and report upon the whole question of the procedure, powers, and sentences of naval courts martial.

MR. LAMBERT: A Committee has been appointed, and is now sitting, which has under review the whole procedure of naval courts martial. The powers and sentences of courts martial are clearly defined by the Naval Discipline Act, and the Admiralty see no reason for any reference to a Committee on these points.

Greenwich Observatory.

MR. ASHLEY (Lancashire, Blackpool): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he can say when the Joint Committee, representing the Admiralty and the London County Council, are expected to report on Greenwich Observatory.

MR. LAMBERT: It is not possible to say at present when the Committee will be able to report, but their deliberations are being expedited as much as possible.

Naval Construction.

MR. NIELD (Middlesex, Ealing): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he will state the tonnage and cost of battleships completed for sea during the six years ending 31st March, 1906, by each of the five great naval Powers respectively, and the number of battleships projected at the present time by those several Powers.

MR. LAMBERT: The tonnage and cost of battleships completed for sea during the six years in question by the five great naval Powers are as follows:—

	Tonnage.	Cost.
Great Britain	348,385	25,538,041
France -	44,285	4,086,347
Russia -	164,726	14,173,330
Germany -	143,122	13,237,105
United States	110,210	9,611,842

The following battleships are under construction:—

Great Britain - - - -	6
France - - - -	6
Germany - - - -	6
United States - - -	12

Artillery Horses.

MR. SOAMES (Norfolk, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state how many additional horses per battery will be required for the mobilisation of the Field Artillery when on the new peace footing, and from what source it is proposed to provide them.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. HALDANE, Haddington): The numbers of additional horses per battery required for mobilisation of Field Artillery when on the new peace establishment are 102 for each four gun battery and 132 for each two gun battery. These horses would be provided out of the horses registered for military service on emergency.

Afghan Frontier Defence.

SIR CHARLES DILKE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether any expenditure for military protection is involved in the extension to Parachinar of the Kurran strategic railway and the making of the Kabul river strategic railway to the Afghan frontier.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. MORLEY, Montrose Burghs): An increase of the strength of the Khyber rifles by one British officer, 354 Infantry and 80 Sowars was sanctioned by the Secretary of State in Council in August 1905, in connection with the sanction given in the previous month to the construction of a line from a point near Jamrud to a point on the Kabul River known as Mile 300. The initial cost of the increase was Rs. 18,000, the estimated annual cost is Rs. 99,500. No proposal has been made for military protection in connection with the extension of the Kurran railway to Parachinar which was sanctioned in September 1904.

Corporal Punishment in India.

SIR H. COTTON (Nottingham, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been drawn to the number of cases in which whipping is awarded as a judicial punishment in India, amounting in 1878 to 75,223, in 1897 to 64,087, and in 1900 to 45,054, and to the fact that this punishment is invariably inflicted in public with a rattan or cane over the bare buttocks; and whether, having regard to the general feeling in India on the subject, and to the abuses attending on whipping as a judicial penalty, he will address the Government of India with a view to the elimination of this punishment from the criminal code of the country, except in cases where the offender is guilty of gross and violent crime against the person.

MR. MORLEY: This subject was brought to my attention some time ago, and I have addressed a despatch to the Government of India upon the subject.

Indian Excise Administration.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India, whether the Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Excise administration of India has been considered by the Government of India; whether the Report will be issued as a Parliamentary Paper; and, if so, whether he can arrange for its circulation to Members before the House reassembles in October.

MR. MORLEY: The Answer to the first Question is in the negative. When I have seen the Report and communicated with the Government of India I will consider whether I can present it; but I am not sure that it can be ready for circulation before the House reassembles.

Calcutta Improvements.

MR. LAIDLAW (Renfrewshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether the Government of India has decided upon a scheme for the improvement of Calcutta; what such scheme is estimated to cost; when it is proposed to put it in operation; how the money is to be raised; and, if no decision has been arrived at as to how the cost is to be met, will he consider the advisability of raising it by means of a temporary export duty on jute (of which Bengal has a monopoly) and jute manufactures.

MR. MORLEY: My predecessor gave his general assent to a scheme, the net cost of which was roughly estimated at about £3,000,000, to be met partly by loans and partly by a grant from general revenues. The scheme is at present under discussion by the Bengal Government and the local authorities concerned, and no final decision has been come to as to the total cost or as to how it should be met.

Indian Irrigation Works.

MR. LAIDLAW: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India, if, in view of the fact that the irrigation works in India are now yielding a return of over 7¾ per cent. on the outlay, he will draw the attention of the Government of India to the matter, with a view to reductions in the charges being made to cultivators in cases where they are exceptionally high.

MR. MORLEY: The charges made to cultivators for supplies of water from State Irrigation Works are fixed after careful local inquiry as to the profits of irrigation in the district, and ordinarily are below the economic value of the water to the cultivator. The selling value of land consequently goes up in canal tracts to the benefit of the private owner. I hardly think it necessary to bring the matter to the notice of the Government of India.

Assam Tea Lands.

MR. LAIDLAW: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if it is proposed to enhance the assessments of tea lands in Assam at the expiration of present leases; if he is aware that on account of depression in the tea trade most of these lands have yielded a steadily decreasing profit for some years past; and if an enhancement of land rent is contemplated in any of the other tea districts in India.

MR. MORLEY: Under conditions of the leases granted for tea cultivation in

Assam the land assessment is liable to revision after thirty years, the standard being the rate at which ordinary agricultural land in the district is assessed. This term is about to expire in the case of a number of leases in the Surma Valley districts. In its proposals for re-assessment the local Government has had regard to the present state of the tea industry, so far as relevant to the matter.

Tibet and Indian Tea.

MR. LAIDLAW: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if there has been any increase of trade between India and Tibet since the late expedition; whether Indian tea is now admitted into Tibet; and, if so, on what conditions.

MR. MORLEY: The latest figures received show that for the eleven months ending February last the value of exports to Tibet was £111,054, of imports from Tibet, £118,578. The export of tea to Tibet is subject to the Regulations of 1893, and the provisions of the Lhasa Convention of 1904. The Trade Returns do not show any export of Indian tea to Tibet.

MR. LAIDLAW: Do the Trade Returns show any increase?

MR. MORLEY asked for notice of the Question.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): It is to be hoped military force will not be used to import Indian tea into Tibet.

Bengal Schools.

MR. LAIDLAW: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether he will call the attention of the Government of India to the inadequate provision which has been made in this year's Estimates for European and Eurasian schools; if he is aware that there are seventy-six such schools in Bengal alone, and that out of the increased appropriation of £16,000 for the whole of India, these schools stand to receive only about £10 each for equipment, scholarships, increase of salaries, and all other purposes; and if he is aware of the fact that nearly all the European schools in India are most inadequately equipped, that the standard of teaching is low, and that the teaching profession is so poorly paid that few new recruits of high character and ability can be induced to go into it.

MR. MORLEY: The Government of India have recently taken steps to increase the resources at the disposal of European schools. These schools constitute a relatively small proportion of the schools of India, and the assistance which can be given to them must be limited by a due regard for the claims of other classes of schools. Many of the larger European schools have endowments which render them independent of assistance from the Government.

Crown Agents for the Colonies (Appointment of Clerks).

MR. WALKER (Leicestershire, Melton): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the clerks in the Crown Agents' office are still selected by nomination alone; and whether any steps will be taken to place these appointments upon a competitive basis under the control of the Civil Service Commission.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. CHURCHILL, Manchester, N.W.): In reply to the hon. Member's Question, I am desired by the Secretary of State to say that the internal administration of the office of the Crown agents for the Colonies is entirely in their hands, and that as the holders of these appointments are not members of the Civil Service, there is no intention of adopting the course suggested by the hon. Member.

Crown Agents for the Colonies (Management of the Office).

MR. WALKER: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to the recommendations of Sir Augustus Hemming, ex-Governor of Jamaica, that there should be an inquiry into the management of the Crown Agents' office and the way in which the funds are expended, or that there should be laid before Parliament a Return showing the rates of salary and any other form of remuneration received by every member of the staff, together with a detailed and explanatory statement of accounts; and whether either of these proposals is now receiving favourable consideration.

MR. CHURCHILL: The work and organisation of the office of the Crown Agents for the Colonies has received constant and close attention from successive Secretaries of State, and two Parliamentary Papers on the subject were laid before Parliament in 1904. Lord Elgin does not as at present advised see sufficient occasion for a further inquiry, or for publishing a more detailed statement of accounts than that already published.

Chinese Coolies—Crime on the Rand.

MR. FELL (Great Yarmouth): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to the decrease in the number of offences committed by Chinese coolies on the Rand; and whether he has any official information as to the causes of this decrease.

MR. CHURCHILL: I have seen a statement by the Chairman of the Chamber of Mines to this effect in the Press. Official information has not yet been received as to the number of convictions since May last.

Tarquah Railway Extension.

MR. FELL (Great Yarmouth): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether it is proposed to construct a branch railway from Tarquah to the Ancobra River; if so, whether the contract will be submitted for public tender; and whether a more moderate scale of charges will prevail on such railway than on the present railway from Sekondi to Tarquah.

*MR. CHURCHILL: A scheme is under consideration for the construction of a branch railway from Tarquah to Prestea, but it has not yet been submitted in final form for the decision of the Secretary of State. I am accordingly unable to reply at present to the latter parts of the Question.

Trials of Native Chiefs.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD (Leicester): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has any official information showing that Tolonko (or Tilonkwe), a Zulu chief, visited Pietermaritzburg on Monday, July 23rd, on the invitation of the Minister of Native Affairs, and was immediately arrested; whether he can inform the House if the charges against this chief are for deeds alleged to have been done last January, one being a refusal to pay poll tax before it was due; whether, although the charges were denied, the chief is to be tried by court-martial; and what steps His Majesty's Government propose to take to see that the statement made to the House that only natives caught in the act of fighting are to be tried by court-martial is to be respected by the Government of Natal.

*MR. CHURCHILL: On July 24th the Governor telegraphed as follows:—"In accordance with instructions sent to Tilonkwe, one of the most important chiefs referred to came to Pietermaritzburg yesterday. He denies charges made against him. He has been allowed to return to his tribe, but summons has been served on him to return next Monday and stand his trial. I believe that he will do so and that exhibition of military force will be unnecessary." Tilonkwe is described by the Governor as one of the chiefs who defied the Government last March. I have no further information but will inquire.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD asked whether this was the chief who was being tried to-day by court-martial with closed doors.

*MR. CHURCHILL said he had no information on that point.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD said the hon. Gentleman had not replied to the latter part of his Question, in reference to the undertaking that only natives caught in the act of fighting would be tried by court-martial.

*MR. CHURCHILL replied that he would make inquiries on the subject.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE asked whether the hon. Gentleman was aware of the natural anxiety which prevailed here owing to statements by Natal correspondents of London papers announcing the sentences that would be imposed on these chiefs before the trials took place.

*Mr. CHURCHILL: Such statements on the part of newspapers before the trials have taken place are manifestly grossly improper.

Mr. FLYNN (Cork, N.): The hon. Gentleman has not explained why these trials are being conducted with closed doors.

*Mr. CHURCHILL: It may be that the Natal Government desire to protect themselves from similar newspaper statements.

Mr. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is in a position to state whether Gobizembi, Kulu, and Meseni have been tried by court-martial; and, if so, will he say what charges have been preferred against them, when their alleged crimes are said to have been committed, and what sentences have been passed upon them.

*Mr. CHURCHILL: Messeni was tried for high treason and murder. Gobizembi has been deposed as is shown by the despatches printed at pp. 30 and 37 of Cd. 2905 and p. 3 of Cd. 3027. Inquiry shall be made as to the precise action taken in these cases.

Siberian Trade.

Mr. FELL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, having regard to the rapidly increasing trade with Siberia, he will now consider the advisability of approaching the Russian Government with the object of getting British consuls appointed at some at least of the cities on the Siberian Railway.

Sir EDWARD GREY: The matter will not be lost sight of by His Majesty's Government. But, at present, I can say no more than I said to the hon. Member in reply to an almost identical Question on March 13th,† except that steps are now being taken with a view to the reappointing of a commercial agent at Vladivostok.

Consols.

Sir. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if his attention has been called to the recent decline in the value of Consols, and to the consequent losses of small investors through the Government in that security by depositors in the Post Office Savings Bank; and if he can suggest any means of preventing in the future such losses by investors in the Post Office Savings Bank.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Asquith, Fifeshire, E.): I am aware that there has been a very considerable decline in the capital value of Consols, to the extent of twenty-seven points in ten years. Holders of Consols through the Post Office Savings Bank who may find it necessary to realise at present prices stock which they purchased at higher prices will necessarily incur a loss, but the risk of such loss is one which has to be taken by all purchasers of securities having a fluctuating capital value, and I see no reason why the Government should be asked to give preferential treatment to any particular class of holders of the public funds.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT gave notice that he would call attention to this matter on the Appropriation Bill.

Beer Duty.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether his attention has been drawn the fact that during the period 1900–6 there has been a decrease of 1·41 degrees in the average gravity of beer produced in the United Kingdom; whether this represents approximately a diminution of £340,000 in the yield of revenue derived from this source; and, if so, whether he will consider what action can be taken in order to prevent a further reduction of revenue from this cause.

Mr. ASQUITH: The facts are as stated. The growing preference on the part of the public for lighter beers is, I think, apart from consideration of revenue, a reason for satisfaction. I am looking into the question whether such beers are, or are not, in proportion to their alcoholic strength, more lightly taxed than beers of higher gravity; but, even if it can be shown that they have an advantage in this respect, I do not at present express any opinion as to whether that is an advantage which ought to be withdrawn.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clii., 1096.

Coinage.

*MR. ESSEX (Gloustershire, Cirencester): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether he contemplates any new issue of the lower value coins; whether he will consider the desirability of adopting instead of bronze a nickel or other lighter alloy in a convenient form to avoid confusion with the silver coins; and whether he will before making such issue consider the nickel coins of low denomination lately issued in Belgium.

MR. ASQUITH: I have no evidence that the present coinage is regarded as other than satisfactory by the public generally, and, in the absence of any general demand for an alteration, I should not be prepared to take the responsibility of interfering with it.

Asylum Attendants—Hours of Duty.

MR. GEORGE ROBERTS (Norwich): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he has yet caused inquiry to be made from the Lunacy Commissioners as to the number of hours worked by asylum attendants, and the percentage of these attendants who ultimately suffer from lunacy; if so, can he state the results of such inquiry; and whether he proposes legislation on the matter.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. GLADSTONE, Leeds, W.): I beg to answer this Question on behalf of my right hon. friend. Information on this subject has been collected by the Commissioners in Lunacy. The particulars of the hours during which attendants are on duty cannot well be summarised, but the returns are at my hon. friend's disposal at the Commissioners' office whenever he may care to call and see them. It appears that during the last five years fifty-two attendants and ex-attendants (twenty-three male and twenty-nine female) are known to have become insane; that is to say, that, roughly speaking, in any given year ·1 per cent. of the average total number of attendants employed in asylums become insane. This figure is slightly in excess of the percentage of insanity in the general population between the ages of twenty and fifty-four. The terms on which asylum attendants are employed is a matter for the Visiting Committees, and I do not propose to introduce legislation on the subject.

Rescue Homes.

MR. WEDGWOOD (Newcastle-under-Lyme): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he can say how many girls in the non-inspected rescue homes have been sent there with the approval of the justices; and whether he will direct that in future a justice of the peace shall not assent to any girl being sent to any such home.

*MR. GLADSTONE: As regards the first point I am afraid that I have no information, and as regards the second point I have no jurisdiction to interfere.

MR. WEDGWOOD: Who would have jurisdiction?

*MR. GLADSTONE: I cannot say.

MR. T. L. CORBETT (Down, N.): Will the right hon. Gentleman obtain that information?

*MR. GLADSTONE: I have no power in the matter.

Children in Charitable Institutions.

MR. WEDGWOOD: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he has any information to show the number of children under twelve years of age and under twelve months of age living in, or whose mothers are living in, non-inspected semi-charitable institutions where laundries and workshops are carried on; and whether he can state the mortality among such children, or obtain any report as to the mortality occurring.

*MR. GLADSTONE: I am afraid that I have no such information, nor have I at present any means of obtaining it.

MR. T. L. CORBETT: Will the right hon. Gentleman consider the desirability of introducing legislation giving him power to obtain this information?

*MR. GLADSTONE: I have already said I hope to bring in a Bill dealing with these matters.

Wokingham Motor Fatality.

*MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that, on the 17th instant, a motor car ran into a funeral as it was about to enter St. Paul's Church, Wokingham, resulting in the death of an old lady who was standing in front of the coffin and bearers; will he ascertain whether this accident was due to reckless driving; and, if so, will he consider the expediency of arranging for the licence of the motorist to be suspended.

*MR. GLADSTONE: From inquiries I have made it appears that at the inquest the Coroner's Jury brought in a verdict of accidental death. The driver of the motor-car was, however, arrested on a charge of manslaughter and the Justices have committed him for trial at the next autumn assizes.

Postal Arrangements.

MR. RENDALL (Gloucestershire, Thornbury): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he has now completed his departmental inquiries into the postal inconveniences from which the inhabitants of Tormarton, Gloucestershire, are suffering; if not, whether he is aware that two months have elapsed since he promised to investigate the matter; and, if the desires of the inhabitants of Tormarton are not fully understood, whether he can arrange for a Post Office official to meet a small deputation on the spot to consider the matter.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON, Tower Hamlets, Poplar): I regret the delay. But various local circumstances have prevented an earlier decision. I hope to be able shortly to take steps to improve the service; and my representative would be glad to ascertain the local opinion on the question.

Indian Mails.

MR. LAIDLAW (Renfrewshire, E.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if, when settling the terms of the new Indian mail contract, he will arrange to have the time fixed for the arrival of the homeward mail in London at least twenty-four hours before the departure of the outward mail, during the greater part of the year, and at least twelve hours before departure during the monsoon season, even if this involves departure from Bombay on Friday evening instead of Saturday.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I am not prepared to commit myself in any way as to the time table of the Indian mail service under a new contract; but the hon. Member may rest assured that I shall endeavour to arrange it in the manner best suited to the different interests which have to be consulted.

Mail Van Contracts.

MR. ASHLEY: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he can now state the result of his inquiries into the conditions under which contracts for mail van work are carried on.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I am pursuing my inquiries on this subject, but they will necessarily occupy some time, and am I not yet in a position to make any general statement as to the result.

Canadian Mails and Moville.

THE MARQUESS OF HAMILTON (Londonderry): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he can state if the Allan Line have come to a definite conclusion as to the abandonment of Moville as a port of call for the Canadian mails.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: The Canadian Government, with whom the final decision rested, has now informed me that it finds itself compelled, in connection with the acceleration of the Canadian mail service, to abandon Moville as a port of call for the direct packets. It is stated that this decision has been arrived at most reluctantly and after careful consideration of the strong protest made by the British Post Office against the change. I have from the first pointed out the postal disadvantages which will accrue from the abandonment of the Moville call, and I regret the decision at which the Dominion Government have arrived.

The Art Gallery at Millbank.

*MR. P. W. WILSON (St. Pancras, S.): I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works whether it is proposed to utilise the space behind the National Gallery of Art, at Millbank, for the purpose of building a new Stationery Office or other Government Office; and, seeing that such building, if erected, would render it impossible to make additions to the Art Gallery, which is becoming overcrowded with pictures, whether he will consider the advisability of reserving this ground for the extension of the Gallery.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. HARCOURT, Lancashire, Rossendale): The reply to the first paragraph is in the affirmative; in accordance with a scheme sanctioned by my predecessor it was proposed to build the Stationery Office upon the vacant land behind the National Gallery of Art at Millbank. The extensions originally contemplated when the site was offered by the Government to Sir Henry Tate in 1893 have already been made. I will make inquiry as to the future needs of the Gallery, and will reconsider the matter before next year's Estimates are framed. I may mention that some space is still reserved for the purpose of the Gallery.

Richmond Park.

MR. BOULTON (Huntingdonshire, Ramsey): I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works if he is aware of the condition of the roads in Richmond Park; and if he will give instructions for a better system of watering and procure the services of a steam roller in lieu of the one-horse roller at present in use.

MR. HARCOURT: I am aware that, owing to the prolonged drought, the condition of the roads in Richmond Park has suffered a good deal. There are no funds available for much extra watering and rolling this year. In the next financial year I hope it may be possible to purchase a motor roller.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland) asked the right hon. Gentleman whether he would either limit the speed of motor cars in Richmond Park or stop them altogether.

MR. HARCOURT asked for notice of the question as to limiting speed, adding that there would be no excess of speed in the motor roller.

Westminster County Court.

MR. NIELD (Middlesex, Ealing): I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works whether it is intended to rebuild the Westminster County Court, and, if so, when such works of rebuilding are likely to be commenced; whether plans have been prepared of the proposed works, and if the same have been approved by the local authority and by the Judge and officials of the Court; and, if not, whether such approval will be required before the building is commenced.

MR. HARCOURT: The reply to the first paragraph is in the affirmative. The work of rebuilding will be begun so soon as a contract can be made. Sketch plans have been prepared and have been seen by the Judge and registrar of the Court, and the building will be carried out as far as possible to meet their wishes. But I am unable to give any undertaking such as is suggested in the concluding paragraph of the hon. Member's Question. The local authority has no jurisdiction.

Seamen's Remittances—Deductions.

MAJOR SEELY: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he can see his way to remit that part of the charge of three pence in the pound levied on the remittance home of British seamen's wages from Hamburg and other foreign ports, which is now retained by the Board of Trade.

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. KEARLEY, Devonport): The whole question to which my hon. and gallant friend refers is still under consideration by the three Departments concerned, viz., the Treasury, the Foreign Office, and the Board of Trade; and I will take the earliest opportunity of informing him of the decision arrived at.

Wei-hai-wei Cable.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, having regard to the fact that a sum of £800 is placed on the Civil Service Supplementary Estimates under Class VII. for the cost of repairing the cable between Chefoo and Wei-hai-wei, will he state on what ground this cable is being maintained by the British Government.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. MCKENNA, Monmouthshire, N.): The cable was constructed at the charge of His Majesty's Government and is worked by the Eastern Extension Australasia and China Telegraph Company under an Agreement a copy of which was laid before Parliament, H.C. Paper 151 of 1901. The cost of repairing the cable is borne by His Majesty's Government under the terms of the Agreement.

MR. WEIR: When does the agreement expire?

MR. MCKENNA asked for notice.

Sanitation in the Island of Lewis.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will state when the funds will be forthcoming to enable the Secretary for Scotland to take such steps as may be necessary to meet the sanitary requirements of the townships in the Island of Lewis and remedy the evils disclosed in the Report of Dr. Dittmar, the medical inspector for the Local Government Board for Scotland.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. SINCLAIR, Forfarshire): The Secretary to the Treasury asks me to answer this Question. As my hon. friend knows, the circumstances in this case are exceptional and difficult, and I regret that it is not yet possible to indicate the policy of the Government in regard to it. The subject is receiving serious consideration.

Industrial Training for Island of Lewis Children.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he is now in a position to state how many boys and girls respectively resident in the Island of Lewis have been recommended by the local authorities to the Scottish Education Department for participation in the industrial training provided for under Section 1 (d) of the Minute of March 19th last.

MR. SINCLAIR: The applications received from local authorities in the Island of Lewis for grants under Section 1 (d) of the Departmental Minute of March 19th, 1906, for the provision of such initial equipment as may be required for supplying industrial training to boys and girls resident in the Island do not specify any particular number of boys or girls who are recommended for participation in such training. I regret, therefore, that the information desired by my hon. friend is not available.

Vaccination in Scotland.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland if he will consider the expediency of introducing legislation at an early date such as will admit of the Conscience Clause in the Vaccination Act of 1898 being extended to Scotland.

MR. SINCLAIR: I have nothing to add to my reply to the hon. Member for Stirlingshire on May 2nd.†

MR. WEIR: I have not the remotest idea what that Answer was.

MR. SINCLAIR: I will send the hon. Member a copy.

Dunblane Cathedral.

MR. ERSKINE (Perthshire, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether the vesting of Dunblane Cathedral in the Commissioners of Works, as is provided by the National Galleries of Scotland Bill, will affect or in any way interfere with the interests of the cathedral, or the use to which it is at present devoted.

MR. SINCLAIR: No, Sir. These interests will be safe-guarded; and the use of the cathedral and burial ground preserved for their present purposes.

Irish Land Commission and Mining Rights.

MR. EDWARD BARRY (Cork County, S.): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether any steps have yet been taken as provided in Section 13, Subsection 3, of the Land Purchase Act of 1903, to give to the Land Commission powers to lease or sublet mining rights on lands purchased by them; whether, seeing that, from inquiries made in various parts of the country, the prospects of mining in Ireland are far beyond what was ever before believed, steps will be immediately taken to give to the Land Commission the power of leasing and sub-letting, and thus help to develop the prosperity of the country.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clvi., 416 (*Reply to W. Wilkie*)

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. CHERRY, Liverpool Exchange): It has been decided that legislation will be necessary to enable the Land Commission to dispose of the mineral rights vested in them under Section 13 (3) of the Act of 1903. The question of introducing such legislation is under the consideration of the Government, and a Bill is being prepared for the purpose.

Lisnagry (Limerick) Evicted Tenant.

MR. JOYCE (Limerick): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether a claim has been forwarded to the Estates Commissioners by an evicted tenant named Patrick Barry, of Lisnagry, county Limerick, who was evicted six years ago from a small farm of land on the estate of Robert L. Brown, at Ballyvarra, Lisnagry; and whether the Commissioners have made any inquiry into the case with a view to having the evicted tenant restored to his holding.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. BRYCE, Aberdeen, S.): The Estates Commissioners inform me that they have not received an application for reinstatement from Patrick Barry. They have, however, received an application from Patrick Ryan whose former holding is stated to be in the occupation of Patrick Barry, and this is probably the case which the hon. Member has in view. Ryan's application will be inquired into in due course.

St. Johnston, Donegal, Evicted Tenant.

MR. MACVEIGH (Donegal, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the attention of the Estates Commissioners has been called to the case of James Gallagher, whose father was evicted from his holding on the estate of Andrew Moody, Rockfield, St. Johnston, East Donegal, in 1869; and whether he will direct the Estates Commissioners to send down an inspector to inquire into the matter with a view to reinstating James Gallagher in the farm of his father who died some time ago.

MR. BRYCE: The Estates Commissioners inform me that they will inquire into the case of James Gallagher in due course.

Kilbracken Evicted Tenant.

MR. T. SMYTH (Leitrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the Estates Commissioners have received an application for reinstatement from Patrick Pranty, a tenant who was evicted for non-payment of rent on the Pennyfeather estate at Kilbracken, in the county Leitrim.

MR. BRYCE: The Estates Commissioners inform me that no application for reinstatement has been received from Patrick Pranty.

Congestion in County Leitrim.

MR. T. SMYTH: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the Royal Commission will hold a sitting in Carrick-on-Shannon, Mohill, or Ballinamore with regard to congestion in county Leitrim, as this county is one of the most congested in Ireland.

MR. BRYCE: The Royal Commission on Congestion is prepared to consider any application which may be made to it as to holding sittings in any particular place or receiving evidence from any particular district. The next meeting of the Commission will be held in Dublin early in September.

Coolmountain School Teachers.

MR. EDWARD BARRY (Cork County, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that William Murphy, principal teacher of Coolmountain National School, Dunmanway, county Cork, is at present receiving, as principal, a total salary of £75 10s. per annum, while if he remained assistant, his salary would, including, capitation bonus and increment, amount to £80 15s.; and whether considering his increased duties and responsibilities, as well as the more important services rendered to the State by him, steps will be taken to have his salary reasonably increased.

Mr. BRYCE: I beg to refer the hon. Member to my Answer to his previous Question on June 19th,† and to the statement which I forwarded to him on that date. The Commissioners of National Education inform me that Mr. Murphy's salary and emoluments amount to about £76 per annum, whereas if he had remained an assistant teacher his income would have been £72. The matter is entirely one for the Commissioners.

Leitrim Evicted Tenants.

Mr. T. SMYTH: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the Estates Commissioners have received applications for reinstatement from the following evicted tenants, viz., Michael Dolan, John Kennedy, Constantine Kennedy, Thomas Prior, Michael Dolan, Sarah Prior, Michael McGrail, Owen McGrail, Edward McManus, Margaret McTeague, and Mary Kerrigan, all of whom were evicted from their holdings on the Marsham estate, in the county Leitrim; and if he will direct the attention of the inspector of the Estates Commissioners to these cases, as all the farms are in the occupation of planters.

Mr. BRYCE: The Estates Commissioners inform me that they have received applications for reinstatement from the evicted tenants named in the Question, and will have the cases inquired into by an inspector in due course.

Macgillycuddy Estate, Kerry.

Mr. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, in the sale of the Macgillycuddy estate, Beaufort, Kerry, sale is refused to Mrs. Elizabeth Joy, of Ardraw, because her husband refuses to give up a small parcel of land which he has held for thirty-six years; that an agreement for purchase was signed by Mrs. E. Joy for her farm in November, 1901, and an annuity on the purchase money at the rate of 4 per cent. paid since then by her regularly; and that, now in order to coerce her husband to give up his legal rights, she has been threatened with a writ for £97, the difference between her old rent and the annuity since 1901, while, in reality, nothing is due from her; and whether he proposes to take any, and, if any, what steps in the matter.

Mr. BRYCE: The Estates Commissioners inform me that eighty-one agreements for purchase, dated April 25th last, have recently been lodged with them in respect of the Macgillycuddy estate. No agreement in the case of Mrs. Joy has been lodged either with the Estates Commissioners or, prior to the Act of 1903, with the Land Commission; and no annuity or interest has therefore been collected by either body. The Estates Commissioners have no information that Mrs. Joy signed an agreement for purchase in 1901, nor have they any knowledge of the differences alleged to exist between her and the owner. The Commissioners, however, will, when dealing with the estate, inquire as to the exclusion of Mrs. Joy from the proceedings for sale.

Irish Local Government Return.

Mr. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has now ascertained if the official circular to the staff of the Local Government Board of June 6th, 1905, contained, in every case under the heading "Place of Education," the entry, "Information not available"; whether the members of the staff were explicitly informed that the Board proposed to answer the query in that form; whether he is aware that any official objecting to that entry would thus have invited the displeasure of his superior officers; whether he can state why the officials were not asked whether they were willing to supply the information ordered to be supplied by the Parliament which votes their salaries; whether the circular was issued by the Assistant Secretary, at the direction of the Vice-President; whether either of them acted at the instance or with the knowledge of the Chief Secretary of the time; and whether the Government sanctioned the conduct of permanent officials in Dublin Castle in suggesting to their subordinates to refuse to supply the information called for by order of the House of Commons.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clix., 44.

*MR. BRYCE: I have ascertained that the circular contained all the information which the Local Government Board possessed, and that under the heading "Place of Education" the entry was "No information available." The circular stated that it was proposed to send the information in that form subject to any correction which the person concerned desired to make. I am informed that if an official had objected to the entry, he would have incurred no official displeasure. As a matter of fact, many officials of the board, in response to the circular, supplied information as to their place of education, and incurred no displeasure by so doing. The officials were not directly asked to supply information as to their place of education, because the then Attorney-General for Ireland had advised, and had so informed this House, that heads of departments had no legal right to demand this information, and that civil servants could not be obliged to supply it. The circular was issued by the direction of the Vice-President and with the authority of the then Chief Secretary, whose instructions were that the Board should furnish all the official information in their possession, and should let each official see the proposed return and add any information concerning himself which he desired to give. I am informed that it is not the case that permanent officials suggested to their subordinates to refuse to supply the information called for by order of this House.

MR. MACVEAGH inquired why the officials were not asked whether they were willing to supply the information ordered to be supplied by the Parliament which voted their salaries?

*MR. BRYCE: I have answered that. The then Attorney-General said the officials could not be required to give the information, and, therefore, it was thought that no question in the nature of a summons should be addressed to them, but as a matter of fact, many of them voluntarily supplied the information themselves.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Does the right hon. Gentleman think it a proper thing for the head office in Dublin when sending round a circular asking for information in accordance with the decision of this House to fill up in advance in Dublin one of the columns with the statement that no information was available? Is not that a direct hint to the officials not to supply the information?

*MR. BRYCE: It is not for me to express an opinion about the action of my predecessor. [NATIONALIST cries of "Why?"] Because I had nothing to do with the matter, and it is because I have nothing to do with the matter now; but, as I say, the Vice-President informs me that these matters took place in pursuance of the opinion given by the then Attorney-General by which he considered himself to be bound.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: Is it not a perfectly proper Question to put to the right hon. Gentleman whether he approves of the action of his predecessor in this matter?

*MR. BRYCE: No, Sir, I do not think so. As the matter is not one that is before me it is not necessary for me to express an opinion, especially as the opinion of the then Attorney-General appears to have been the governing factor.

MR. MACVEAGH: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the circular only came to light within the past week?

*MR. BRYCE: I am not aware.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): Is it not a fact that the reason that no information was available was because the officials were left to their own opinions?

*MR. BRYCE: No, it was because it was thought that there was no right to ask for it.

River Shimna Fishery.

MR. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether Earl Annesley, through himself or his servants, is allowed to fish in any part of the River Shimna, Newcastle, from which others, who are fishermen by trade, are prohibited from fishing; and, if so, on what grounds.

MR. BRYCE: I understand that if the Earl of Annesley is a riparian proprietor along the fresh waters of the River Shimna he would have rights of fishing in such fresh waters not enjoyed by the public. Under the Statute Law, netting for salmon in tidal waters is illegal within certain distances of the defined mouths of rivers, except by owners of several fisheries therein. The mouth of the River Shimna has been defined. The Department of Agriculture understand that Lord Annesley claims a several fishery in the vicinity of the mouth of the river, but it is not for the Department to decide whether this claim is justified or not.

MR. MACVEAGH: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that under the Act of 1842 Lord Annesley cannot be deemed to own the fishery until he has paid rates for ten years, whereas he only began to pay them two years ago when Newcastle became an urban district.

MR. BRYCE: That is a question of law which should be addressed to the Attorney-General.

Irish Petty Sessions Clerkships.

MR. LUNDON (Limerick, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether ex-policemen are eligible for the position of clerkship of petty sessions in Ireland up to the age of 45 years, whilst civilians are ineligible for the same position when they exceed 40 years; and, if so, will he say why this preference is given to one class beyond the other.

MR. BRYCE: The general limits of age for the appointment of Clerk of Petty Sessions are 21 and 40 years, but the higher limit is extended to 50 years in the case of ex-members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, magistrates, barristers, solicitors, solicitors' clerks, and assistants to Petty Sessions clerks. The reason for this extension is that all these persons are presumed to have already acquired a knowledge of Petty Sessions law and procedure.

Teaching of the Irish Language.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, when the manager of a national school applies to the Commissioners for sanction to introduce the bilingual programme, is the sanction given or refused on the report of a competent Irish-speaking inspector or on the report of an inspector who knows little or no Irish.

MR. BRYCE: The Commissioners of National Education inform me that when a manager makes application for the introduction of the bilingual programme into his schools, the inspector of the district reports on the application. If the Commissioners have any doubt as to the soundness of the recommendation made by the local inspector, the case is usually sent to one of the special inspectors of Irish for an independent report, before a decision is given by the Board.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the Statement on page 6 of the Report on the Welsh Intermediate Education system, that the chief inspector reports that, during the past year 2,180 pupils in fifty-three schools received instruction in the Welsh language, an increase of 352 in the number of pupils, and of eight in the number of schools, and that, in three or four years, at the present rate of progress, the Welsh language will attain to a satisfactory position in the county schools; and will he direct the attention of the National Board in Ireland to this Statement, with a view to its being placed in the hands of those of its inspecters who may still have doubt as to the value of a bilingual system.

MR. BRYCE: I have seen the statement to which the hon. Member refers, and I have no doubt that the attention of the Commissioners of National Education has also been drawn to it. I should, however, remind the hon. Member that the statement refers to secondary schools and not to elementary schools such as the National Board administer. The question of placing the statement in the hands of inspectors is one for the Commissioners to decide, but the policy of the Commissioners in regard to bilingual teaching is of course determined by themselves, and not by their inspectors.

King's County Police.

MR. REDDY (King's County, Birr): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will say what is the population of Shinrone, a village in King's County; whether it is a police district headquarters; can he say how many constables, in addition to the district inspector and head constable, are stationed there; whether, seeing that the salary of the head constable is £104 per annum with apartments, and that his time is occupied in doing the work of the district inspector, who merely signs Returns prepared for him, he will say what steps, if any, he proposes to take to abolish or bring within reasonable limits the unnecessary office of district inspector; and what is the salary of a district inspector, cost of uniform, and travelling allowances.

MR. BRYCE: I am informed that Shinrone has a population of about 350. It is a constabulary district headquarters composed of four sub-districts. The nominal strength of the station is one sergeant and six constables, in addition to the district inspector and head constable. The salary of the head constable is £91 per annum, with apartments. It is, I am informed, not the case that the head constable does the work of the district inspector; each officer has his own proper work. Steps are being taken to abolish district headquarters which are no longer necessary. Nine have been abolished during the past three years, and further reductions are under consideration. The salary of a district inspector ranges from £125 to £300 per annum. A district inspector also receives allowances for forage, servant, and lodging, amounting to about £130 per annum. He provides his own uniform, and receives no allowance for travelling within his district.

Irish Trade Reports.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Foreign Office is prepared to give every facility for the publication, in a succinct form, of all the special Reports about Irish trade which are now appearing from time to time in the Consular Reports; and whether the Department of Agriculture will on the completion of these Consular Reports for 1905, undertake the publication in one volume of these special references to Irish trade in consequence of the widespread interest they have aroused in Ireland and with a view to stimulating the trade of Ireland with foreign countries.

MR. BRYCE: The Department of Agriculture will consider whether extracts relating to Irish trade taken from the Consular Reports referred to can, with advantage, be collated and reprinted with the Reports on the imports and exports of Ireland for 1905 which will be issued by the Department in the course of this year.

The Royal Irish Constabulary.

MR. REDDY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the retrenchment taking place in the Army and Navy, any steps will be taken to reduce the police in Ireland; whether he is aware that county and district inspectors spend the principal part of their time in sport and amusement while the duties they are supposed to discharge are done by a head constable or sergeant; will he say if the police stations at Bracklin, Crinkle, Killoughy, Kilmalogue, and Clonfanlough, King's County, can be abolished, as these stations are in close proximity to others and in a district free from crime; and whether he is aware that Bracklin is within three miles of Tullamore, where there is a staff of twenty police.

MR. BRYCE: The question of reduction in the Royal Irish Constabulary, in accordance with the scheme prepared in 1903 by the late Government, is under consideration. In that connection, the cases of the stations named in the Question will receive attention. Seven police stations in King's County were abolished last year. The present force at Tullamore station consists of thirteen policemen. I have no reason to think that county or district inspectors, or any members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, permit sport or amusement to interfere with the due discharge of their official duties.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: Has the scheme for the reduction of the Royal Irish Constabulary initiated by the late Government been dropped?

Mr. BRYCE: It has been suspended to a certain extent.

Newcastle (County Down) Foreshore.

Mr. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that at the time of the grant to Earl Annesley of a lease of the foreshore at Newcastle, county Down, an undertaking was given by the Department that the Town Commissioners would be consulted before Earl Annesley would be allowed to remove sand or gravel; and whether the Commissioners were consulted with regard to the permission recently given.

Mr. KEARLEY: I am aware that the undertaking referred to was given, and it has in the opinion of the Board of Trade been carried out. The undertaking was given on May 13th of last year, and soon after the Board of Trade informed the Town Commissioners that Lord Annesley had applied for permission to remove sand and shingle from the foreshore recently leased to him by the Board of Trade. The town commissioners objected to the removal of sand and shingle from any portion of the foreshore within the limits of the township. They pointed out, however, that the northern portion of the leased foreshore is not within the limits of the township, and in regard to this portion they stated they did not desire to make any representation and sand and gravel could be obtained therefrom. In accordance with this suggestion the Board of Trade gave Lord Annesley permission to remove sand or gravel during a period of twelve months from the shore north of the township. They informed the Town Commissioners of their action and received no objection from them. The Board in reply to a recent application have consented to a further limited quantity being removed, but confined to the same northern area. As the Town Commissioners had stated on the previous occasion that they did not desire to make any representation as to the removal of materials from the northern part of the leased foreshore, the Board did not consider it necessary to communicate any further with them.

Mr. MACVEAGH gave notice of a further Question for Monday.

Harbour Grants for Scotland.

Mr. WEIR: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade, having regard to the fact that a Committee was appointed in 1899 to consider applications for monetary grants in aid of harbours, will he state the conditions under which grants are made, the number of applications received for grants in aid of harbours in Scotland, the number of cases in which grants have been made, and the amount of the respective grants.

Mr. KEARLEY: The conditions laid down by the Treasury for the guidance of the Committee in considering applications for such grants are as follows:—(1) That the Local Authority should undertake and should be in a position to ensure the permanent maintenance of the harbour towards the establishment of which the assistance of the State is asked. (2) That of the total amount required for construction, at least two-thirds should be provided from local or outside sources, and that the contribution from the Exchequer should in no case exceed the remaining one-third. (3) That the inquiries of the Committee should be limited to the case of harbours serving or likely to develop a large fishing district either as ports of departure and landing for the fleet, or as providing refuge on parts of the coast whence the nearest existing harbour is so distant as to destroy the value of fishing grounds which produce a good harvest of fish. Since the appointment of the Committee in June, 1899, twenty applications have been received on behalf of harbours in Scotland, and grants have been made or promised in six cases as follows:—Portnockie, £1,500; Fraserburgh, £15,000; Peterhead, £28,000; Macduff, £2,000; Lerwick, £4,500; Wick, £20,000.

Killdysart Postal Service.

Mr. HALPIN (Clare, W.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that letters coming from the commercial centres of Great Britain and Ireland into Ennis for Killdysart by the mid-day mail remain there till the next morning, to the inconvenience of the merchants and farmers of Killdysart and surrounding district; and whether he will have those mid-day mails forwarded to Killdysart.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I will make inquiry on the subject, and will communicate with the hon. Member.

Lisdrumrea Postal Deliveries.

MR. T. SMYTH: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he will grant a daily delivery of letters at Lisdrumrea, which is in the district of Carrick-on-Shannon; and whether, seeing that the inhabitants of this townland suffer inconvenience from not having a daily delivery, and that the rural postman from Drumsna delivers letters daily within half a mile of this district, he will be directed to make the delivery from Drumsna to Lisdrumrea daily instead of having the letters delivered to the latter place from Kilnagross as at present three days in the week.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I am making inquiry on this subject, and will communicate the result to the hon. Member in due course.

Quilty Postal Arrangements.

MR. HALPIN: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether, in connection with the postal system to Quilty, a station on the South Clare Railway, having a large fishing and kelp industry, also a coastguard and a police station, he will have the mails delivered there by morning and mid-day or evening trains, and not have them as at present brought by cyclists in the morning from Miltown Malbay to Spanish Point, Quilty, Mullagh, and Clonadrum, which is an inconvenience to the industries and general public.

I beg further to ask the Postmaster-General whether he will establish a telegraph station at Quilty, on the west coast of Clare, to which a number of messages are sent in connection with the fish-drying and kelp industries, and which would be a near station to Mullagh, Clonadrum, Coore, &c., where the inhabitants have to pay heavy charges for telegrams from the nearest station, viz. Miltown Malbay.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I regret that in view of the large expense already incurred I should not be justified in authorising a second post at Quilty, Mullagh and Clonadrum. There is already a second post to Spanish Point. The question of serving the Quilty district by train and of establishing telegraph business at the Quilty Post Office is still under inquiry and I will communicate further with the hon. Member.

Irish Land Purchase—Stamp Duty.

MR. EDWARD BARRY: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether he is aware that upon the transfer of land purchased under the Land Acts stamp duty is required to be paid not only on the amount of purchase money paid for the tenants' interest, but also on the outstanding amount registered against the land by the Land Commission; and seeing that upon the passage of the Land Act of 1903 the then Attorney-General stated that this practice would not be continued under the new Act, whether steps will be taken to relieve tenant farmers of this double charge on the sale and transfer of their lands.

MR. MCKENNA: I must refer the hon. Member to the Answer which I gave to the hon. Member for the West Division of Waterford on March 28th last.† I have also answered two unstarred Questions on the subject. I can find no trace of the promise referred to in the last part of the Question.

Irish Newspapers at the British Museum.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if his attention has been called to the fact that every issue of Irish newspapers has been sent for years past to the British Museum, whose great difficulty has been found in housing them; whether, in view of the circumstances that these newspapers are of no practical value for purposes of reference or record in England, and of no interest to the English public, he will consider the question of introducing legislation to transfer the old issues of the Irish newspapers to the National Library in Dublin, and also to alter the arrangement with regard to future issues of Irish newspapers, so that they may be sent to the National Library in Dublin instead of to the British Museum in London; if he will state whether any index to the contents of Irish newspapers sent to the British Museum is made, and, if not, in what way are they made available for purposes of reference; and if he can state the yearly average number of the occasions on which reference is made to them under present conditions, and if any record is kept by the Museum in this particular.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cliv., 1288.

MR. McKENNA: Irish newspapers are regularly supplied to the British Museum under the Copyright Act, 1842, and are the property of the trustees. They are housed in the repository at Hendon, with the English Provincial and Scottish and Welsh newspapers. I am informed that there is ample room there for future additions. The collection of Irish newspapers now in the library consists of 760 separate newspapers, bound in 7,680 volumes. They are catalogued in the same manner as the newspapers of England, Scotland, and Wales. The average number of applications made by readers for Irish newspapers during the last five years amounts to 300 each year, or about six newspapers each week.

In reply to a further question,

MR. McKENNA said it would require a change in the law before the present practice could be altered. He would consider the desirability of altering it.

The Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (Expenses).

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, having regard to the fact that a sum of £220 is placed on the Civil Service Supplementary Estimates under Class 7, for repayment to the Civil Contingencies Fund, in respect of special steamers and trains for conveyance of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, will he state whether any of this expenditure was incurred when the late Government was in office; and, if so, how much.

MR. McKENNA: Half this expenditure is in respect of the State Departure of the late Lord-Lieutenant and half in respect of the State entry of the present Lord-Lieutenant.

Naval Policy.

MR. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the Prime Minister whether the two-Power standard is the one on which the new naval programme for two years is framed; whether it means, as has hitherto been the case, a margin of safety over the two strongest European Powers in the number of efficient battleships and a large superiority in cruisers; and whether he can state in what respect does the standard under which the new naval programme was framed differ from the one considered by the Sea Lords of the Admiralty when they laid down the minimum requirements of the country in the memorandum of 30th November, 1905.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Stirling Burghs): The new shipbuilding programme was framed after careful consideration of the programmes of the various foreign Powers, and the recent changes made in them; no new standard has been adopted, and it is considered equal to all the requirements of the nation.

MR. BELLAIRS asked the Prime Minister whether he had communicated to the Admiralty his view that the standard of France and Germany was a preposterous one?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I think they are quite aware of my views.

CABS AND OMNIBUSES (METROPOLIS.)

Report from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence, brought up, and read.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 295.]

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Second Report, brought up, and read.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 296.]

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Bills of Exchange Act (1882) Amendment Bill; Isle of Man (Customs) Bill, without Amendment; Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Bill; Open Spaces Bill; Dogs Bill; Labourers (Ireland) Bill.

FERTILISERS AND FEEDING STUFFS BILL.

Lords Amendments to be considered upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 335.]

DOGS BILL.

Lords Amendments to be considered upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 336.]

LABOURERS (IRELAND) BILL.

Lords Amendments to be considered To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 338.]

NEW BILL.

SEA FISHERIES (SCOTLAND) (APPLICATION OF PENALTIES) BILL.

"To provide for the payment to the Fishery Board for Scotland of the penalties or other monies recovered in respect of illegal sea fishing in Scotland," presented by Mr. Sinclair; to be read a second time upon Tuesday, October 23rd, and to be printed. [Bill 337.]

SUPPLY [19TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. EMMOTT (Oldham) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1906–7.

CLASS II.

1. Motion made,and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £29,050, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, including a Grant in Aid of certain Expenses connected with Emigration."

*THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. CHURCHILL, Manchester, N.W.): It is my duty this afternoon, on behalf of the Government, to lay before the Committee the outline and character of the constitutional settlement which we have in contemplation in regard to the lately annexed colonies in South Africa. This is, I suppose, upon the whole, the most considerable business with which this new Parliament has had to deal. But although no one will deny its importance, or undervalue the keen emotions and anxieties which it excites on both sides of the House, and the solemn memories which it revives, yet I am persuaded that there is no reason why we should be hotly, sharply, or bitterly divided on the subject; on the contrary, I think its very importance makes it incumbent on all who participate in the discussion—and I will certainly be bound by my own precepts—to cultivate and observe a studious avoidance of anything likely to excite the ordinary recriminations and rejoinders of Party politics and partisanship. After all, there is no real difference of principle between the two great historic Parties on this question. The late Government have repeatedly declared that it was their intention at the earliest possible moment—laying great stress upon that phrase—to extend representative and responsible institutions to the new Colonies; and before His Majesty's present advisers took office the only question in dispute was, When? On the debate on the Address, the right hon. Member for West Birmingham—whose absence to-day and its cause I am quite sure are regretted in all parts of the House—spoke on this question with his customary breadth of view and courage of thought. He said—

> "The responsibility for this decision lies with the Government now in power. They have more knowledge than we have; and if they consider it safe to give this large grant, and if they turn out to be right no one will be better pleased than we. I do not think that, although important, this change should be described as a change in colonial policy, but as continuity of colonial policy."

If, then, we are agreed upon the principle, I do not think that serious or vital differences can arise upon the method. Because, after all, no one can contend that it is right to extend responsible government, but not to extend it fairly. No one can contend that it is right to grant the forms of free institutions and yet to preserve by some device the means of control. And so I should hope that we may proceed in this debate without any acute divergences becoming revealed. I am in a position to-day only to announce the decision to which the Government have come with respect to the Transvaal. The case of the Transvaal is urgent, for it is the nerve-centre of South Africa. It is the arena in which all questions of South African politics—social, moral, racial, and economic—are fought out; and this new country, so lately reclaimed from the wilderness, with a white population of less than 300,000 souls, already reproduces in perfect miniature all those dark, tangled, and conflicting problems usually to be found in populous and old-established European States. The case of the Transvaal differs fundamentally from the case of the Orange River Colony. The latter has been in the past, and will be again in the future, a tranquil agricultural State, pursuing under a wise and tolerant Government a happy destiny of its own. All I have to say about the Orange River Colony this afternoon is this—that there will be no unnecessary delay in the granting to the Orange River Colony of a Constitution; and that in the granting of that Constitution we shall be animated only by a desire to secure a fair representation of all classes of inhabitants in the country, and to give effective expression to the will of the majority.

When we came into office, we found a Constitution already prepared by the right hon. Member for St. George's, Hanover-square. That Constitution is no more. I hope the right hon Gentleman will not suspect me of any malevolence towards his offspring. I would have nourished and fostered it with a tender care; but life was already extinct. It had ceased to breathe even before it was born; but I trust the right hon. Gentleman will console himself by remembering that there are many possibilities of constitutional settlements lying before him in the future. After all, the Abbé Sieyes, when the Constitution of 1791 was broken into pieces, was very little younger than the right hon. Gentleman, and he had time to make and survive two new Constitutions. Frankly, what I may, for brevity's sake, call the Lyttelton Constitution was utterly unworkable. It surrendered the machinery of power; it preserved the whole burden of responsibility and administration. Nine official gentlemen, without Parliamentary experience, and I daresay without Parliamentary aptitudes, without the support of that nominated majority, which I am quite convinced that the right hon. Member for West Birmingham had always contemplated in any scheme of representative government, and without the support of an organised party, were to be placed in a chamber of thirty-five elected members who possessed the power of the purse. The Boers would either have abstained altogether from participating in that Constitution, or they would have gone in only for the purpose of wrecking it. The British party was split into two sections, and one section, the Responsibles, made public declarations of their intentions to bring about a constitutional deadlock by obstruction and refusing supplies, and all the other apparatus of Parliamentary discontent. In fact the Constitution of the right hon. Gentleman seemed bound inevitably to conjure up that nightmare of all modern politicians, government resting on consent, and consent not forthcoming. As I told the House in May, His Majesty's Government thought it their duty to review the whole question. We thought it our duty and our right to start fair, free, and untrammelled, and we have treated the Lyttelton Constitution as if it had never been. One guiding principle has animated His Majesty's Government in their policy—to make no difference in this grant of responsible government between Boer and Briton in South Africa. We propose to extend to both races the fullest privileges and rights of British citizenship; and we intend to make no discrimination in the grant of that great boon between the men who have fought most loyally for us and those who have resisted the British arms with the most desperate courage. By the Treaty of Vereeniging, in which the peace between the Dutch and British races was declared for ever, by Article 1 of that treaty the flower of the Boer nation and its most renowned leaders recognised the lawful authority of His Majesty, King Edward VII., and henceforth, from that moment, British supremacy in South Africa stood on the sure foundations of military honour and warlike achievement, far beyond the reach of any transference of one or two seats, this way or that way, in a local Parliament. This decision in favour of even-handed dealing arises from no ingratitude on our part towards those who have nobly sustained the British cause in years gone by. It involves no injustice to the British population of the Transvaal. As will be seen from the statement I am about to make, we have been careful at every point of this constitutional settlement to secure for the British every advantage that they may justly claim. But the future of South Africa, and, I will add, its permanent inclusion in the British Empire, demand that the King should be equally Sovereign of both races, and that both races should learn to look upon this country as their friend.

Now, Sir, at the beginning of the session the Prime Minister announced that he had decided to send a Committee of Inquiry to South Africa. That Committee has now returned. I would pay some tribute to the work it has accomplished. From every side, from the Boer leaders, from the Progressive Association, testimony has come to the tact, patience, and courtesy and fair dealing which have been exhibited by the members of that Committee. I am not prepared to admit on behalf of the Colonial Office that the Committee brought us back new information on points on which we should have been properly informed. But the Committee has brought us back most valuable intelligence as to the position of the different South African parties, and of their opinions in regard to the various constitutional solutions which have been proposed. The Report of the Committee has only this day been laid before us, signed and complete, but we have had before us from time to time while the Committee was at work in South Africa, and since it returned, very full and detailed information of all their doings and all their opinions, and we are consequently enabled to make a statement of policy in anticipation of the publication of their Report which has not yet been in its final form considered from that point of view by the Cabinet. When I last spoke in this House on the question of the South African constitution, I took occasion to affirm the excellence of the general principle, one vote one value. I pointed out that it was a logical and unimpeachable principle to act upon; that the only safe rule for doing justice between man and man was to assume—a large assumption in some cases—that all men are equal and that all discriminations between them are unhealthy and undemocratic. The principle of one vote one value can be applied and realised in this country, either upon the basis of population, or upon the basis of voters. It makes no difference which is selected; for there is no part of this country which is more married, or more prolific than another, and exactly the same distribution, and exactly the same number of Members would result whether the voters or the population basis were taken in a Redistribution Bill. But in South Africa the disparity of conditions between the new population and the old makes a very great difference between the urban and the rural populations, and it is undoubtedly true that if it be desired to preserve the principle of one vote one value, it is the voter's basis and not the population basis that must be taken in the Transvaal—and that is the basis which His Majesty's Government have determined to adopt.

The right hon. Gentleman the Member for St. George's, Hanover Square, had proposed to establish a franchise qualification of £100 annual value. That is not nearly such a high property qualification as it would be in this country. I do not quarrel with the right hon. Gentleman's constitution on the ground that his franchise was not perfectly fair, or not a perfectly *bona fide* and generous measure of representation. But it is undoubtedly true that a property qualification of £100 annual value told more severely against the Boers than against the British, because living in the towns is so expensive that almost everybody who lives in the towns, and who is not utterly destitute, has a property qualification of £100 annual value. But in the country districts there are numbers of men, very poor but perfectly respectable and worthy citizens—day labourers, farmers' sons, and others—who would not have that qualification, and who consequently would have been excluded by the property qualification, low as it is having regard to the conditions in South Africa. Quite apart from

South African questions and affairs, His Majesty's Government profess a strong preference for the principle of manhood suffrage as against any property qualification, and we have therefore determined that manhood suffrage shall be the basis on which votes are distributed. It is quite true that in the prolonged negotiations and discussions which have taken place upon this question, manhood suffrage has been demanded by one party and the voters' basis by the other, and there has been a tacit, though quite informal agreement that the one principle should balance the other. But that is not the position of His Majesty's Government in regard to either of these propositions. We defend both on their merits. We defend one vote one value and we defend manhood suffrage strictly on their merits as just and equitable principles between man and man throughout the Transvaal. We have therefore decided that all adult males of twenty-one years of age, who have resided in the Transvaal for six months, who do not belong to either the officers or the soldiers of the British garrison—because that is a provision, as the right hon. Gentleman recognises, which was manifestly necessary if injustice is to be avoided—should be permitted to vote under the secrecy of the ballot for the election of Members of Parliament.

Now there is one subject to which I must refer incidentally. The question of female suffrage has been brought to the notice of various Members of the Government on various occasions and in various ways. We have very carefully considered that matter, and we have come to the conclusion that it would not be right for us to subject a young colony, unable to speak for itself, to the hazards of an experiment which we have not had the gallantry to undergo ourselves; and we shall leave that quesion to the new legislature to determine.

I come now to the question of electoral divisions. There are two alternatives before us on this branch of the subject—equal electoral areas or the old magisterial districts. When I say "old," I mean old in the sense that they are existing magisterial districts. There are arguments for both these courses. Equal electoral areas have the advantage of being symmetrical and are capable of more strict and mathematical distribution. But the Boers have expressed a very strong desire to have the old magisterial districts preserved. [An HON. MEMBER: Of course they do.] I think it is rather a sentimental view on their part, because upon the whole I think the wastage of Boer votes will, owing to excessive plurality in certain divisions, be slightly greater in the old magisterial districts than in the electoral areas. But the Boers have been very anxious that the old areas of their fomer constitution of their local life should be interfered with as little as possible, and that is a matter of serious concern to His Majesty's Government. Further, there is this great advantage, which I am sure the right hon. Gentleman, though he may not recognise the value of the other argument, will not deny, that there is a great saving of precious time and expense in avoiding the extra work of new delimitation which would be necessary if the country were to be cut up into equal mathematical electoral areas. [1]The decision to adopt the old magisterial areas, which divides the Transvaal into sixteen electoral divisions, of which the Witwatersrand is only one, involves another question. How are you to sub-divide these magisterial districts for the purpose of allocating Members? Some will have two, some three, some a number of Members, and on what system will you allocate the Members to these divisions? We have considered the question of proportional representation. It is the only perfect way in which minorities of every shade and view and interest can receive effective representation. And Lord Elgin was careful to instruct the Committee as a special point to inquire into the possibility of adopting the system of proportional representation. The Committee examined many witnesses, and went most thoroughly into this question. They, however, advise us that there is absolutely no support for such a proposal in the Transvaal, and that its adoption—I will not say its imposition—would be unpopular and incomprehensible throughout the country. If a scientific or proportional representation cannot be

Mr. Churchill.

adopted, then I say unhesitatingly that the next best way of protecting minorities is to go straight for single Member seats. Some of us have experience of double-barrelled seats — a not very pleasant experience—in this country; there used to be several three-barrelled seats. But I am convinced that if either of those two systems had been applied to the electoral divisions of the Transvaal, it would only have led to the swamping of one or two local minorities with which single Member divisions would have returned just that very class of moderate, independent Dutch or British Members whom we particularly desire to see represented in the new Assembly. Therefore, with the desire of not extinguishing these local minorities, His Majesty's Government have decided that single Member constituencies, or man against man, shall be the rule in the Transvaal. But I should add that the sub-division of these electoral districts into their respective constituencies will not proceed upon hard mathematical lines, but that they will be grouped together in accordance with the existing field cornetcies of which they are composed, as that will involve as little change as possible in the ideas of the rural population, and in the existing boundaries.

The Committee will realise that this is a question with an elusive climax. It is like going up a mountain. Each successive peak appears in turn the summit, and yet there is always another pinnacle beyond. We have now settled that the Members are to be allotted to single Member constituencies based on the old magisterial districts according to the adult male residents there. But how are we to apply that principle? How are we to find out how many adult males there are in each of the districts of the country and so to find the quota of electors or proper number of Members for each division? The proverbial three alternatives present themselves. We might take the Lyttelton voters' list. We might take a new voters' list, or we might take the census of 1904. Now, how are we to choose between these alternatives? We have been much urged by some of the leaders of the Progressive Party to adopt the Lyttelton voters' list. We are told that it is comparatively recent; that it was framed on official authority; and that it would be easy to add to it the extra voters under the extended suffrage. It is calculated that thirty-six Members would be accorded on that list to the Rand, against thirty-four from the rest of the country, or an absolute majority from the Rand against all other interests and districts in the country. Whether that would be a desirable conclusion to our labours I do not say; but I am bound to admit that the Lyttelton voters' list lies under grave suspicion. I do not make any charge against my right hon. friend in this respect. I am quite certain that he would not lend himself to any electoral fraud, however pious; but it is undoubtedly a fact that one of the political parties in the Transvaal has made strenuous exertions to have as many electors as possible put on the electoral list, and that these exertions have received such a very singular measure of success that there are 3,000 more voters with a property qualification on the electoral list than there were adult males in the same area in 1904. In reply to that curious observation we are told that the population has increased since 1904. We are further told that although during the last eight months there has been a shrinking, a diminution of the population, yet that in the preceding period between the census and the accession of the Liberal Government to power the increase was so large that it exceeded the decrease which has since taken place. Well, I am bound to say that the Committee, the Secretary of State, and the Cabinet as a whole, having carefully examined this matter, cannot feel convinced in regard to this increase. I believe that there had been some small net increase but not sufficient to justify the figures of the Lyttelton voters' list. Certainly it has not been sufficient to remove the suspicion with which that voters' list is regarded. It would be fatal to our whole policy in South Africa if we were to weaken our grant of self-government by founding it on a system open to grave suspicion. The Boers have urged that if this list is adopted it should be carefully scrutinised. The "Responsible" section of the British Party holds the same opinion. The

Committee have told us that they have not been able to resist the fairness of such a request. Lord Selborne, although not admitting any irregularity, is of the opinion that it is indispensable that if that list is to be employed as the all-important basis for the allocation of seats, it should be scrutinised and revised. And if it is to be revised, and if there are to be added to it supplementary voters, Lord Selborne has pointed out to us that it might take just as long a time as to make a new voters' list, which would occupy seven months. So that with the necessary interval for the arrangements for election, ten months would elapse before the Transvaal would be able to possess responsible institutions. I think we shall have the assent of all South African parties in our desire to avoid that delay. I am sorry that so much delay has already taken place, but it was necessary. The responsibilities we have incurred in this matter are very great. We are quite prepared to bear them. We do not seek to shelter ourselves behind the Committee, or behind South African parties, or behind the High Commissioner. The responsibility rests with the Cabinet and it was necessary that the Cabinet should secure complete information. But to keep a country seething on the verge of an exciting general election is very prejudicial to trade. It increases agitation and impedes the healthy process of development. We are therefore bound to terminate the uncertainty at the earliest possible moment; and we have therefore determined to adopt the census of 1904.

Let me ask the Committee now to examine the sixteen magisterial districts. I think it is necessary to do so before allocating the Members amongst them. In all the discussions in South Africa these have been divided into three areas—the Witwatersrand, Pretoria, and the "Rest of the Transvaal." Pretoria is the metropolis of the Transvaal. It has a very independent public opinion of its own; it is strongly British, and it is rapidly increasing. It is believed that Pretoria will return three, four, or five Members of the Responsible Party, which is the moderate British party, and is independent of and detached from the Progressive Association. The "Rest of the Transvaal" consists of the old constituencies who sent Boer Members to the old Legislature. There will, however, be one or two seats which may be won by Progressive or Responsible British candidates, but in general the rest of the country will return a compact body of Members of Het Volk. Having said that I now come to the Rand. We must consider the Rand without any bias or prejudice whatever. The Rand is not a town or city, but a mining district covering 1,600 square miles, and whose population of adult males practically balances the whole of the rest of the country. The Rand population is not as some people imagine a foreign population. The great majority of it is British, and a very large portion of it consists of as good, honest, hard-working men as are to be found in any constituency in this country. But there are also on the Rand a considerable proportion of Dutch. Krugersdorp Rural is Dutch and has always been excluded from the Rand in the discussions that have taken place in South Africa and included in the "Rest of the Transvaal." But in addition to that there are the towns of Fordsburgh, which is half-Dutch, Elsbury, which has a considerable Dutch population, and another suburb which also has a Dutch population; and it is believed that the e will afford seats for Members of the Responsible British Party with the support of Het Volk. I must say further that the British community upon the Rand is divided into four main political parties. There is the Transvaal Progressive Association, a great and powerful association which arises out of the mining interest. There is the Responsible Government Association; there is the Transvaal Political Association—a moderate body standing between the Responsibles and the Progressives—and there are the labour associations, which are numerous. There are three main labour associations, or really four—the Independent Labour Party, the Transvaal Labour League, the Trade and Labour Council of the Witwatersrand, and the Trade and Labour Council of Pretoria. The first two of these, I understand, are now amalgamating to form a more consolidated and powerful independent labour party. Why do I bring these facts before the Committee? I do it because I feel it necessary to establish these solid and concrete facts in order to show how impossible it is to try to dismiss the problems of this complicated community with a gesture or to solve their difficulties with a phrase, and how unfair it would be to deprive such a community, in which there are at work all these counterchecks and rival forces that we see here in our own political life, of its proper share of representation in the country. Applying the adult male list in the census of 1904 to the three areas I have spoken of, I should allot thirty-two members to the Rand, six to Pretoria, and thirty to the rest of the country; or, if you include Krugersdorp Rural in the Rand, it would read thirty-three to the Rand, six to Pretoria, and twenty-nine to the rest of the country. Arrived at that point, the Committee in South Africa had good hopes, not merely of arriving at a just settlement, but of arriving at an agreement between all the parties. I am not going to afflict the House with a chronicle of the negotiations which took place. They were fruitless. A great deal of what took place was without prejudice, and much of what was said and of what was written may be said to be privileged. Although His Majesty's Government and the Committee have no apprehension whatever in regard to anything that may be published, we will not ourselves be the origin and source from which disclosures of the negotiations and the abortive discussions are made, unless we are provoked thereto by partial publication. It is enough to say that there were good hopes that if the Progressive complaint, that the adoption of the census of 1904 did not allow for the increase in the population that has taken place since the census was taken, could be met, a general agreement could be reached. The Boers, whose belief that we were going to treat them fairly and justly has been a pleasant feature in the whole of these negotiations, and will, believe me, be an inestimable factor of value in the future history of South Africa—the Boers with reluctance and under pressure, but guided by the Committee, with whom they were on friendly terms, were willing to agree to a distribution which allotted one more seat to meet this increase of the population in the Witwatersrand area, and the proposal then became 33, 6, and 30, or, including Krugersdorp Rural, 34, 6, 29. The Responsible Party agreed to that. The Progressives hesitated. The great majority of them certainly wished to come in and come to a general agreement on those terms. Certain leaders, however, stood out for one or two or three seats more, and, although Lord Selborne expressed the opinion that the arrangement proposed, namely, 33, 6, 30, excluding Krugersdorp Rural, was a perfectly fair one to the British vote in the Transvaal, those leaders still remained unconvinced and obdurate, and all hopes of a definite agreement fell through. The Committee returned to this country, bringing with them the recommendation that the Government on their own responsibility should fix the allocation of seats at that very point where the agreement of one Party was still preserved and where the agreement of the other was so very nearly won. And that is what we have decided to do. We have decided to allocate thirty-four seats, including Krugersdorp Rural, to the Rand, six to Pretoria, and twenty-nine to the rest of the country. Lord Selborne wishes it to be known that he concurs in this arrangement. He has this day telegraphed:—

> "The distribution of seats represents as nearly as possible the distribution which would result on the basis of voters in equal electoral districts from the formation of a new voters' roll based on adult male British subject franchise, and, this being so, the adoption of these terms should save several months' delay, and the advent of self-government should be antedated by several months."

AN HON. MEMBER: There is no agreement there.

*MR. CHURCHILL: I should say Lord Selborne has telegraphed saying he agrees that this is a fair and just settlement.

MR. LYTTELTON (St. George's, Hanover Square): As to this point?

*MR. CHURCHILL: As to the number of seats distributed between the different areas, which is the vital point of the whole discussion. Now I am quite ready to admit that every Constitution ought to rest either upon symmetry or upon acceptance. Our Constitution does not rest upon either symmetry or acceptance but it is very near symmetry and very near acceptance, and in so far as it has departed from symmetry it has moved towards acceptance, and is furthermore sustained throughout by fair dealing, for I am honestly convinced that the addition of an extra member to the Witwatersrand areas which has been made is justified by the increase of the population which has taken place since the census.

On such a basis as this the Transvaal Assembly will be created. It will consist of sixty-nine Members, who will receive for their services adequate payment. I believe it will be £200 and so much for every day's attendance; but I must not be understood to speak with any authority on that point. They will be elected for five years. The Speaker will vacate his seat after being elected. The reason for that provision is that the majority in this Parliament as in the Cape Parliament, with which the Government is carried on, is likely to be very small, and it would be a great hardship if the party in power were to deprive itself of one of the two or three votes which, when parties are evenly balanced, are necessary for carrying on the Government. It would be a great disaster if we had in the Transvaal a succession of weak Ministries going out upon a single vote, one way or the other. And it is found that when parties have a very small majority and are forced to part with one of their Members for the purpose of filling the chair, they do not always select the Member who is best suited to that high office, but the Member who can best be spared.

Now let me come to the question of language. Under the Constitution of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for St. George's, Hanover Square, the Members of the Assembly would have been permitted to speak Dutch if they asked permission and obtained permission from the Speaker. We are not able to lend ourselves to that condition. We are of opinion that such a discrimination would be invidious. The recognition of their language is precious to a small people. I think it was the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon who, at Question time the other day, invited me to work myself into a passion because in some part or other of the Cape Colony there were some Dutch people who wished to have Dutch teachers to teach Dutch children Dutch. We should regret intolerant action of any kind; and I am sure the right hon. Gentleman would do so, in theory at least. But on this side of the House we have not so poor an opinion of the English language, with its priceless literary treasures and its world-wide business connections, as not to believe that it can safely be exposed to the open competition of a dialect like the *taal.* We believe that the only sure way to preserve in the years that are to come such a language as the *taal* would be to make it a proscribed language, which would be spoken by the people with deliberation and with malice as a protest against what they regarded, and would rightly regard, as an act of intolerance. Therefore we have decided to follow the Cape practice and allow the members of the Transvaal Parliament to address that Assembly indifferently in Dutch or English. I shall be asked what will be the result of the arrangement that we have made. I decline to speculate or prophesy on that point. It would be indecent and improper. I cannot even tell in this country at the next election how large the Liberal majority will be. Still less would I recommend hon. Gentlemen here to forecast the results of contests in which they will not be candidates. I cannot tell how the British in the Transvaal will vote. There are a great many new questions, social and economic, which are beginning to apply a salutary counter-irritant to old racial sores. The division between the two races, thank God, is not quite so clear cut as it used to be. But this I know—that as there are undoubtedly more British voters in the Transvaal than there are Dutch, and as these British voters have not at any point been treated unfairly, it will be easily within their power to obtain a British majority if they decide or desire to obtain it. I am one of those who share the hope that the

Government that will be called into life by these elections will be a coalition Government with some moderate leader acceptable to both Parties, and a Government which embraces in its Party Members of both races. Such a solution would be a godsend to South Africa. But whatever may be the outcome, His Majesty's Government are confident that the Ministers who may be summoned, from whatever Party they may be drawn, to whatever race they may belong, will in no circumstances fail in their duty to the Crown. I should like to say also that this Parliament will be of a high representative authority, and it will be the duty of whoever may be called upon to represent Colonial business in this House to stand between that Parliament and all unjustifiable interference from whatever quarters of the House it may come.

There are several subordinate but important matters which require the close attention of the Committee. First of all there is the position of the Intercolonial Council. That council consists of twenty-six members, of whom sixteen are officials and ten—six from the Transvaal and four from the Orange River Colony—are unofficial, and members of the Legislative Councils of these two Colonies. This body deals with the railways in the two Colonies, is responsible for the administration of the guaranteed loan and the payment of the interest on that loan, and it also administers the constabulary. We value the Intercolonial Council because we see in it the nucleus of that federation which may some day settle many South African questions, place native issues beyond the range of local panics, and secure a steadier and more generous administration. But we feel that it would be inconsistent with our views of responsible government to tie the hands of the local Assemblies in dealing with the Intercolonial Council; and we have therefore inserted a clause in the Letters Patent which enables either colony to recede from and consequently determine the Intercolonial Council on giving, I think, one year's notice.

I now approach the question of the Second Chamber. That is not a very attractive subject. We on this side of the House are not particularly enamoured of Second Chambers, and I do not know that our love for these institutions will grow sweeter as the years pass by. But we have to be governed by colonial practice; and there is no colony in the Empire that has not a Second Chamber. The greater number of these Second Chambers are nominated; and I think that the quality of nominated Second Chambers, and their use in practice, have not been found to be inferior to those of the elective bodies. His Majesty's Government desire to secure, if they can, some special protection for native interests which is not likely to be afforded by any electoral arrangement, I am sorry to say; and we are encouraged in that respect by what took place in the Second Chamber of Natal. The poll tax as sent up by the Lower House was imposed solely upon natives, and the Second Chamber, taking a broader view of the question, removed at any rate the invidious character of the tax, by extending it to all males in Natal. We are unable to countenance the creation in a permanent form of a nominated Second Chamber. But for the first Parliament only, in view of the position of native affairs, in view of the disadvantage of complicating the elections, to which all classes in the Transvaal have been so long looking forward, and most particularly because of the extra delays that would be involved in the creation of an elective body, the Cabinet have resolved for this Parliament only and as a purely provisional arrangement, to institute a nominated Legislative Council of fifteen Members. They will be nominated by the Crown, that is to say at home, and vacancies, if any, by death or resignation, will be filled by the High Commissioner, on the advice of the responsible Minister. But during the course of the first Parliament in the Transvaal arrangements will be completed for the establishment of an elective Second Chamber, and if necessary further Letters Patent will be issued to constitute it.

Now I come to the question of the natives. Under the Treaty of Vereeniging we undertook that no franchise should be extended to natives before the grant of self-government. I am not going to plunge into the argument as to what "native" means or as to its legal or technical character, because in regard to such a treaty, upon which we are relying for such grave issues, we must be bound by the interpretation which the other Party places upon it; and it is undoubted that the Boers would regard it as a breach of that treaty if the franchise were in the first instance extended to any persons who are not white men as opposed to coloured people. We may regret that decision. We may regret that there is no willingness in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony to make arrangements which have been found not altogether harmful in Cape Colony. But we are bound by this treaty. Meanwhile we make certain reservations. Any legislation which imposes disabilities on natives which are not imposed on Europeans will be reserved to the Secretary of State, and the Governor will not give his assent before receiving the Secretary of State's decision. Legislation that will effect the alienation of native lands will also be reserved. It is customary to make some provision in money for native interests, such as education, by reserving a certain sum for administration by the High Commissioner or some other political or Imperial official. I am not yet in a position to state what form that provision will take; but the Government are fully alive to their responsibilities in that matter. We propose to reserve Swaziland to the direct administration of the High Commissioner. Everyone who is acquainted with South African affairs knows that Swaziland is in a condition of unrest; and that very vexatious difficulties have arisen from the abominable and foolish concessions that were granted on all sides by the late King Umbandine. A Commission has sat to try to regularise these concessions and to limit or define the evils lying behind them. I would recommend hon. Members to read the White Paper published last week giving an account of Lord Selborne's tours in Bechuanaland, for it is in pleasing contrast with a good deal of the literature we have been forced to read in connection with South Africa. That Paper shows the keen and lively interest which Lord Selborne takes in this aspect of his onerous duties, and proves that the Secretary of State has acted wisely in authorising him to deal personally with the difficulties which have arisen in Swaziland, with the limiting provision that no settlement he may make is to be less advantageous to the natives than the existing arrangement.

I come now to the question of Chinese labour. I have been asked a great many questions about the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association. That association was a voluntary union of all the employers of native labour on the Rand, and it enjoyed practically a monopoly of recruiting. Lately there have been complaints from certain mines. They wished to break away from this association and to recruit independently. The Government have no intention or desire to reinstitute what is called free recruiting. The evils of that system to the natives and the abuses which follow in its train are patent to us all. But we think that between free recruiting and a monopoly of recruiting there ought to be a middle course, and room for several respectable and reputable recruiting bodies. We have received requests from the Robinson group of mines that they should be allowed equal facilities with the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association. Lord Selborne has satisfied himself of the respectability of the agents whom it is proposed to employ. My right hon. friend the Foreign Secretary has approached the Portuguese Government, who have met us with great courtesy and with more than diplomatic celerity, and the Governor-General of Mozambique has been instructed to extend to this recruiting body the same facilities as were enjoyed by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association. It is to be hoped that this arrangement will have the effect of increasing, without abuses, the supply of native labour, and in the expectation of such an increase the Robinson group of mines have notified us that they will forthwith surrender the 3,000 outstanding licences for Chinese which they hold, so that I think we shall be able to say, with the heavy wastage going on and which will be increased by the vigorous repatriation of bad characters, that the coolie population on the Rand will not have been greatly increased during the difficult transition period in which we shall have been responsible for the administration of the Ordinance. It will be possible with the increase, if any, of native labour, to employ a larger proportion of white men in association with Kaffir labour, we cannot say how large a proportion—whether 20, 30, or 40 per cent, ; but an experiment is going to be tried on one of the Robinson mines to see how high a proportion of white labour can be profitably employed in association with Kaffir labour. The Government will watch that experiment with interest and sympathy, and the House will realize that it will be an honest and *bona fide* experiment when I say that the man to whom it is to be entrusted is Mr. Creswell.

Now I return to the general drift of my argument. On November 30, 1906, the arrangement for recruiting Chinese in China will cease and determine, and our consuls will withdraw the powers they have delegated, and I earnestly trust that no British Government will ever renew them. A clause in the Constitution will provide, in accordance with the pledge given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for the abrogation of the existing Chinese Labour Ordinance after a reasonable interval. I am not yet in a position to say what will be a reasonable interval, but time must be given to the new assembly to take stock of the position and to consider the labour question as a whole. I said just now there would be a clause with regard to differential legislation as between white persons and other, and to this clause will be added the words—

> "No law will be assented to which sanctions any condition of service or residence of a servile character."

We have been invited to use the word "slavery" or the words "semblance of slavery," but such expressions would be needlessly wounding, and the words we have chosen are much more effective, because much more precise and much more restrained, and they point an accurate forefinger at the very evil we desire to prevent.

I have still a threefold project to expain to the House. Attention has been drawn to the case of the settlers under the land settlement schemes in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony. In the Transvaal land settlement has been only a qualified success, but in the Orange River Colony, where more elaborate methods have been tried, good results have been obtained; and quite apart from the economic results, a new and valuable element of population has been introduced into the country which tend to mitigate the asperity of racial distinctions by creating a class of British farmers whose interests are similar to and associated with those of their Boer fellow-subjects. The settlers have expressed anxiety in regard to the constitutional arrangement we are making. We do not share that anxiety, but we are anxious to remove it. It would be a great pity if, through the discouragement of the settlers, results which have been obtained at great cost were to be wasted and swept away. Now we should desire to interpose an administrative screen between the mortgagor and mortgagee in such a way as to secure to the settlers that sympathetic administration which is an integral and essential portion of the original conditions under which they received their land and undertook their holding. We believe that machinery can most easily be provided by the creation of a Land Board under the High Commisioner to administer the funds allocated to the purpose of land settlement. What are those funds? There were £3,000,000 allotted out of the guaranteed loan. Of this sum £2,500,000 have been expended in the purchase of land or employed for the time being in loans to settlers. The law officers of the Crown have expressed the opinion, and it is an important ruling, that in proportion as those sums of money are repaid by the settlers they must be devoted to further purposes of land settlement to which they were ear-marked, or else they must go in diminution of the total debt charge of £35,000,000, of which this country is the guarantor. That is a very important fact which will be appreciated in South Africa; but we should not think it right to erect the machinery of such a Land Board without receiving satisfactory assurances that its creation was agreeable to all parties in the two colonies. But if general consent be obtained, I am confident that real benefits will be secured to South Africa if, instead of these sums of money as they are repaid going to the amortization of the debt, they remain devoted to South African purposes, and continue to add year by year to the population and development of the rural districts.

I come to the second point. It has been brought to the notice of my noble friend that there are a certain number of hard cases which have arisen out of the settlement of war losses and compensation claims. His Majesty's Government admit no liability in the matter. The injuries of war are irreparable and incommensurable, and it is idle to suggest that afterwards we can go round and liquidate them by money payments. This country has already provided, quite apart from the guaranteed loan, £9,500,000 for various purposes of enabling the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony to regain their condition of economic prosperity, and we are not prepared to ask the House of Commons to vote any more. Anything like a general reopening of these compensation claims would be disastrous to South Africa and would be viewed with consternation by all those responsible for its government. Nevertheless, I am willing to admit that there are certain special cases where persons have suffered, or suppose themselves to have suffered, injustice through the perfectly honest working of the rules which guided the Central Judicial Commission, and that the decisions of that Commission have involved certain persons in acute physical want and suffering. We should earnestly desire that these cases should receive the further consideration of the Colonial Governments.

Now I reach the third point. The House will remember that when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham was in South Africa he obtained a promise from certain influential gentlemen in Johannesburg to pay a sum of £30,000,000, and that this would be a debt charge on the Transvaal, with a smaller sum of £5,000,000 on the Orange River Colony, and that this should go in diminution of the war debt created in this country. Such a promise had, of course, no regular authority. These gentlemen had no representative right to speak for the population of the Transvaal. But it is an undoubted fact that it was in consideration of this promise, and in virtue of this undertaking, this House was persuaded to give the British guarantee to the £35,000,000 guaranteed loan, and as a result of that guarantee the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony budgets have been benefited to the extent of at least £350,000 a year. There would seem, therefore, to be not a legal obligation, but something in the nature of a moral or honourable obligation, upon these colonies in respect of this contribution. I should like also to point out that while the British Government do not waive, formally, their claim to payment under these heads, the borrowing powers of both Colonies will be sensibly impaired, if not, indeed, entirely suspended. We do not desire to deal in a grasping spirit with the youngest colonies in the British Empire. Suggestions have reached us from various quarters, Boer and British, that a release from this obligation would be gratefully welcomed by all parties in South Africa. We have been asked whether the guarantors—those who promised to underwrite the first £10,000,000 at 4 per cent.—would not transfer their obligations to a loan necessarily much smaller, to be expended, not in relieving the British taxpayer or in reducing the National Debt, but on certain South African objects which are agreeable both to the British and Boer populations, and in which His Majesty's present advisers take a keen and lively interest. I am not prepared to make, on behalf of the Government or on behalf of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, any offer or promise of a definite or final character, but we are convinced that there are in these proposals the elements of an arrangement that would withdraw some of the embarrassing and perplexing questions from South African politics, and effect their settlement in a manner agreeable to all parties concerned. We propose, therefore, to instruct Lord Selborne to ascertain by immediate inquiry what the views of South African statesmen upon the outlines of the arrangement which I have proposed are likely to be.

I have now finished laying before the House the constitutional settlement, and I should like to say that our proposals are interdependent. They must be considered as a whole; they must be accepted or rejected as a whole. I say this is no spirit of disrespect to the Committee, because evidently it is a matter which the Executive Government should decide on its own responsibility, and if the policy which we declare were changed new instruments would have to be found to carry out another plan. We are prepared to make this settlement in the name of the Liberal Party. That is sufficient authority for us; but there is a higher authority which we should earnestly desire to obtain. I make no appeal, but I address myself particularly to the right hon. Gentlemen who sit opposite, who are long versed in public affairs, and not able to escape all their lives from a heavy South African responsibility. They are the accepted guides of a Party which, though in a minority in this House, nevertheless embodies nearly half the nation. I will ask them seriously whether they will not pause before they commit themselves to violent or rash denunciations of this great arrangement. I will ask them, further, whether they will not consider if they cannot join with us to invest the grant of a free Constitution to the Transvaal with something of a national sanction. With all our majority we can only make it the gift of a Party; they can make it the gift of England. And if that were so, I am quite sure that all those inestimable blessings which we confidently hope will flow from this decision will be gained more surely and much more speedily; and the first real step taken to withdraw South African affairs from the arena of British Party politics, in which they have inflicted injury on both political parties and in which they have suffered grievous injury themselves. I ask that that may be considered; but in any case we are prepared to go forward alone, and Letters Patent will be issued in strict conformity with the settlement I have explained this afternoon if we should continue to enjoy the support of a Parliamentary majority.

*MR. LYTTELTON: I have always endeavoured to approach the consideration of this question, both in what I have spoken and in all I have written, in the spirit the hon. Gentleman has displayed at the close of his elaborate and able speech. But for the consideration of a subject of this magnitude some further preparation than the statement made by the hon. Member should, I think, in fairness have been granted. Is it right, without a single published Paper, that the discussion of this important subject should be relegated to one day in the dog days of July, when the Government themselves, through the Prime Minister, have admitted a few months ago that they themselves were wofully lacking full information upon it, and had appointed a Commission to supply that information, This information has been in the possession of the Government, and I think it would have been fairer, as well as more dignified, if the Government had placed in the hands of their critics the material which, at the public cost and in the public interest, has been supplied to them. It would be easy to make some Party capital out of the circumstance that the Government have omitted the Orange River Colony from these proposals. But I rejoice that the Government have done so, not because I do not wish well to the Orange River Colony, but because I am satisfied that in substance the Constitution it enjoys is best for the welfare, prosperity, and happiness both of Britons and Dutch in that colony. Here is a colony free from those influences that have made the Transvaal many times the despair of statesmen. Here is a business-like Arcadia, with no mines and no shareholders, no opposition between town and country, a pastoral and agricultural colony where Britons give their skill and science to the cultivation of the land, and the Dutch give their long experience of the country. I believe that already much progress has been made in smoothing away the ravages of the war in that colony; I believe that both races are settling down; and therefore I applaud the Government for having taken the path of wisdom and left that which was well substantially alone. The statement of the hon. Gentleman that the constitution proposed by the late Government for the Transvaal was not a workable one was probably not serious and certainly will not be accepted by serious persons when it is remembered that it was a constitution which was promised at the settlement of the treaty, was promised over and over again in the House, and was scarcely challenged. There are precedents for it in every self-governing colony in the history of the Empire, and it has been received in the House and in the colony with very little dissent. Nothing has occurred to shake the opinion that in the circumstances it is a useful and necessary stage in the evolution of self-government in the Transvaal. What has been the strong motive for the establishment of such a constitution as distinguished from responsible Government? The late Government knew from all sides that the striking feature in the Transvaal during the last two or three years was that both races had co-operated in the honourable task of rebuilding the material prosperity of their country, and in doing so they had drawn towards a better understanding and feeling with one another. I am of opinion that we ought not to establish responsible government in a country unless we are satisfied that the two races lately at war and nearly equal in numbers are so far advanced in the process of fusion as practically to render the colony safe from racial cleavage that might lead to serious disturbance and friction. The reason that operated chiefly on the mind of the late Government was that it is impossible to start such a Government in the Transvaal at the present time without inevitably separating off the two races—just when they have begun in some measure to consolidate and fuse—in the bitterness of Party contest, and thereby to stereotype, emphasise, and embitter with passion and party conflict racial division. Responsible Government really means Party Government as it exists in this country. No one can say that there are not disadvantages attached to Party Government even in this country, homogeneous, long-settled, with civil war far distant in the past, and, I think, we may say without vanity, with a population trained in Party Government above all other nations. We all know the passionate feelings that arise even at home by virtue of Party Government. Ministries stand or fall by the Vote of Parliament. That is the system which you intend to set up in South Africa when Britons and Boers are already drawing together, and when, but for this proposal which I cannot but think unhappy and inopportune, that process might continue, and much friction, passion, and conflict might be avoided. In any circumstances this is a step which would be serious. Has His Majesty's Government given that consideration to the topic which should have been given to it? Why, Sir, in Natal self-government was not conceded for five years after a Select Committee had considered it. We discussed it for three years before it was granted to the Cape Colony. In the great classic instance of Canada Lord Durham recommended the transition to be made deliberately and his recommendations were not carried out for nearly three years after they were made.

Mr. Lyttelton.

The present Government committed themselves before they knew the facts, and they have been compelled in haste to make good the promises which they gave with such rash precipitation. If this be so, is it possible for any man to say that the Constitution which they have framed will give in any sense a security for the predominance of either one party or the other? I do not think that any one can possibly say what the result of the arrangements which have been made will in point of fact be. You are, therefore, placed in this position, that a form of government for which there is no urgent reason whatever, and which might have been postponed, I believe, by the general agreement of all for some considerable time, has been cast down on the floor of this House by His Majesty's Government though the authors are not themselves aware of what the actual results will be, the state of the country being such that it is most important that those results, before such a step was taken, should be thoroughly and definitely ascertained. It seems to me that there were two courses open to the Government either of which might have been taken. If you had assured the predominance of British, then, at any rate, you would have taken a secure step, but you would, of course, have been confronted with the arguments of the Boers, whom you have attempted apparently to treat with very great cordiality, and that would have been a difficult position to have been placed in.

The other course open was under a representative system, to hold the citadel as at present by means of the British Executive, and, under a democratic suffrage, to ascertain for your guidance the true will of the country. If that opinion when expressed was in conflict with the true interests you have in South Africa, then you might by means of the Executive and by means of the power of the Executive, have withstood any serious inroad on British supremacy in the Transvaal. Either of these two courses was open to you, but you have chosen neither. You have chosen to throw away the advantage of the present situation which is being acquiesced in by the Boers, and under which they are working with good will in many directions. Bonds of union are being formed, which will now be roughly and rudely disintegrated. What is the general situation in South Africa on which this experiment is to be launched? In Cape Colony there is almost an equilibrium of parties and races, but in a short time 10,000 disfranchised Boer voters will resume their place on the register, so that there may be a Boer majority in the Cape. In the Orange Colony there is an overwhelming Dutch predominance. In Natal, no doubt, a British majority prevails, but on the flank of this situation there is a formidable native question, and there is another matter which ought not to be omitted from consideration. In German West Africa there are 15,000 Regular troops, with seventy-three guns and transport, and a considerable number of Boer volunteers. Recently in the Reichstag a proposal was made by the German Government to bring a railway from the seat of war into Cape Colony. When that proposal was rejected the German Government offered as a concession to the economists to withdraw 5,000 troops if that railway were built. The Party of economy and peace there understood and alleged that the proposal meant that they had 5,000 more men there than were necessary for the fighting of a native tribe in South Africa. I merely make that observation because I think it is important to remember that, if there was a disturbance in Europe, the presence of such a large body of German troops with guns, Boers, and natives attached to their columns is an element which could not be lost sight of when considering the present state of South Africa. I venture to say that no experiments ought to be made in South Africa the results of which are left in conjecture and which expose us to hazards. I think it would be almost as suitable to make experiments in shot firing in a fiery mine, when the gas is hissing from the seams, as it would be to make an experiment in government without knowing precisely what the consequence would be in the condition of things which obtains throughout South Africa. We on this side of the House are in a position in which, notwithstanding any arguments that may be adduced, we are entirely powerless at the present moment to make arguments, or anything else, have any effect upon the scheme which has been propounded by the Prime Minister through the Under-Secretary. We have been informed that Letters Patent creating the Constitution will be shortly published, and that they will bring about a great change in South Africa. I entirely agree with the Under-Secretary when he said that there is no objection in principle on this side of the House to responsible government. The whole question is one of how, when, and where. Is it opportune now? What reasons have been given for self-government now? I have listened carefully throughout the whole of his long speech, and not one single argument did I hear from the Under-Secretary which attempted to justify the launching of so great an experiment amid all this explosive material. It is not right to institute responsible government merely in order to shirk our own responsibility. It is not right to institute responsible government in order to forsake the obligations of duty imposed upon this country. If hon. Gentlemen opposite really believe that Chinese labour is an iniquity and ought to be at once terminated, they have the power to do it. But it was quite rightly said that this is a question for the Transvaal people themselves to decide and you have the machinery under the old Constitution to decide it. Then, again, there are obligations which rest on the Government to prevent loss to the Civil servants of the Crown who have been taken from other parts and positions and placed in this country, and whom they now propose to trust to a new Government, not knowing whether it will be Dutch or of British extraction. Is that a prudent or just thing to do? I venture to think that responsible government such as this, given within four years of such a war between two races who were antagonistic, demands some solid justification. I believed, and it was always my hope, that the process of the fusion of the two races which has begun would eventually, and in no very long time, result in the Colony becoming a fairly solid block in which all Parties would have very much at heart the interests of the entire community. In that position responsible government might have been granted to the Colony without elaborate checks and the Government might have been indifferent whether the majority would be Boer or British. Any one who knows anything about South Africa must view the result of the election that is about to take place in the Transvaal with profound apprehension. I believe myself that within so short a time from the war and with the feeling which prevails at the present time it is not desirable to give to either Party such an absolute majority as to tempt them to advance only the interests of their own Party. The Under-Secretary does not deny that he would regret the placing of such power and such a position in the hands of a Dutch majority. The best we can hope for, therefore, is that neither Party will be in such strong predominance. Let me say then if I may speak on behalf of the Party that sits on these benches we take no responsibility whatever for the arrangement that has been come to by the Government. The responsibility is rightly that of the Government, because they have taken great care that we should not have even the materials on which we could make up our minds as to whether we should take any part or share in the responsibility. They have appointed this Commission. The Commission sat, I suppose by instructions, in the Cape Colony with closed doors, and not one word has been permitted to be published as to what their Report has been to the Government. Without the possession of maps, statistics, etc., the House is not able to take any part in the discussion of the wisdom or otherwise of the proposals of the Government. But there are one or two broad suggestions on which I desire briefly to comment. First of all there is the question of manhood suffrage. The Under-Secretary was good enough to say that the qualification set up by the late Government was a very low qualification and that it was absolutely *bona fide*. It was in the peculiar circumstances of the Colony lower than exists in the Cape Colony and Natal, and there was no reason for upsetting it. Why should they without any precedent in the whole history of the Empire, on first granting responsible government give universal suffrage? That is in contradiction to the practice of every other portion of South Africa. Before the Government did that they ought to have consulted Natal and the Cape Colony on the matter. This is a question which must affect vitally the future federation of South Africa. One would have thought that before giving in hot haste manhood suffrage in the Transvaal—a suffrage differing from that of Natal, the Cape Colony and all the other Colonies in Africa, the Government would have consulted these Colonies in view of future federation. The very peculiar position of the Boers had been very carefully considered by the late Government in the formation of their scheme of electoral qualifications. The Constitution given by the late Government showed not only fairness but generosity to the Boers; by retaining, independently of any other qualifications, all of them who had been formerly on the electoral list. But the plan of the Government has complicated the settlement of federation and the difficult problem of the native vote by this unnecessary and ill-considered extension. In the next place the Government have elected to go back to the census of 1904, and have rejected altogether the voters' list which was completed so lately as March last, and against which, so far as I am aware, nothing of any weight has been said. The formation of the last voters' list was entirely regular, and we have Lord Selborne's view that there was nothing irregular in the construction of that list.

Mr. CHURCHILL: Hear, hear.

Mr. LYTTELTON: Is it, therefore, right or fair that an impeachment should be made of the *bona fides* of that list and those who made it, without any opportunity being given to the persons interested to be heard? I am told that although some impeachment was made of this voters list by certain gentleman before the Committee those objections were never brought before the persons who were alleged to be responsible, and that no opportunity from that day to this has been given to them of being heard. That is surely not the way to deal with a list which is the result of great expense and labour. It seems part of the policy of the Government, however, to keep back the facts from the House and from the people of the Transvaal itself. The Under-Secretary gets up and alludes to the fact that there are 3,000 more voters on that list than existed in 1904. That is an innuendo that there was something fraudulent about the preparation of the list. Is it not obviously fair for us to know what the grounds of those allegations are? Then as I said before, I must decline, as the Under-Secretary has declined, to speculate as to what the results of the arrangement of seats and the delimitation of boundaries will be. I have no means of knowing. Electioneering is not an exact or a mathematical science, and the utmost I can say is that the majority one way or the other may be two, or three, or possibly four. I do not blame the Government for having preserved the old magisterial areas, because there is no necessity for the further expensive delay involved in creating new ones, but with regard to the abolition or the possibility of the abolition of the Inter-Colonial Council I have, I must say, most grave apprehensions. An infinity of time and labour has been spent upon the administration of the railways and of the Constabulary by the Inter-Colonial Council which contains in itself the germ of federation. One of its principal merits is that it deals with the affairs of both the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal and provides a suitable and convenient form of administration of those affairs which are common to both Colonies. To take the Constabulary out of the hands of that body and vest the administration in the hands of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony cannot be economical and must detract from the labours of this body which has, in the opinion of most, worked harmoniously and well, over the area of both Colonies. When we consider the financial aspect, it certainly is unfortunate that the railway system which has been coupled up and worked in the interests of both Colonies should now be severed, and I fear that it is almost inevitable that jealousies will arise in respect to matters which are common to both Colonies. I pass on to the question of the Second Chamber, and so far as the creation of such a chamber is concerned, if it is possible to secure a good Second Chamber we are grateful for that advantage; but I would point out that as compared with the definite and solid power which was held by the executive Government under the old arrangement the creation of a Second Chamber of fifteen persons nominated by the Government for five years is, I am afraid, a somewhat illusory advantage. I was advised by those who know the country intimately that it would be difficult to provide more than thirty-five of sufficient ability and leisure to serve in the Transvaal Legislative Council, and although that number may now be slightly greater it is obvious in view of the immense weight of private business there that it cannot be indefinitely increased if we are to keep the tone and ability of the assembly such as we should desire. The number of members of the assembly has now been increased from thirty-five to sixty-nine, that is to say, it has been nearly doubled, and I am afraid that although there are many able men in the Transvaal there are few men of leisure. Having beaten out somewhat thinly the available talent for legislative purposes the Government propose either to withdraw from it the fifteen members who are to constitute the Second Chamber or to obtain from outside the Legislative Council fifteen men who by that very hypothesis will hardly be of sufficient weight and experience to have much influence as a buffer against any undesirable action of the elective assembly. Still, let me say for what it is worth, if you are able to get a sufficient number of men who will take that position and exercise the power it confers, though I am not sanguine that you will get any such number, considering the number of the Legislative assembly,it is better that there should be some such body. I have nothing to say with regard to the proposals made by the late Government as to reserving questions of legislation in regard to the natives. Neither have I anything to say but to applaud the decision as to the reservation of the administration of Swaziland to the High Commissioner. Though I deplore the decision the Secretary of State has come to in regard to Chinese labour I see no objection to somewhat expanding the labour recruiting agencies for natives, provided that adequate and careful measures are taken to secure that the work is in the hands of responsible and proper people. As to the so-called experiment to be made by the Robinson Mines, that is an experiment the worth of which has been tested on many occasions, and I do not think that there is much to be added to the general knowledge which we have already on that subject. Mr. Creswell will no doubt do his best. It is very well known that natives are desired where they can be obtained by the mine owners, and I do not suppose that there is much to be added to what is already known as to the undoubted capacity of the natives to do the work, if you are able to obtain sufficient to do it. The settled policy of the late Government was that the question of compensation for war losses should not be re-opened, and I am glad to hear that the present Government have adopted that action. It needs no further justification than has already been produced, and the mention of the fact that the sum of £9,500,000 has been spent in compensation to individuals for injuries suffered from the war. I confess I did not quite follow what the Under-Secretary in his otherwise lucid speech said with regard to the £30,000,000. The position is this, that not merely the representatives of capital but some of the representatives of labour joined in giving the undertaking Of course they were not in a representative position, but it was the best undertaking that could be obtained from the country in its then condition of government. That undertaking was not that the mine-owners should pay £10,000,000 or £30,000,000 or any other sum, but that they should underwrite the issue of the first £10,000,000 of a loan to be raised in the Transvaal. They have on several occasions expressed their willingness to fulfil that bargain, but conditions have not obtained in which it is possible to call upon them to do so. I do not think that anybody who knows the Transvaal will believe that it is possible that £30,000,000 should be paid for war indemnity or for any purpose at the present moment. My own view is that some arrangement ought to be made by which a smaller sum shall be devoted to some purpose good alike for the Transvaal and for this country. I have no right to bind anybody in this matter, but speaking personally with regard to the proposals, which have been laid before the House by the hon. Gentleman, so far as I have been able on the spur of the moment to investigate them, I wish once again to make it clear that, whatever may be their results the Opposition have no responsibility whatever for them. The conditions under which they are made seem to me to be of great hazard to South Africa and to the interests of this country. They seem to me to be likely to produce far more friction and passionate opposition between the races who have lately been at war than would have existed if they had not been made. They seem to have been made at a time inopportune for South Africa and inopportune here. They have been made in a manner contrary to every precedent in the whole Empire. They have been made in unseemly haste and in a manner contemptuous of the House of Commons. Not a paper or document or single fact has been presented to us by which we could authoritatively inform ourselves upon them. Surely, therefore, it is not unnatural that we should reserve entirely the right to say that we take no part or lot with the Government in responsibility for the ill-effects which I fear—though Heaven forbid—may flow from their proposals.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) said the right hon.

Gentleman the Member for St. George's, Hanover Square, had, on behalf of his Party, repudiated all responsibility for this settlement. The great majority of those who sat on the Ministerial side repudiated all responsibility for the war out of which this settlement arose, and for the many evils which Sir William Harcourt prophesied would come from the war, with many of which this settlement was itself consistent. The Ministerial Party had decided that the time had arrived when this question should be settled, and there were some who desired that it should be settled by such a settlement as the Committee had heard outlined to-day. There were others who did not agree exactly with the policy put forward by the Government or with the policy of the Opposition when conducting the war, and since. He would like an opportunity to state some views shared by those. The right hon. Gentleman opposite had made a most dangerous speech. There was hardly a word of the speech of the Under-Secretary of State with which he (Sir Charles Dilke) did not agree, although he did not agree with some of the policies that the speech defended. The object of the last speech of the late Secretary of State for the Colonies was dangerous in the extreme, because its policy was a dangerous policy, and could only be supported by dangerous arguments. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken of consulting the Cape and of federation. He agreed that federation could not be overlooked, and the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had already said that his policy was one leading to federation. But when the right hon. Gentleman told them that they ought to have consulted the Cape, what would they have found if they had? They would have found absolute unanimity among both political parties there upon the subject of the franchise of the natives. There was not a leading politician at the Cape, of either side, who did not value the native franchise. The present Prime Minister had gone out of his way twice to declare that the Cape ought never to be called upon to make any alteration in the native franchise. The right hon. Gentleman opposite quoted the Cape, and in that dangerous portion of his speech was led into the most injurious illustrations. Having quoted the Cape and suggested that we should ask their opinion, the right hon. Gentleman had proceeded to make a most mischievous allusion to the probability of Cape Colony, thinking only of one white race. He said that 10,000 rebel voters were about to be enfranchised in the Cape and that they would turn the scale. That statement was cheered by one supporter. It was almost horrible that such allusions should be cheered, when made thoughtlessly, tending as they did to perpetuate the difference between the two races. This House had to keep in mind the loyalty of South Africa as a whole, black as well as Dutch, the loyalty of the country as a whole, and of the whole Empire, which was mainly black and not white. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for St. George's, Hanover Square, had objected that the whole arrangement was analogous to what occurred in Canada, and read a quotation, the applicability of which was not apparent, from a speech of Lord Durham. We had at one time apparently looked forward to loyalty dependent on British race, and the quotation read asked for a period of rest in Lower Canada until we had planted British settlers there. The loyalty of Lower Canada rested not upon the British but upon the overwhelming French-speaking population. With such a hopeless example of failure of policy before them, why select that as a ground when asking for delay in the present case? The right hon. Gentleman thought there was no precedent for imposing responsible Government on a colony without a long intermediate period. There was no precedent exactly for what had occurred in the case of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, which we had conquered and annexed against their will, and which had enjoyed a very highly developed form of self-government. It was not until after the rebellion of 1837, and until we recognised the self-government of French Canada, that we for the first time began to make the French Canadians really loyal. The right hon. Gentleman objected to the policy of counting heads, although he counted heads in the case of the Cape. He was one of those who were somewhat impatient of seeing the Liberal party and the Imperial Parliament follow the lead of Sir Percy Fitzpatrick and his colleagues by counting each constituency before the result, and he could not entirely excuse the Government from blame for the extreme minuteness with which they had gone into the question of the majority of one, and then were afraid it might be the Speaker, and there might be no majority at all. He believed the majority in this House repudiated this mere counting of heads. They had long ago taken up the position that we were going with all its risks to give responsible government, subject only to this one consideration, that it was impossible not to have a predominant regard to the native and labour interests involved in the settlement. The right hon. Gentleman opposite had said that the results ought to have been more definitely ascertained in advance by a period of delay, as he seemed to suggest was the case in Canada. The case of Canada, however, as he (Sir Charles Dilke) had shown, pointed in the direction of the broad view which, he thought, the majority of this House were inclined to take, of not allowing considerations of the effect of a majority of votes here and there to stop them. In the case of of the Transvaal the Government had had to face a very powerful body of opinion in the Press and in another place, and that opinion, which was not that of the country, or the House of Commons, or the Liberal Party, had, he feared, to some extent prevailed not in the speech of the Under-Secretary but in the programme to which the Government had become committed. There was too much reason to think that in this settlement what was called the Progressive party —a name which he thought was abused —the party of gold magnates of the Rand—had obtained the point to which they attached most importance. These gentlemen had made no secret—in fact they had given away their case with the most stupid frankness—of their demand for British ascendency, which would require an Upper House to make it absolute. They seemed to have got far too much of their own way by what, from their point of view, was really a gerrymandering system. At all events they had got their nominated Upper House, which was the one point to which they attached supreme importance. Of course one reason which weighed with great numbers of hon. Gentlemen in this House was the fear that the ascendancy of that party in the Rand would force the Government into a violation of the pledges given to the constituencies upon the subject of Chinese labour, and that danger was entirely dispelled. Personally, he had always regarded the Chinese labour question as a temporary question, and he had always asserted that the native labour question was the permanent or predominant question, and one which we ought to have concerned ourselves most about, because it would be always there; and when the present Under-Secretary and the late Colonial Secretary agreed in attaching supreme importance to these native labour-collecting agencies which were to be worked by the Portuguese authority in the Portuguese territory, what he wanted to see was the native labour of the country itself developed—Kaffirs tempted by proper treatment, by a proper voice in their affairs, and by a proper wage into doing work which they were perfectly competent to do and did do where they were welcome. There had been some disappointment, he thought, with regard to the future as far as the other and greater labour question was concerned. The policy of these gentlemen, who had sent their deputations over here, who had so powerful a representation in the Press, and who expressed themselves with such force in the columns of all the papers, was backed by them—and he had no doubt honestly backed—with arguments to show that the Transvaal was the key of South Africa, and they had also developed a side argument to the effect that the Transvaal would be dominated by the Cape which they looked upon somewhat as disloyal. It had been suggested in some quarters that the existence of an Upper House in the Transvaal Constitution would be a security for this British ascendancy and for the future of South Africa. He was certain that the Under-Secretary of State did not believe that an Upper House in the Transvaal was needed in order to secure the permanence of British supremacy if the Transvaal were the key to South Africa. He was perplexed to find what part the Upper House was to play in the new Constitution. Two views had previously been put forward by Sir Percy Fitzpatrick and his friends at different times as to the necessity for a nominated Upper House. One reason was an insidious one in order to attract those who held the views he did, and it was that the Upper House would be a protector of the natives. That had been abandoned in the last few weeks, and another view had been put forward—that it was necessary to British ascendancy. The Government had rejected those views, but they had given no reason for the existence of the Upper House. Failing that reason he attached importance to the arguments of the late Secretary of State, who said there were not the number of men of weight and substance in the Transvaal to equip the two Houses of Legislature, and that the Upper House would be a very weak one or it would withdraw men who could be ill spared from the lower Assembly. In the absence of any reason for the creation of an Upper House, why create it? What part was it going to play in the new Constitution? What was it meant for? Whom was it intended to support or re-assure? So far as it re-assured certain interests it could only reassure them because it pointed the hope that it might be inclined to control the popular interest in the other House. But hon. Members ought not easily to accept this Constitution with an Upper House without knowing what interests it was intended to represent. They were not so enamoured of Upper Houses as to be anxious to create them. They had seen something of them in other colonies. They knew the troubles which in South Africa had been caused by a nominated Upper House at the Cape. Under these circumstances, and looking to a federation in the future, why create an Upper House? Ontario had never had an Upper House, and in Manitoba it was so conspicuous a failure that they abolished it by a unanimous vote and with the concurrence of the Upper House itself, These Upper Houses were very risky experiments indeed, and if they did not need this Upper House for the protection of some great interest, for Heaven's sake let them leave it out of the Transvaal. Sir Percy Fiztpatrick wrote—

"a nominated Upper House, or otherwise we sacrifice the British majority in the Transvaal and British supremacy in South Africa."

These were not grounds upon which the British Parliament would ever create such an Assembly. He had already suggested that there were considerations in dealing with any portion of this South African problem which were enormously wider than those presented by the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony because of the interdependence of the South African states in native affairs, and also because of the future in the direction of federation. The present Government admitted to the full that they could not treat the British Empire as a white Protestant Empire. Our glory was that we had welded races together who were proud to live under us, and the experiment of trying to dissociate the white from the black was a mad experiment. They could not treat this question as though it lay between the two white races only, without regard to the map and to the fact that in some parts of South Africa the natives were 1,000,000 to 1,000 white people. While parts of South Africa might be a white man's country, there were enormous portions which never could be a white man's country, and they could not deal with this question by relegating the native side to a paragraph at the end of a Report. The natives were, and must always be, in numbers, and in connection with labour, the predominant race, and must always demand consideration. He was disappointed in the amount of concessional promises that had been given on the native question. He fully admitted that considerable promises were made. The promise of the late Government was a very strong one before the war began, and it was almost as strong at the time when they were told that the war was over, but was not over, and the first attempt at negotiation was initiated. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham said they would not consent to purchase peace by leaving the coloured population in the position in which they stood before the war. At the present moment it would not be denied that the position of the coloured population was worse than before. A large number of ordinances of the late South African Republic, which were a dead letter, had been enforced since we had been there, and whilst we had always protested in the case of that Republic, as we had protested and vetoed legislation in the case of many of our own colonies, against the creation of an absolute colour bar, there was a colour bar at the present moment in the Transvaal, and unfortunately we were forced to continue that colour bar for ever. It was a terrible thing to establish white manhood suffrage with the total and apparently permanent exclusion from all share of liberty of every single member of the overwhelming majority of people of the country. There probably was no alternative for the present, but our influence with the new Government would be very great under the circumstances which the Under-Secretary had described. He believed that that Government would be a friendly Government and one in which our influence would continue to be great. It would require recklessness on the part of the Transvaal to make the relations otherwise than good. No one in this House with any sense of responsibility would set up the theory that in South Africa there was a rooted refusal to do anything for the native population. In the Cape there was an infinitely better state of things than formerly existed, but it had suffered horribly for its past action. The position of Natal by its own recklessness was on a small scale what the Cape once was. But the Cape had learnt wisdom, and had a native policy which, compared with Natal, was as heaven to hell. Was it impossible or hopeless for us to use on this occasion a friendly voice to a friendly people, to bring about a real recognition of the predominant race as regarded the labour policy of the future? He was glad to hear the Under-Secretary's statement with regard to servile conditions of labour. He hoped it would be treated as a matter of friendly conference between us, with our ideals, in the interest of the Empire as a whole and the new government in the Transvaal, we urging them by all means and arguments in our power to support a policy on this native question which would be at least as good as that which prevailed in the the Cape. The Under-Secretary's recognition of Swaziland made him believe it might become a second Basutoland. As regarded future federation, whenever the policy of the new colonies should point in that direction the interest of the Imperial Government must be dominant in the consideration of the question. They had often heard South African gentlemen say that all they had got to do was to leave them alone, that they were going to look after the Transvaal, and that they would run their show, as they called it, in their own fashion. That was an impossibility. It was a dream, and the sooner they were told it was a dream the better. It was impossible for them to leave it to be settled by the white element in any of the colonies concerned. He did not wish to complicate the matter by introducing any fresh question, but he would point out that there was a small minority of white population among whom a dangerous state of panic prevailed from time to time, causing acts which were most dangerous to the Empire, to South Africa, and to the neighbouring colonies. It was not disloyalty to the Empire, therefore, but a service rendered to the Empire, to point out these facts. He read portions of an appeal in respect of East Africa, addressed to hon. Members, setting forth claims and considerations by a few hundred white men to treat that territory as a white man's colony, though there were hundreds of thousands of natives living in the area. The idea underlying the claims contained in that document was that self-government should be granted, and that a few whites should be allowed to dominate the hundreds of thousands of natives. It was an unjust and indefensible policy, and it was horribly dangerous to the Empire. The Empire could not be run on such principles; but, if it were attempted, then he was certain that the whole fabric would collapse. It was not the policy of this country to give self-government in such circumstances. It was refused to Ceylon over and over again, and to Natal. If, however, in this case of a larger population possessing the appliances of a great civilised State the experiment was to be extended to the Transvaal, it could only be done with the deepest feeling of responsibility to the majority of the people of the country. It was because of the dominant importance in the British Empire of such considerations that he had ventured to put forward these ideas, which he knew were not exactly those either of the late Colonial Secretary or of those who sat on his own side of the House.

SIR GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend) said that in one sense the worst was over. They gladly welcomed the statement of the Under-Secretary as to what the future government of the Transvaal was to be. He supposed that the Under-Secretary would never in his career make a more important statement than he had made to-day. The whole Empire had been watching for this statement in regard to the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, for it was impossible for any colony that had received responsible government not to view with great anxiety the government which was to be given to these colonies. They had been won by force of arms, in a contest extending over a period of several years, marked by great waste and destruction, in which the colonists themselves had shared in order to maintain the British flag and the permanency of British institutions. The statement of the Under-Secretary, made with great moderation, and in a manner befitting the occasion, was one which would be read in every portion of the Empire with the deepest interest. That interest the Committee this afternoon shared. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean had talked of the loyalty of the French Canadians. A generation had passed since——

SIR CHARLES DILKE: The French Canadians fought for us in 1812.

SIR GILBERT PARKER said that was exactly what he was going to say. The generation which fought against the British at the capture of Quebec had disappeared or grown old and used to the new conditions. Then an Act conferring representative government was passed in 1812. At the beginning of the second generation the French Canadian proved his loyalty. When the revolt took place in 1837 the peace was kept throughout the whole of French Canada. If we had had in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony such a test of the position of the Boers in relation to our institutions as Canada had, then he, for one, would have given his willing adhesion to the proposals made by the Under-Secretary to-day. He did not, however, give willing adhesion to these proposals, and he would tell the Committee why. Was it reasonable to think that three years after the signing of peace the Boers should be given the possibility of coming into power? The substance of these proposals was that there was going to be a gamble with the Executive. While the Boers ought to have representation of their interests with the British, there should be no danger permitted to the permanence of British institutions, no interruptions of the just and considerate administration of British rule, no chance of allowing any of those things to be done that might be done if a Boer Government came into power. The Under-Secretary had said that at Vereeniging the peace was made for ever. That was a good bit of rhetoric, but he was not confident that the prediction would be realised unless we took proper steps to see that the British institutions were preserved over the time of danger. The majority of the people of Cape Colony were loyal, but did the right hon. Baronet forget that 10,000 of the Cape colonists rose against us? Did he forget that Mr. Steyne on the eve of the Treaty of Vereeniging said that perhaps even now Cape Colony was not ripe for the policy we had been pursuing with regard to it? He had made a list of what would be done if the Boers again gained power. They would dismiss the present British officials on the railways, and the Boer workers would be restored; the Constabulary would be reorganised on the Dutch basis; the Customs Union would be broken up; the intercolonial and the railway union would be destroyed; land settlement would be stopped; and there would be a boycotting of British goods. In the Orange River Colony and in the Transvaal there were two of the best agricultural departments in the world; but the Boers wanted to abolish them. Security was very much better than expectation; and he believed that it would be an evil day if the control of defence and education were put into the hands of the Boer. Mr. Smuts, speaking of the Civil servants, had said that when the Boers came into power they would do their best to put back all the old Boer Civil servants in their former positions.

It was admitted that the Government of the Transvaal under the Boer *regime* was reactionary and corrupt. That Government had deliberately over-ridden the decisions of the Supreme Court. A Resolution of the Volks Raad was regarded as above any decision which might be given by the Supreme Court. Now, no Resolution of the House of Commons could overide a judgment of the Supreme Court. [AN HON. MEMBER on the MINISTERIAL Benches: An Act of Parliament could.] Mr. Smuts had also said that the £10,000,000 which the mineowners had under-written and the £35,000,000 loan guaranteed by the British Government should be distributed amongst the poor Boers. This was part of the old system of bribery and corruption, and it was the intention of the Boer leaders if they came into power to renew the condition of things which existed in the Transvaal previous to the war, and which the people of this country had condemned, even if they did not approve of the war. In the scheme outlined by the Under-Secretary for the Colonies there were some things which he approved of and others of which he disapproved. He did not think that responsible Government should be given so soon after the war. The Under-Secretary for the Colonies had said that the census of 1904 should be taken in order to arrange for the distribution of seats in the new Legislature; but the hon. Gentleman knew right well that there had been a very considerable increase of skilled workers employed in the mines due to the extra unskilled labour which had been employed. Therefore, 3,000 skilled men would be shut out from the voters' register. The hon. Gentleman was evidently desirous of doing some of the gerrymandering which he stated had been done by the Lyttelton Constitution. His contention was that the Lyttelton Constitution would have been for the safety of the Transvaal. He did not believe that they should gamble with the constitution for the Transvaal. He did not believe that an Upper Chamber would be of as much use as some expected, or that it would be any security for the interests of the natives. His contention was that in granting responsible Government to the Transvaal at the present moment the Government was taking upon itself a great, a painful, and almost a terrible responsibility. The time was not ready for this change, at all events in the Orange River Colony. He granted that there had been good Government in the Orange River Colony before the war and that there had been good government since; but if we gave responsible government to that colony we should raise bitter issues which would not be settled for many years to come. Since our Government was established in that Colony there had not been a single protest against our administration, and why should we disturb the present state of things? Was it not wise to leave well alone and not to revive memories of the state of things before the war? We must prevent opportunity from being given to our fellow-citizens in the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies, who had not yet learned the methods and spirit of British administration, but who must be trained in our way, and in the constitutional traditions which belonged to us. The Boers had no constitutional traditions whatever. They did not get any good Government through the teaching of the Dutch Colony; it was the British people who redeemed them from the traditions of the Dutch Colony. He considered that the House of Commons when well informed were the most just tribunal in the world, but he believed they were ill-informed upon Colonial questions. Men did not travel and read scrappily. With many of the proposals of the hon. Gentleman, especially manhood suffrage, he was in sympathy, but on the whole he wished to repudiate any responsibility for giving at this time responsible government to the Transvaal.

*MR. RUFUS ISAACS (Reading) congratulated the Government upon their policy, which had been stated by the Under-Secretary in a statesmanlike manner. That statement relieved the followers of the Government from any feeling of anxiety which they might have previously felt in consequence of rumours which had been current during the last few weeks, which had set some of them wondering as to what was to be the outcrop of that momentous day. They now had a feeling of confidence and security as regarded the future. Although he agreed with a good deal of what the last speaker had said he could not go with him entirely. Everyone would agree that this was a subject which they should not approach in a Party spirit, and throughout the discussion the views of hon. Members had, he thought, been expressed in a befitting manner. He agreed with the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean that a considerable portion of the speech of the right hon. and learned Member for St. George's, Hanover Square, a former Colonial Secretary, would have been better if it had not been delivered. He was sure that a great many Members of the House, and the country as a whole, would not share the apprehensions which the right hon. Gentleman had expressed. Upon the question of ascendancy he could not agree with a good deal which fell from the right hon. Baronet. It seemed to him that the task the Government had set itself was to deal justly, fairly, and equitably with the claims of Britons and Boer. He could not find that there was this ascendancy in the proposals which had been made, and if hon. Members turned to the number of voters they would find that the number of seats allotted to the Witwatersrand area, as compared with the rest of the Transvaal and Pretoria did not give any undue preponderance. Taking the Transvaal the total adult white male population, excluding aliens, according to the census of 1904 was 91,406, and of that 57,713 were British, and 33,693 were Dutch. If they took into account all those adult white males who would have attained the age of twenty-one in October of this year there would be 98,453, of whom 62,162 would be British and 36,291 would be Dutch. They might, therefore, say that the proportion of British to Dutch was as five to three, and if that was so it could hardly be said that in the proportion of seats which had been allocated there had been an undue preponderance given to the British over the Boers in the Transvaal. He would ask the attention of the Committee to this point which seemed to him of great importance when dealing with the allocation of seats. If the Government desired to give ascendancy to the British population or to gerrymander the constituencies in such a way as to give to the British an undue preponderance of seats they would have allocated the seats in the proportion of five to three. That was certainly not what the Government had done, and as far as he could find there was no gerrymandering in order to secure ascendancy or supremacy. But if under the new Constitution the allocation of seats gave a British majority, he ventured to say for his own part, and for some of those who sat on the Liberal benches, that that was no argument against the electoral basis upon which this Constitution was to be granted. In the great anxiety which existed that we should deal justly with the Boer population, and in the eagerness to dispel any doubt that might obtain in the Boer mind that we were not dealing with them justly and fairly, there was a tendency to forget that the British also had claims, a tendency the effect of which was quite unconscious upon the part of those who were genuinely anxious to do all they could to reconcile British and Boer, that they might be able to live in peace and concord and insure that a later election, if not the coming election, might be fought on grounds other than racial and for the benefit not of a race but of the Transvaal Colony. He hoped the House would give him and those who might think with him credit for this, that they were not in the slightest degree throwing any doubt on the honesty of purpose of those who might profess to see in the Government proposals a desire to give ascendancy to the British, whereas these Members were anxious to protect the Boers. But in their desire to protect the Boer they must not forget there was also a responsibility in this House to protect the British. He would add a few words, and they would be but few, upon the question of land settlement—a question in which he took great interest. What had fallen from the Under-Secretary upon this point was of much greater comfort than they were led to expect on the last occasion when the subject was discussed. Although he did not profess, and did not desire, to discuss the subject of land settlement in detail, he did wish to call attention to the fact that, in his opinion, there was a great future for land settlement in South Africa. There was a great future in the Transvaal for land settlement, and he rejoiced to have heard from the Under-Secretary that the Government had recognised its importance by their method of dealing with it in framing the Constitution. That was a matter for great congratulation. There was to be a land commissioner appointed to carry out a scheme of land settlement, and they were further told on the authority of the law officers of the Crown that the money which came in as repayment from the scheme of land settlement could be again used for making further loans in connection with the scheme. They felt that the Government had done well in taking this course; it would gain for them the approval of a considerable number in this country as well as in South Africa. In conclusion, he desired to say that if he did not feel that the scheme which the Government announced gave security for British institutions in the future, he, notwithstanding the loyalty he had to the Government and the fidelity with which he was anxious to serve it, would have voted against it. But feeling that the proposals put forward were just and statesmanlike, he could support the Government with great confidence, because they had recognised the claims of the Boers without forgetting that the British had a right to demand that in this Constitution there should be security for British institutions.

Mr. EVELYN CECIL (Aston Manor) complained that the House was asked to discuss a subject of the utmost importance to the Empire, namely, the Constitution outlined by the hon. Gentleman without the material upon which to discuss it, and it was impossible that it could under these circumstances be discussed adequately. It was most unfortunate that the Government should have so hastily brought forward this proposal without either giving themselves sufficient time to consider it or the House to debate it. He had no hesitation in saying that he and those who sat with him objected to responsible government being given now. When they sat on the other side the understanding was that responsible government should be given as soon as possible. Everything turned on those words "as soon as possible," and he did not think that now was the proper time. There had not been sufficient time for the racial distinctions and feelings to be merged in that oblivion in which it should be the object of both sides of the Committee to merge them as soon as possible. But they would not merge them by raising Party government and Party questions. It was the very thing which he feared would give rise to the racial bitterness just at the time when that racial bitterness was by degrees subsiding. We did not want British supremacy merely in name. The Treaty of Peace decided that the King was to be supreme, and we did not now or at any future time want to prejudice his authority. He quite concurred that this question should be dealt with from a non-Party point of view. The Under-Secretary had said it was desirable not to delay, and he agreed, because delay might cause injury to trade and produce other serious disadvantages; but upon the other hand they ought not to hurry to such an extent as to be likely to produce greater hostility between the two sections. He congratulated the Government upon leaving the Orange River Colony alone. It was doing well and wanted to be left alone, and he would have been disposed to say the same with regard to the Transvaal. But as the Government had thought otherwise they could only say that this was not the proper time and they hoped this Constitution would not be ill-fated. Was it not a question of common sense? After a severe war had been waged it did not appear to be a wise thing for the victor within three or four years to give equal rights to the conquered and run the risk of allowing them to be the governing force in the conquered territory. He did not think the Government had acted with that statesmanship with which they had been credited; it would have been more statesmanlike if they had deferred for some time this responsible Government, instead of throwing all the forces of disorder in the Transvaal into the melting pot. This was not the time for experiments. They had heard only this year from some responsible leaders of the Boers what their intentions really were. He noticed from the speech delivered by Mr. Smuts on the 23rd March at Pretoria that he believed that the British would have no chance of securing a majority in the Transvaal Government if voters rather than population were taken as the basis of representation. He thought that showed that directly responsible government was given bitter Party feeling would develop, and it would take the line of cleavage between Britons and Boers. Mr. Smuts said—

> "Our claims are considered unfair and unreasonable, but we insist upon them with the object of getting a majority in the Transvaal Parliament and ruling the country."

It was obvious from that what the Boers would strike for. In the face of such a statement it was not judicious on our part to grant responsible government, and thus give Mr. Smuts the chance of realising his ideal. The treatment of the South African Colonies would affect other Colonies indirectly, and it was not improbable that such Colonies as Australia and Canada would feel the reflection of our action in the Transvaal, especially if it turned out that Mr. Smuts' ideals were fulfilled. Mr. Smuts went on to say that it would be their business when elected to assist to restore to their positions in the police and other Departments the ex-officials who were employed under the late Republic. Great Britain had had old Civil servants appointed under Lord Milner's Government who had served this country well, and were they going to sanction responsible government for the Transvaal when one of the objects aimed at would be to displace the old Civil servants and put in their places officials who were of the late Mr. Kruger's way of thinking? What was worse in regard to this question was the probability that the whole-hearted British official would be turned out while the opportunist who was ready to face both ways would be retained in the public service. If responsible government resulted in a Boer majority, all those things might happen, and they might not have happened if the Government had waited a little longer. The racial feeling of which he had spoken would have been much less, and the moment they set fire to the tinder of racial feeling by taking this enormously important action they would give rise to the most disquieting apprehension. He trusted that his forebodings would not come to pass, but he thought the Government were running considerably greater risk than if they had refrained from giving responsible government for some little time longer. The responsibility would be upon His Majesty's Government, and the Opposition would refuse to take any part in it at all. He was afraid that the policy which the Government had adopted would result in alienating their friends in the effort to make others.

*MR. EVERETT (Suffolk, Woodbridge) desired most heartily to thank the Government for their proposal at once to give full and complete self-government to the inhabitants of the late South African Republic. He was glad that there was to be no gerrymandering, for the benefit of any race or interest, but full, complete self-government, based on manhood suffrage, and equal electoral districts. It was only by treating the inhabitants thus that permanent contentment and loyalty could be hopefully looked for. What were the facts of the situation? We had destroyed and annexed by the sword two free republics of white men in South Africa, which, only eight years ago, were full of contentment and prosperity. There was no better governed State anywhere than the Orange Free State, and no more prosperous country than the Transvaal. Men could go there and make fortunes more quickly than in any other part of the world, and working men could obtain employment there at higher wages than anywhere else. What had brought to an end that contentment and prosperity? Why, an awful war which had its origin in a wicked conspiracy fomented by men of immense riches in South Africa, of which conspiracy the infamous Raid was a part, and at which they had reason to believe the late Government connived. This was what brought on the cruel war, which ended in the overthrow of the two Republics after the most wonderful fight for their liberties that the world had ever seen. For nearly three years these people, descendants of the Huguenots and of the Dutch who made such a stand against the tyranny of Spain and France two centuries ago—men of the best blood in Europe—though under half a million, man, woman and child all told, had stood up against the might of the fifty millions of England and her colonies. For nearly three years these brave farmers stood up against the might of our arms, and at last were only overcome, not in fighting, but by the destruction of their means of subsistence, by the systematic burning down of their homesteads, the destroying of their crops, and the laying of the whole country waste, as had been done by the armies of no civilised nation for three centuries. We said that we sought no gold and that we desired no territory, but false to those words we had seized the goldfields and had annexed the territory.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN called the hon. Member to order, stating that they were dealing with the Colonial Office Vote and present circumstances. The hon. Member was going too far back.

*MR. EVERETT, continuing, said the present grew out of the past. We were presented with the problem of how we could best restore contentment and prosperity to those conquered and devastated regions and bring the gallant defenders of the country into amicable unity with the British inhabitants who dwelt with them. The only possible way was that which the Government was proposing to adopt—that of giving them the same constitutional freedom, the same equal rights, the same perfect self-government that they enjoyed under their own republics. There was no other way by which those brave and gallant men could be made happy and contented again in the land of which we had robbed them. We could not undo the past—he would to God we could—but let us make the only reparation in our power by restoring to them the full freedom they enjoyed when they were members of republics, with the substitution of our King as their paramonnt head. There was every reason to believe that when they found they could enjoy as much freedom under the British Crown as they enjoyed under their own several republics they would settle down with Englishmen and strive with them to lift up the country out of its dire distress and make it again one of the happiest lands on God's earth. He thanked the Government for its purpose to give at once and completely full, honest, free, self-government, to these brave men whom we had so cruelly wronged in the recent war, into which we had been drawn by unscrupulous and designing covetous men.

*MR. WEDGWOOD (Newcastle-under-Lyme) said that what they had to consider in regard to these proposals was what the results were likely to be to South Africa, and how in framing the Constitution they could ensure those results being satisfactory not only to South Africa but also to this country. He would like the Committee to consider an alternative. Everybody had assumed that by gerrymandering the constituencies or the franchise they could get a British majority or a moderate majority in South Africa. The figures that had been published upon this subject were wholly illusive. When the census of 1904 was taken there was no means of deciding whether a man was a Briton or a Boer, and the only way in which the figures had been arrived at was by going through the names and judging whether the persons bearing those names were likely to be British or Boer. There were scores of Boer families in the Transvaal bearing British names, but they belonged to the Dutch race. A large number, too, of those with British names would at the next election vote against the capitalist Party because they were very suspicious of the Progressives and of anyone connected with the Chamber of Mines. The uninitiated man in the Transvaal was apt to think that his country had been governed for the last four years by the Progressive Party and that Government had been associated with the worst depression South Africa had ever known. It was impossible for any country to suffer such depression without the Government becoming unpopular. There could only be one result of all this and it was that Het Volk would be returned with an enormous majority. No amount of altering the basis of the franchise could alter the fact that at the next election the Transvaal would return a Dutch majority. Under these circumstances how were the Government going to protect the interests of the British? He should like to say a word as to the Boer view in regard to Chinese labour. The Dutch had the good old-fashioned prejudice of returning the most wealthy members of their constituencies to represent them, and naturally they were most interested in keeping up the mines. Therefore, they could not rely on such representatives taking anything but a very narrow capitalist interest in the future of the mines, because their own private interests would be in the direction of the development of the mines. It should not be forgotten that the Boer leaders had not put forward their opposition to Chinese labour on the same grounds as the people of this country: their opposition arose on account of the outrages committed on the Rand. Consequently, when they got into power, they would make the restrictions on the Chinese greater than they were at the present time, and control them more in the manner of the Kimberley compounds. And how would they deal with the great danger of secession? The Boers would look upon the British as the people who had devastated their country, and left them without any roofs to shelter their families. They would begin by federating with the Orange River and Cape Colonies—not Natal—and the further step—secession—might naturally follow. Therefore the House must take into consideration the chance of the Boers seceding gain. If they did secede would the British fight them again or not? The Government should make up their minds upon this question now. He would try to show what the result of secession would be. A good many hon. Members sitting on the Ministerial side were frequently taunted with Majuba Hill during the election. The Liberal Party had lived it down, but Majuba was not good for the Liberal Party. After the war the Transvaal Government borrowed £35,000,000 and this country guaranteed the interest. Of course, the Boers had no voice in the borrowing of that money, or in the way it was spent. Part of it went to the British settlers, another part to the natives, and some of it was spent on public works, and he thought the latter had been ill spent. Over £2,000,000 of that sum went to purchase land for British subjects to settle upon. Under those circumstances how could we expect the Boers to regard very seriously the obligation of paying interest upon that loan? When a South American State repudiated its debts, it had a very evil future before it, because nobody would lend it any money. But the case was far different with the Transvaal. The result of all this would be that the British taxpayer in the end would have to pay the interest on that loan. He would like to ask how far we were going to allow a bare majority in any Colony to secede, and endanger the interests of a large body of loyal British? If a majority of the British indeed wished to secede and set up on their own account and be free from any connection with the Mother country, there would be no hesitation in bidding them God speed. But were we justified in saying to any South African Colony, where there was a large British population which objected to leave the Mother country, "Go and do as you like?" Were we justified in handing over British interests and British subjects to the Boers? He did not think that would be fair. We should not willingly repeat 1881 in 1911. We had supplied to the railway companies there an enormous number of British railway servants. Were we to allow these men to be deprived of their work simply because they were British? He thought it was our duty to look after these people. Were we to allow the schoolteachers, nurses, post office servants and all that vast number of British emigrants to lose all they possessed and to be turned out of the country to which they went under British protection?

MR. LUPTON: We should compensate them.

*MR. WEDGWOOD said we could never compensate any one who had been in South Africa for having to leave that country, and there was a risk of that happening under present circumstances. How could it best be avoided? He believed that the nominated second Chamber would do very well for the present, but it was only a temporary Second Chamber, and we had to look farther afield than five years if we were finally to unite South Africa to the British Empire. The first step had been taken that day in manhood suffrage. He was quite certain that one way of securing South Africa for ever was to stop the present division of society in South Africa between Briton and Boer. Manhood suffrage would do that in time. At present they had no British unskilled labour in South Africa and very little Boer unskilled labour. They would have to wait a few years before they got a Party that was not a mere race Party. There was one Party only which was truly international and paid no attention to anyone's country of origin, and that was the Socialist Party. If they could start a powerful Socialist Party in the Transvaal we would then have that country united to the British Empire. It might perhaps sound strange to say that; but if we could wipe out the question of Briton and Boer, and substitute any other division of political Parties, we should set up once and for all a healthy instead of an unhealthy division in politics in that country. If this second Chamber, which was to form part of the Constitution, was to be nominated in South Africa we should have there in miniature a copy of the lower Chamber. He therefore strongly urged on the Government that they should nominate the second Chamber in England, and that it should consist to a certain extent of English people representing our interests there, and that they should be sent out to South Africa. He believed that they would soon acclimatise themselves to South African conditions, and that they would carry the necessary weight with the people of this country. We should thereby secure not only a satisfactory solution of the Chinese labour question, but also better treatment for the natives and for the British Indians. If we could send out, for example, two Members of the Labour Party to represent the interests of labour, the hon. Member for Tyneside to represent the interests of the natives of South Africa, and the hon. Member for East Leeds to represent the interest of British Indians, he believed that the capitalists or the Randlords might have a bad quarter of an hour, but he would like to see the healthy indignation of the hon. Member for Tyneside when he found that the railway servants or other Englishmen were dismissed or penalised simply because they came from England. He believed the House could rely on any men they liked to send to look after the interests of the British people and also of the natives. They would have a safeguard in South Africa for all they wanted whatever Party was in power there. The Government of South Africa was concerned not only with the questions of Chinese labour and of the natives, but also with the keeping of the country open as an outlet for emigration of our own people at home. If the second Chamber was nominated here the Government should be careful not to make a second House of Lords, but to make the second Chamber representative rather of the grades of society not represented in the elected Chamber. It should be representative of British Indians and of poor people who went out there from this country.

*Mr. MOLTENO (Dumfries-shire) said it was inevitable that the Liberal Party should differ from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for St. George's, Hanover Square, upon this question. On the Minsterial side of the House they were the heirs and trustees of the great Liberal traditions of freedom and self-government, and under their auspices self-government had been extended over an enormous area of the world. The object of our country had been to seek not profit in the government of those distant dependencies, but only the good of the dependencies. The Liberals of to-day should act in a manner worthy of that great tradition. He desired to examine the problem of the new Constitution in the light of our Colonial history. There were three periods in that history. In the first the American Colonies were free to govern themselves, subject only to our commercial system, and without any interference whatever. They defended themselves and paid for their defence in the Seven Years War. In the second period we began to tamper with that self-government, and the result was that we lost the American Colonies. We attempted to govern those that remained and those subsequently acquired through a central London bureau and an agency on the spot. We were rudely awakened to the folly of that policy, by the rebellion in Canada which led to the policy of responsible government and gradually to free government being concened, thus forming the third period. In the Constitution which the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for St. George's, Hanover Square, proposed for the South African Colonies he went back to the worst period of our Colonial history; he took the Constitution which brought Canada to rebellion, and thought that by means of that form of government he was going to bring peace and prosperity to South Africa. It was a Constitution which contained provisions for a nominated Speaker, a nominated Executive, and nominated Members. Our Colonial history showed that everyone of those conditions had been the cause of conflict between the Mother country and one or other of the self-governing Colonies. The right hon. and learned Member had quoted Lord Durham in support of his view. He was indeed astonished to hear him quote that portion of Lord Durham's statement, because if the hon. and learned Gentleman had had any knowledge of our Colonial history he would have known that Lord Durham had two policies. One was to give the utmost freedom and self-government, and the other was to destroy the French nationality. The second policy entirely failed and had to be abandoned. In regard to the other, Lord Durham said of Crown Colony government in Canada—

> "It is difficult to understand how any English Statesman could have imagined that representative and irresponsible Government could be successfully combined."

At this period of our history it would be a retrograde step to go back to that policy. As Lord Durham very well pointed out—

> "The Crown must submit to the necessary consequences of representative institutions; and if it is to carry on the Government in unison with a representative body it must consent to carry it on by means of those in whom that representative body has confidence."

He would also remind the right hon. and learned Gentleman of what was said by another great authority, Edward Gibbon Wakefield. To give representative institutions, he said, without responsible government was very much like lighting a fire in a room with the chimney closed; how long it would last depended on the strength of the fire. There was no constitutional authority in favour of a policy of that kind. He contended that all Colonial history showed that the nominative principle had been a constant cause of conflict between the Mother country and the Colonies. It had nearly brought the Cape Colony to a rebellion. When the Cape Constitution was given in 1854, nomination was so distasteful that the Chief Justice, Sir James Wylde, reported that it was impossible to use it for the Upper Chamber. His advice was followed, and the Upper Chamber was made elective. Again, a nominated Executive kept the Cape in a state of unrest, of dissatisfaction, and of decay; and it was finally abolished in 1872. Further, a nominated Executive and Council brought Griqualand West to rebellion in 1875. In 1877, when we took over the Transvaal, self-government was promised, but was not given; and instead a nominated Council and Executive were appointed. The result was that in a few years that Colony was in a state of rebellion. He believed that if we had given responsible self-government to the Transvaal in 1877, there would never have been the rebellion and subsequent war. Were the Liberal Government going to repeat the error of that day? The Liberal Party had condemned the policy of the Conservative Government, and had urged the adoption of a different principle; and therefore they should guard against repeating the errors of the Liberal Party in 1881, which did not grant the self-government often promised to the Transvaal. In all climes, under the snows of Canada, in torrid Australia, in New Zealand, and in South Africa, wherever Englishmen were found, nominated officials brought about the same results; while complete self-government had brought order and loyalty out of chaos and discontent in all these Colonies. It had been entirely successful in Cape Colony. Sir Henry Barkly reported—

> "Responsible government had the immediate effect of substituting a single strong governing power for the dual forces of the

> Executive and Legislature, which were before as often as not exerted in opposite directions. Responsible government promises, as I anticipated, to anglicise the Colony. The Second Reading of the Bill to permit free testamentary disposition passed the other day by an enormous majority in the Assembly. The Government Railway Bill authorising an expenditure of nearly £5,000,000 in constructing nearly 800 miles of railway was read a second time unanimously. A few years ago both would have been objected to as dangerous devices of the Governor."

Coming to a later period, Sir Bartle Frere said—

> "After a long series of dislocating Kaffir wars, the English Government resolved that the system of allowing colonial management of colonial affairs to grow and develop, instead of being ruled from England, should be practically tried. The plan has answered fairly in other far-separated Colonies. It has been for eight years only in operation at the Cape. I believe it has answered still better there than in Canada or Australia.

Sir Hercules Robinson pointed out that there were three contending forces in South Africa—Imperialism, self-government, and Republicanism—and that the only means of preserving the British Empire in that part of the world was by granting self-government. The grant of self-government in the Cape Colony had brought progress and contentment and good relations between the Dutch and the British—between the white and the black. The Constitution there knew no colour; and it was unfortunate that we could not have the same throughout South Africa owing to the Vereeniging Terms. It would have been better for all the races in South Africa had it been open to the Government to give the same wide and liberal Constitution which had been given to Cape Colony. He was glad to hear the Under-Secretary say that the Government had provided for reservations until the franchise should be given to all coloured and native races. They had been told of the dire results which would follow from the Dutch majority in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony; but, as a matter of fact, in the Cape Colony there had always been a Dutch majority, and no dire results had followed from it. The granting of self-government and equal institutions had led there to the effacement of racial trouble, as it had done in Canada and Louisiana. Who were these Boers? Were they not worthy partners for us? They were a stalwart race, with a great record in Europe. They had faced and resisted the two Empires of Spain and France under Louis XIV. They were great in civic virtues, in law, art, and commerce. Had they lost their virtues in Africa? Sir B. Durban said "No"; he could quote many other authorities as to their character but would only now refer to the fact that *The Times* "History of the War" stated that—

Mr. Molteno.

> "The Dutch were a race who defended their homes and property with a bravery and resource which had rightly won the admiration of the world."

He was glad of this tribute to the Dutch, for it would go far to reconcile the races in South Africa. He knew that the best Dutch appreciated the best Englishmen. He knew of no English gentleman who had been brought into contact with Dutchmen in South Africa who did not respect them. He knew himself that there was mutual respect and mutual admiration between the two races in Cape Colony which he hoped would be extended to the whole of South Africa. The Cape was free, and, because free it was loyal. Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Reid of New South Wales attributed the loyalty of Canada and Australia to the complete concession of self-government. Why should that precedent not be followed in South Africa? Our late trouble was due to not allowing self-government free play. The Cape and Natal had protested against force and war; and no other Colonies would have stood the interference we tried with the Dutch States. Our periods of active interference had always been disastrous to ourselves, and to South Africa, as they had been in Canada. And why? Because we could not interfere wisely in a distant country. Lord Durham had pointed out that—

> "The complete and unavoidable ignorance in which the British public and even the great body of the legislators are with respect to the real interests of distant communities so entirely different from their own produces a general indifference which nothing but some great Colonial crisis ever dispels, and responsibility to Parliament or to the public opinion of Great Britain would, except on these great and rare exceptions, be positively mischievous if it were not impossible."

He would remind the House that Lord Durham had considered the policy of retaining Canada by force and the policy of conceding self-government, and that he came to the conclusion which events have since amply justified, viz., that—

> "Men have not indulged in vain the hope that there is a power in British institutions to rectify existing evils, and to produce in their place the well-being which no dominion could give. It is not in the terrors of the law, or in the might of our armies, that the secure and honourable bond of connection is to be found. It exists in the beneficial operations of those British institutions which link the utmost development of freedom and civilisation with the staple authority of an hereditary monarchy and which, if rightly organised and fully administered in the Colonies as in Great Britain, would render a change of institutions only an additionel evil in the loss of the protection and commerce of the British Empire.

He (Mr. Molteno) believed that British institutions would bring about the same results in South Africa. What could the Dutch hope for under British institutions; what Lord Elgin, the father of the present Colonial Secretary, hoped for the French to have in Canada when he said—

> "Let them feel that their religion, their habits, their prepossessions, their prejudices if you will, are more considered and respected here than in other portions of this vast continent, and who will venture to say that the last hand which waves the British flag on American ground may not be that of a French Canadian?"

What closer relation could there be between two brothers, and yet a parent often interfered and destroyed good relations. So it was with two nationalities and two parties. He was glad to say that the Governors of our Colonies were now always instructed to keep themselves apart from parties and local politics; and wherever that had been done they had been successful, and he hoped it would bring about the same results in South Africa. They had heard a good deal in recent years of loyalty and disloyalty, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon said that a short time ago that he and his Party were special friends of the Colonies.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER (Croydon): I never said that.

*MR. MOLTENO said he understood the right hon. Gentleman to represent that he and his Party were specially interested in the Colonies. Then again the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham said "the Colonies are with me to a man" and he claimed credit for their loyalty. It appeared to him that the loyalty of the Colonies was not due to any one man whom the shifting forces of politics might place in power for a time, but that it was due to a system of equal laws and great constitutional principles, which were not the monopoly of any one Party but were the growth of ages and the outcome of the energy, activity and character, as they were the glory, of the whole British people. Such loyalty we have in Canada, in the Cape Colony and in other Colonies, and he believed that by similar methods we could secure it in South Africa. We had had great crises in our history. By denying freedom we lost our first American Colonies, by conceding it we had retained Canada. We had another crisis to-day to meet in South Africa, and surely it would be a glaring mistake to go back and rely on those dumb idols, brute force, crafty policy, and racial supremacy. We had gone through a period of stress and storm in the War and we must now allow freedom and self-government to flourish once more in a land of liberty. No exercise of force could turn a Frenchman or a Dutchman into an Englishman, but what we could do was by generous treatment to convert them to loyalty to the institutions of our Empire. The constant lesson of Colonial history was that this could only be obtained by the grant of self-government, and Lord Elgin would add to a name already illustrious a higher renown by closing a dark and ill-omened chapter in our history; by giving to the continent of Southern Africa as his father had to that of Northern America the supreme gift of equal rights, equal privileges, equal duties, secured to all its varied inhabitants by the free grant of an ungrudging share in the great and splendid liberties of our own unrivalled constitution.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said that what the people of this country wanted to know was whether the Government had considered the effect of their policy on the all-important question — the keeping or the losing of South Africa. Not a single word had been heard that evening from any Government speaker which inspired a feeling that what they were about to do would operate in favour of our keeping South Africa. If those for whom he spoke could help it they did not intend to lose South Africa. We had recently been engaged in a war with the Boers and he did not suppose the Boers were different from every other race. If we had been defeated here in England three years ago, and the enemy had taken our country, every Englishman would grasp at the first opportunity which presented itself to regain all that we had lost. It was quite impossible that within three years all the passions and prejudices which had been engendered by the conflict could have been eradicated. Supposing it should happen that there was a Boer majority at the elections and that the Boers used their majority to recover all they had lost, what protection had we? None, except war again.

*MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD (Leicester) thought it appropriate to express his disappointment that the discussion of such varied and extensive materials should have been compressed into one day. There were many important matters with regard to Natal, the most important of which he had called attention to in a series of questions at an earlier hour, which, however, he had no time to discuss now. The mind of the Committee was fixed on this question of the Constitution, and upon that he proposed to speak. He agreed thoroughly with the right hon. Member for Croydon that if they could find a guarantee that the granting of this Constitution would contribute to the stability of the Colony they would not be opponents to it. The question, therefore, was, could they in their minds find such a guarantee. He did not share the view of right hon. and hon. Gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House regarding the question of the Constitution for the Orange River Colony. It might be perfectly true that Sir Hamilton Gould-Adams enjoyed the confidence of the Dutch party there, but as soon as they gave the Transvaal self-government they placed the Orange River Colony in a position of inequality, and demands would be made there for self-government, because every day self-government was carried on at Johannesburg the Orange River Colony was being insulted whilst it was being governed by a benevolent dictator. He did not, however, understand that a Constitution for the Orange River Colony was to be long postponed. He would like to know how long it was to be postponed.

MR. CHURCHILL: The South Africa Committee have not yet presented us with their report from the Orange River Colony, but it is our intention to give responsible government to the Orange River Colony at the earliest possible moment and in such a way as to secure fair and effective representation of all classes of the population.

*MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD heartily welcomed that statement. He believed profoundly that taking the Dutch in both colonies into our confidence in a whole-hearted way would not merely retain our authority in South Africa, but would make it much more real and much more secure than it was at present. He wished to bring before the Committee the labour view of the situation. It was extremely important for the Committee to remember that parties in South Africa were not merely British and Dutch; that they were divided even more by economic than by racial differences, and he hoped that when the constituencies were being carved out very great care would be taken that the boundaries were so drawn that the labour forces on the Rand would not be split up in such a way as to render labour representation practically impossible. With regard to the question of manhood suffrage he desired to join in the warning of the right hon. Member for St. George's, Hanover-square, not upon the merits of the proposal, but in reference to the position of the native. He could not conceive anything more objectionable than one standard of franchise for the white man and another for the coloured man. The one effective way for the natives to bring their influence to bear was to allow them to bring pressure to bear on all the constituencies. But if the whites had adult suffrage, he was afraid that could not be the condition of a native suffrage as well. He saw that the basis of election was to be the voters' list, but he thought that representation should be on the basis of population. If there was no floating population there would be no difference in election on the basis of the voters' list and on that of population. If the seats were distributed according to the numbers on the voters' list that would give an undue advantage to those people who had simply gone to exploit the country. He would remind the Committee that every labour political association had pronounced in favour of population. It had been suggested that if there was a Dutch majority in the Transvaal a great many things might happen, as for instance that the exclusively English character of the Civil Service would be altered, or that education might be developed on the lines that Lord Selborne had just discovered to be the right lines. But what was wanted at Johannesburg at the present time was a wise infusion of Dutch and English administrators in the same offices, and until we had that we should not have the efficient administration which all desired. When we used the expression British and Boer it was used in an absolutely meaningless sense. What was "British" in South Africa? It was used as if it was a thing which divided the population sharply into two sections. It was imagined that there was no substantial co-operation between Dutch and British, and that when they had said "Dutch" they had separated one section of the population into one camp, and when they had said "British," they had separated the other section into another camp equally distinct. When they said "British," moveover, they imagined they were suggesting something not merely racial but also political in spirit. There was nothing more fallacious and absurd than to imagine that state of things to exist. At the last by-election in Cape Colony the Dutch party was championed by an Englishman born in England, and who, being a Liberal in South Africa, was able to appeal to both Dutch and English upon political grounds and so got the English and Dutch vote as well, his opponent also getting both. If they had drawn a line across the electorate they would have found Dutch and English on one side and Dutch and English on the other. That was why he was asking the Committee to give this Constitution with all its risks, believing that only by granting such a Constitution in a whole-hearted and generous way they could lay finally and decisively the foundation of British rule in South Africa. One word more. The right hon. Gentleman the late Secretary of State for the Colonies had stated that fusion had gone far and was going on well. It had. The right hon. Gentleman told them to wait until it had gone still further before giving a Constitution. If he (Mr. Macdonald) thought that fusion could go much further under existing conditions he would wait, but it could not. Fusion had gone so far because the offer of a Constitution had awakened in the minds of the Dutch leaders a genuine political interest, and the more they raised really political questions in the Transvaal the more would political fusion continue. But without a good old-fashioned British Constitution such as this brought in by this Liberal Government they could not rouse the genuine political interests which would eliminate racial instincts and ultimately give a united South African population living happily and contentedly under the Union Jack.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (City of London): I think that everybody who has listened to the interesting speech just delivered would take the view that if we could agree with the estimate the hon. Member for Leicester has formed of the results of the policy of the Government we should take the same sanguine view that he does. But the differences which separate the hon. Member and those above the gangway are not in the ideal we have formed of what the future of South Africa should be, but simply and solely in the methods by which that common aim is to be attained, that goal which we all want to be reached in the smallest space of time. But before I come to that question I must say some words upon another matter, which has been dwelt on by the Under-Secretary and with greater emphasis by the right hon. Member for the Forest of Dean. That right hon. Gentleman reminded us that the real ultimate problem South Africa has got to face, whether it be a Dutch or British South Africa, or, as we all hope, a South Africa both British and Dutch in race, but British in sympathies—that problem is the native problem. Whatever may be the outcome of the present policy we are discussing, that which our children and grandchildren will have to deal with is the problem of how to manage a country in which the black population is, and is always going to remain, the vast majority of the population. No such problem has faced any Government up to the present time. There is a distant resemblance, but no accurate correspondence, between that problem and that which our cousins in the United States had to face in the Southern States, and have not so far faced successfully. There is no resemblance to the problem we have to deal with in the East Indies. One of my complaints against this settlement of the Government's is that I believe they make the solution of that problem more difficult even than it has been made by circumstances over which no Government has any control. They have chosen to adopt manhood suffrage as the basis of their system. Now, when you take manhood suffrage you cannot avoid everybody taking the view that that is some theoretical justification for a franchise based upon rights. I do not know whether there are many gentlemen in this House who hold what I regard as the entirely antiquated view that the question of the rights of man, as it used to be called, comes into the question of franchise reform. But directly you adopt manhood suffrage you do indicate to the rash thinker, the ordinary man in the street, that there is some right connecting the possession of manhood with the possession of the suffrage.

An HON. MEMBER: Rates and taxes.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: It is not suffrage based on rates and taxes; it is manhood suffrage. If you are going to suggest that theory of natural rights, how are you going to deal with the question of the natives at all? We have to face facts; men are not born equal, the white and black races are not born with equal capacities: they are born with different capacities which education cannot and will not change; and as far as I know there are no forces now in operation which can or will change them within a period of time. If that be true, and if it also be true, as I think it is, that we must allow the native races to have an influence and position in our legislative system, how are you going to reconcile that with a theory of manhood suffrage? I am reminded by my right hon. friend that they will be as eight to one, and if they were judiciously organised, in their hands alone would rest the whole interest of civilisation, culture, and religion—in the hands of a race which is by birth less intellectually and morally capable of dealing with these problems than a white race. I state it quite plainly and nakedly as I believe it to be. You cannot do that. Whether the system now in force in the Cape is the right system or not I do not say, but it is not manhood suffrage, and you could never associate the Transvaal with the Cape in any future scheme of federation unless either the Cape or the Transvaal changed its franchise. Well, that is a very serious thing. In my view the mere fact that the Government have chosen to make manhood suffrage the basis of their scheme not only brings them into conflict with the theory that if there were manhood suffrage there is no conceivable reason for excluding womanhood suffrage, a problem that seems to me insoluble, but it brings us face to face with the even greater and more difficult present problem of how you are going to associate North European conditions of liberty and self-government—how you are gong to associate the aborigines of South Africa with a race which has the same training which we have ourselves, whether they be drawn from Holland or this country. I believe it will be a real obstacle to the ultimate solution of what is the tremendous question with which South African statesmen in the future will inevitably have to deal. But I pass on to what is not, indeed, of greater importance, and not, indeed, of more permanent importance than the subject I have just touched upon, but which is, after all, the most pressing question we have to deal with to-day. It is the jutification for the policy of the Government, not in giving full autonomy to the Transvaal, because we are all in favour of that and there has never been, as far as I know, any divergence of opinion on any side of House on that. As the Under-Secretary well knows, that was the declared policy of the late Government, as it is the declared policy of the present. But let there be no misunderstanding. If there is to be a difference of opinon between us, and I am afraid there is, that difference is to be found, not in the ultimate goal which we all desire to reach, but in the rapidity of our movements towards that goal. Now the hon. Member who has just sat down said, truly enough, that what we wanted to do was to unite British and Dutchmen, that there were questions outside the question of race, outside the question of the flag, which may well occupy the minds of politicians, and ought to occupy their minds. I agree also in admitting at once that there are an enormous number of persons of Dutch descent in the Cape Colony who are quite ready to work with the British on these lines. That is a healthy condition of things. It has not gone so far even in Cape Colony as I could wish, but it has gone far. Have we a right to assume that this process, which is still an incomplete process in Cape Colony, which has enjoyed self-government for I do not know how many decades, which has never been at war with us, which has been in an independent position since it was subject to the arbitrary rule of the Dutch commercial colonies—are we to suppose that this process has been carried out in the Transvaal with which we have been at war only three years ago? I think the Government are attempting an experiment of the most dangerous description. Why should I like to see the experiment deferred? Is it because I distrust the Dutch? Is it because I think of them as having different aims from myself? Not at all. It is because I think they are of the same clay and are animated by the same motives. If we want to judge what the attitude of the Transvaal is to be, let us put ourselves in imagination into the position in which the great Dutch population are. Their memories are memories of war. They are memories of an independence which preceded the war. The statesmen whose names have been mentioned—Mr. Smuts, General Botha, and others—are men who took a distinguished part in the war. Are we to expect that in three years they are to say: "All that is over; the question has been settled; the arbitrament of arms has given its decision; we accept it; we are not going to struggle with the old ideal; we are going to make the best of the new circumstances?" They are human. How can you ask them to make that change of sentiment in the few months that have elapsed since the overwhelming forces at our disposal obliged them to surrender? You cannot ask it. The question you have to ask is —Human nature, be it Dutch or English, being what it is, can the political institutions you are now going to give them be made a substitute for the military organisation, cannon, and all the rest of it, which brought them honourably into the field only three years ago? ["Four years."] Well, four years; we all know the war began in 1899 and when it ended. Is not that the question we have to ask ourselves? No human being ever thought of such an experiment before—that of giving to a population equal to, and far more homogeneous than, our own, absolute control of everything, civil and military. There is nothing to prevent the country making every preparation, constitutionally, quietly, without external interference, for a new war. What is it that animates them? It cannot be yet what it would be if you would only wait—it cannot yet be that natural inborn loyalty to the British Throne and the British people; it cannot yet be a distinct and deliberate preference for the new over the old state of things. How can it be that? I believe it will come in time. But you are asking the Dutch to do what you would not do if you were in their place. That is a great deal to ask. I am astonished that any Government or any Party that cherished the British connection in the Transvaal should desire so audacious an experiment to be tried. What is the real reason for it? We know that it is done solely because the Government are desirous of getting rid of all their labour embarrassments and economic difficulties that their rash promises at the general election have brought upon them.

And the Transvaal itself is not less desirous of getting rid of Downing Street than Downing Street is of getting rid of the Transvaal [Cheers.] I do not know whether those cheers are ironical or not. [" No, no."] I do not know which proposition is disputed by the Prime Minister. Does he dispute that Downing Street is anxious to get rid of the Transvaal ? I think the Government have said so. [" Oh, oh."] I think they have gone that length. He will not dispute that the Transvaal is anxious to get rid of Downing Street. I think that is obvious on the face of every document that has issued by the population of British origin. Now I ask if we have the smallest right to take the optimistic view of the hon. Member for Reading, who made a very interesting speech from what I believe is called the Liberal Imperialist point of view, and in presenting that view he expressed himself as entirely satisfied with the scheme of the Government. He had feared much worse things, and if they had happened he said nothing would have prevented himself and his friends from separating themselves from the cause of the Government. I do not wish to throw any doubt upon that pronouncement of hypothetical political heroism, but what it is that has given such enormous satisfaction to the hon. Member I am utterly unable to see. What ground is there in the nature of things for making this experiment months or years before I think it ought to be made ? [" Oh, oh," and interruptions.] I think it should depend upon how rapidly the wounds inflicted by the war are healed. But these considerations have not influenced the Government. They have not asked how ready is the Dutch population to co-operate with the British in internal administration. This consideration has not influenced them. Then what does the hon. Member see in the plan for autonomous Government ? Does he see that the present lines of Party cleavage in the Transvaal will follow the strict lines of nationality, and is that not likely to be the cause of the greatest of all possible disasters ? What security does he see that this absolute power given to the Transvaal will not be used to establish a condition of things which may make some future action against this country possible, probable, and dangerous? I see no such security, and because I see no security against this danger, I refuse to accept the invitation so kindly offered to us by the Under-Secretary for the Colonies that we on this side should make ourselves responsible with the Government for what I regard as the most reckless experiment ever tried in the development of a great colonial policy. [" Oh, oh."] For this reason I look with alarm and distrust to the future, and only from a wisdom we can hardly hope or expect from the population in the Transvaal can the danger be avoided. For these reasons I shall certainly give my vote against the Resolution about to be put from the Chair.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, rising just before 10 o'clock, said: In the one minute left to me I will only say one thing, that never in the course of my Parliamentary career have I listened to a more unworthy, provocative, and mischievous——

And, it being Ten of the Clock, the Chairman proceeded, in pursuance of Standing Order No. 15, to put forthwith the Question necessary to dispose of the Vote under consideration.

Question put, " That a sum, not exceeding £29,050, be granted, to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, including a Grant-in-Aid of certain Expenses connected with Emigration."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 316 ; Noes, 83. (Division List No. 286.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Armitage, R.
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir

Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Beck, A. Cecil
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, SirJ.Williams(Devonp'rt
Benn, W.(T'wrHamlets, S.Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, J.H. (Essex, Romford)
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W. (Bedfordshire
Bolton, T.D.(Derbyshire, N.E.)
Bottomley, Horatio
Boulton, A. C. F. (Ramsey)
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J.F.L.(Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Sir John T. (Cheshire)
Bryce, Rt.Hn. James(Aberdeen
Bryce, J. A. (Inverness Burghs)
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt.Hn.SydneyCharles
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard K.
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clough, W.
Coats, Sir T.Glen (Renfrew,W.)
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C.H.(Sussex, E.Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cory, Clifford John
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Crossley, William J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobson, Thomas W.
Duckworth, James
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, MajorE.Martin(Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Erskine, David C.
Essex, R. W.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Findlay, Alexander
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gardner, Col.Alan(Hereford,S.)
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Gladstone, Rt.Hn.HerbertJohn
Glendinning, R. G.
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Greenwood, Hamar (York)
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hedges, A. Paget
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J.M.(Aberdeen,W.)
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hooper, A. G.
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West
Hope, W.Bateman(Somerset,N
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster)
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, SirJosephF.(Accrington)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A.Levy(Essex,Harwich)
Lever, W.H.(Cheshire,Wirral)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J.M. (Falkirk Bghs
Mackarness, Frederic C.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles(Donegal, E.
M'Arthur, William
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Mallet, Charles E.
Mansfield, H. Rendall (Lincoln
Marks, G. Croydon(Launceston
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meehan, Patrick A.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morley, Rt. Hon. John
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murphy, John
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Newnes, Sir George (Swansea
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Chas. N. (Doncas'tr
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, Kendal (TipperaryMid
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Kelly, James(Roscommon, N.
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Pearson, Sir W. D. (Colchester)
Philipps, Col. Ivor(S'thampton

Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Radford, G. H.
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Redmond, John E.(Waterford)
Rees, J. D.
Rendall, Athelstan
Richards, Thos. (W. Monm'th.)
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs)
Robertson, Rt. Hn. E.(Dundee
Robertson,Sir G.Scott(Bradfrd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Scott,A.H.(AshtonunderLyne
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hn. T. (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley,Hn.A.Lyulph(Chesh.)
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thompson,J.W.H.(Somerset,E)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds,S.
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John(Stoke upon Trent
Ward,W.Dudley (S'thampton
Wason, JohnCathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D S.
Watt, H. Anderson
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williamson, A.
Wills, Arthur Walters
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough
Wilson,J. W. (Worcestersh. N.
Winfrey, R.
Woodhouse,SirJT(Huddersf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr J. A. Pease

NOES.

Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arnold-Forster, Rt.Hn.HughO
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hn.A.J.(CityLond)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry,N.
Beach, Hn.MichaelHugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Cave, George
Cavendish, Rt.Hn. Victor C. W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Craik, Sir Henry
Dixon-Hartland,SirFredDixon
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Du Cros, Harvey
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W. V.(Hants,W.
Fell, Arthur
Fetherstonhaugh, Godfrey
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Fletcher, J. S.
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Helmsley, Viscount
Hervey,F.W.F.(BuryS.Edm'ds
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury
Hill, Henry Staveley (Staff'sh.)
Houston, Robert Paterson
Hunt, Rowland
Kennaway, Rt.Hn.Sir John H.
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
Lambton, Hn. Frederick Wm.
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Dublin,S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Sir Francis William
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Meysey-Thompson, E. C.
Morpeth, Viscount
Nicholson, Wm.G.(Petersfield
Nield, Herbert
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Parker, Sir Gilbert (Gravseend
Pease, HerbertPike(Darlingt'n
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Ratcliff, Major R. F.
Rawlinson, John Frederick P.
Roberts, S.(Sheffield, Ecclesall
Rutherford,W. W. (Liverpool)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sandys,Lieut.-Col.Thos.Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, E.
Smith, F.E.(Liverpool,Walton
Starkey, John R.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Thomson, W.Mitchell (Lanark)
Thornton, Percy M.
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset,W.
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

The CHAIRMAN then proceeded to put severally the Questions, That the total amounts of the Votes outstanding in each Class of the Civil Service Estimates, including Supplementary Estimates, and the total amount of the Votes outstanding in the Estimates for the Army (including Ordnance Factories) be granted for the Services defined in those Classes and Estimates.

CLASS I.

2. "That a sum, not exceeding £707,580, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure on the Services included in Class I. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz.:

	£
5. Miscellaneous Legal Buildings, Great Britain - -	34,800
6. Art and Science Buildings, Great Britain - - -	45,800
10. Surveys of the United Kingdom - - -	124,578
11. Harbours under the Board of Trade - - -	14,606
12. Peterhead Harbour - -	22,000
13. Rates on Government Property - - - -	340,656
14. Public Works and Buildings, Ireland - - -	96,477
15. Railways, Ireland - -	28,663
	£707,580"

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 324; Noes, 82. (Division List No. 287.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Armitage, R.
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Beck, A. Cecil
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, Sir J. Williams (Devonp'rt
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Berridge, T. D. H.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, J. H. (Essex, Romford)
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Black, Arthur W. (Bedfordshire
Bolton, T. D. (Derbyshire, N. E.
Bottomley, Horatio
Boulton, A. C. F. (Ramsey)
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Sir John T. (Cheshire)
Bryce, Rt. Hn. James (Aberdeen
Bryce, J. A. (Inverness Burghs)
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Havland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clough, W.
Coats, Sir T. Glen (Renfrew, W.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W.
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C. H. (Sussex E. Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cory, Clifford John
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Crossley, William J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, David (Montgomery Co.
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobson, Thomas W.
Duckworth, James
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Major E. M. (Walsall)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Erskine, David C.
Essex, R. W.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn Herbert John
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Greenwood, Hamar (York)
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Right Hon. Lewis
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hedges, A. Paget
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hooper, A. G.
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West
Hope, W. Bateman (Somerset N.
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon

Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich)
Lever, W. H. (Cheshire, Wirral)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs
Mackarness, Frederic C.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S
MacVeigh, Chas. (Donegal, E.)
M'Arthur, William
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Mallet, Charles E.
Mansfield, H. Rendall (Lincoln)
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meehan, Patrick A.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen
Morley, Rt. Hon. John
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murphy, John

Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Newnes, Sir George (Swansea)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncaster
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary Mid.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Pearson, Sir W. D. (Colchester)
Philipps, Col. Ivor (S'thampton
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Radford, G. H.
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Rees, J. D.
Rendall, Athelstan
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'th
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.
Robertson, Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Br'dfr'd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Scott, A. H. (Ashton under Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw Rt Hon T. (Hawick Burghs)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel

Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thompson J. W. H. (Somerset, E.
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, J. (Stoke upon Trent)
Ward W. Dudley (Southampt'n
Wason, John C. (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, H. Anderson
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williamson, A.
Wills, Arthur Walters
Wilson, Henry J. (York. W.R.)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh. N.)
Winfrey, R.
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Woodhouse. Sir J T (Hudd'rsfi'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Rt Hn. Sir Alex F.
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn Hugh O.
Balcarres, Lord
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry, N.
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bridgeman, W. Clive

Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward H.
Cave, George
Cavendish, Rt. Hn. Victor C. W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.
Cochrane, Hn. Thomas H A. E.
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow

Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S
Craik, Sir Henry
Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Du Cros, Harvey
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants, W.
Fell, Arthur

Fetherstonhaugh, Godfrey
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Fletcher, J. S.
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Helmsley, Viscount
Hervey, F. W. F. (Bury S. Edm'ds.
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury
Hill, Henry Staveley (Staff'sh.
Houston, Robert Paterson
Hunt, Rowland
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Lowe, Sir Francis William
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Meysey-Thompson, E. C.
Morpeth, Viscount
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield
Nield, Herbert
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Parker, Sir Gilbert (Gravesend
Pease Herbert Pike (Darlington
Ratcliff, Major R. F.
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Starkey, John R.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Thomson, W. Mitchell-(Lanark
Thornton, Percy M.
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Frederick Banbury and Mr. Lonsdale.

CLASS II.

3. "That a sum, not exceeding £1,203,002, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure in respect of the Services included in Class II. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz.

		£
1.	House of Lords Offices	10,210
2.	House of Commons Offices	17,900
3.	Treasury and Subordinate Departments	59,911
4.	Home Office	124,085
8.	Board of Trade	160,373
9.	Mercantile Marine Services	69,873
10.	Bankruptcy Department of of the Board of Trade	5
12.	Charity Commission	16,079
16.	Local Government Board	147,470
17.	Lunacy Commission, England	10,736
22.	Registrar-General's Office, England	25,412
23.	Stationery and Printing	401,480
24.	Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, etc., Office	12,756
25.	Works and Public Buildings Office	45,278
26.	Secret Service	10,000

Scotland.

27.	Secretary for Scotland's Office	9,750
28.	Fishery Board	13,691
29.	Lunacy Commission	3,731
30.	Registrar-General's Office	3,241
31.	Local Government Board for Scotland	10,470

Ireland.

32.	Household of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	2,672
35.	Charitable Donations and Bequests Office	1,049
37.	Public Record Office, Ireland	3,484
38.	Public Works Office	23,938
39.	Registrar General's Office	7,132
40.	Valuation and Boundary Survey (including a Supplementary sum of £1,000)	12,276
		£1,203,002"

Question put—

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 342; Noes, 82. (Division List, No. 288.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Armitage, R.
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert H.
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Beck, A. Cecil
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, Sir J. Williams (Devonp'rt
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, J. H. (Essex, Romford)

Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W. (Bedfordshire)
Bolton, T. D. (Derbyshire, N.E.)
Bottomley, Horatio
Boulton, A. C. F. (Ramsey)
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Sir John T. (Cheshire)
Bryce, Rt. Hn. James (Aberdeen
Bryce, J. A. (Inverness Burghs)
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Coats, Sir T. Glen (Renfrew, W.)
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W.
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C. H (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cory, Clifford John
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobson, Thomas W.
Duckworth, James
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne Major E Martin (Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Erskine, David C.
Essex, R. W.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gardner, Col. Alan (Hereford, S.
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Glendinning, R. G.
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Greenwood, Hamar (York)
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gulland, John W
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Right Hon. Lewis
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hedges, A. Paget
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.)
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hooper, A. G.
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Hope, W. Bateman (Somerset, N
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Johnson, W. Nuneaton)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich
Lever, W. H. (Cheshire, Wirral)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk Bgh's
Mackarness, Frederic C.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Chas. (Donegal, E.)
M'Arthur, William
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Mallet, Charles E.
Mansfield, H. Rendall (Lincoln)
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meehan, Patrick A.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murphy, John
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Newnes, Sir George (Swansea)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Chas. N. (Doncast'r)
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Pearson, Sir W. D. (Colchester)
Philipps, Col. Ivor (S'thampton)

Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, C. E.(Edinburgh,Central
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Holland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Rees, J. D.
Rendall, Athelstan
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards, Thomas (W.Monm'th
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Rt. Hn. E.(Dundee)
Robertson, SirG.Scott(Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann,Sir C. E.(Manchester)
Scott, A.H. (Ashton-und.-Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hn. T. (Hawick, B.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F.(Leitrim,S.)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal,
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant, Sir Edward(Salisbury
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, SirA. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thompson, J.W.H.(Somerset,E
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent
Ward,W.Dudley (Southampt'n
Wason, JohnCathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, H. Anderson
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williamson, A.
Wills, Arthur Walters
Wilson, Henry J.(York,W.R.)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson,J.W.(Worcestersh.N.)
Winfrey, R.
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Woodhouse,SirJT.(Huddersfi'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood,RtHn.Sir AlexF.
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.HughO.
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour,RtHn.A.J.(CityLond.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barrie, H.T. (Londonderry,N.)
Beach, Hn.Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cave, George
Cavendish,Rt.Hon.Victor C.W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Corbett, A. Cameron(Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down. North)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim,S.
Craik, Sir Henry
Douglas, Rt.Hon. A. Akers-
Du Cros, Harvey
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants,W.
Fetherstonhaugh, Godfrey
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Fletcher, J. S.
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon,J.(Londonderry,South
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.
Helmsley, Viscount
Hervey,F.W.F.(BuryS.Edm'ds
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hill, Henry Staveley (Staff'sh.)
Houston, Robert Paterson
Hunt, Rowland
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Lambton, Hon.Frederick Wm.
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Long, Rt.Hn. Walter (Dublin,S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Sir Francis William
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Mason, James F. (Windsor'
Meysey-Thompson, E. C.
Morpeth, Viscount
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield)
Nield, Herbert
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Parker, Sir Gilbert (Gravesend)
Pease,HerbertPike(Darlington
Ratcliff, Major R. F.
Rawlinson, John Frederick P.
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sandys,Lieut.-Col.Thos Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East
Smith,F.E.(Liverpool,Walton)
Starkey, John R.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Thomson,W.Mitchell-(Lanark)
Thornton, Percy M.
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart-
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Claude Hay and Mr. Fell.

CLASS III.

4. "That a sum, not exceeding £2,077,936, be granted to His Majesty to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for

Expenditure in respect of the Services included in Class III. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz.:—

	£
1. Law Charges - - -	31,954
2. Miscellaneous Legal Expenses - - - -	21,914
3. Supreme Court of Judicature - - - -	179,066
4. Land Registry - -	25,602
5. County Courts - -	2
7. Prisons, England and the Colonies - - -	394,255
8. Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain	113,977
9. Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum - - -	27,121

Scotland.

10. Law Charges and Courts of Law - - -	50,828
11. Register House, Edinburgh	27,745
12 Crofters' Commission -	2,445
13. Prisons - - - -	52,600

Ireland.

14. Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions - -	32,652
15. Supreme Court of Judicature and other Legal Departments - - -	59,586
16. Irish Land Commission -	124,215
17. County Court Officers, &c.	66,088
18. Dublin Metropolitan Police	35,721
19. Royal Irish Constabulary	710,038
20. Prisons - - - -	62,556
21. Reformatory and Industrial Schools - - -	55,995
22. Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum - - -	3,576
	£2,077,936 "

Question put—

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 339; Noes, 81. (Division List, No. 289.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Armitage, R.
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Beck, A. Cecil
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, Sir J. Williams (Devonprt
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, J. H. (Essex, Romford)
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Billson, Alfred
Black, Arthur W. (Bedfordshire)
Bolton, T. D. (Derbyshire, N.E.
Bottomley, Horatio
Boulton, A. C. F. (Ramsey)
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs, Leigh
Brunner, Sir John T. (Cheshire)
Bryce, Rt. Hn. James (Aberdeen
Bryce, J. A. (Inverness Burghs)
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Chas.
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Coats, Sir T. Glen (Renfrew, W.)
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C. H. (Sussex E. Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cory, Clifford John
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herb. J. (Tynemouth)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh S.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobson, Thomas W.
Duckworth, James
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Erskine, David C.
Essex, R. W.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Glendinning, R. G.
Glover, Thomas

Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Greenwood, Hamar (York)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hedges, A. Paget
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J.M. (Aberdeen, W.
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hooper, A. G.
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Hope, W. Bateman (Somerset, N)
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, Wm. (Carnarvonshire)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster)
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich)
Lever, W. H. (Cheshire, Wirral)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J.M. (Falkirk B'ghs
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.)
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.
M'Arthur, William
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Mallet, Charles E.
Mansfield, H. Rendall (Lincoln)
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meehan, Patrick A.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen
Morrell, Philip
Morse L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murphy, John
Myer, Horatio
Nicholls, George
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Newnes, Sir George (Swansea)
Nicholson, Chas. N. (Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paul, Herbert
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Pearson, Sir W. D. (Colchester)
Philipps, Col. Ivor (S'thampton
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, C.E. (Edinburgh, Central)
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro')
Redmond, John E. Waterford)
Rees, J. D.
Rendall, Athelstan
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'th
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Sir C. E. (Manchester
Scott, A.H. (Ashton-und.-Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hn. T. (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant, Sir Edward (Salisbury)
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thompson, J.W.H. (Somerset, E
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke-upon-Trent.
Ward, W. Dudley (Southampt'n
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, H. Anderson
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williamson, A.
Wills, Arthur Walters
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)

Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough
Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh. N.
Winfrey, R.
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Woodhouse, Sir J. T (Hudd'rsf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Rt Hn. Sir Alex F.
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn Hugh O.
Balcarres, Lord
Barrie, H.T. (Londonderry, N.)
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cave, George
Cavendish, Rt.Hn. Victor C.W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Cochrane, Hn. Thos. H. A. E.
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Craik, Sir Henry
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Du Cros, Harvey
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants, W.)
Fell, Arthur
Fetherstonhaugh, Godfrey
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Fletcher, J. S.
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Helmsley, Viscount
Hervey, F. W. F. (Bury S. Edm'ds
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hill, Henry Staveley (Staff'sh.)
Houston, Robert Paterson
Hunt, Rowland
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Lowe, Sir Francis William
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Meysey-Thompson, E. C.
Morpeth, Viscount
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield
Nield, Herbert
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Parker, Sir Gilbert (Gravesend)
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Ratcliff, Major R. F.
Rawlinson, John Frederick P.
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton
Starkey, John R.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Thomson, W. Mitchell-(Lanark
Thornton, Percy M.
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Frederick Banbury and Mr. Lonsdale.

CLASS IV.

5. "That a sum, not exceeding £8,387;882, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for expenditure in respect of the services, included in Class IV. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz.:—

	£
1. Board of Education (including a Supplementary Sum of £200,000)	6,339,600
2. British Museum	99,998
3. National Gallery	7,038
4. National Portrait Gallery	2,619
5. Wallace Collection	3,821
6. Scientific Investigation, etc., United Kingdom	33,650
7. Universities and Colleges, Great Britain and Intermediate Education, Wales	140,400
8. Public Education, Scotland	1,122,128
9. National Gallery, etc., Scotland	768
Ireland.	
10. Public Education	633,223
11. Endowed Schools Commissioners	510
12. National Gallery	1,766
13. Queen's Colleges	2,361
	£8,387,882 "

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 341; Noes, 79. (Division List, No. 290.)

AYES.

Abraham, William, (Cork, N.E.
Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Armitage, R.
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Beck, A. Cecil
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon

Benn, Sir J. Williams (Dev'np'rt
Benn, W.(T'w'rHamlets,S.Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, J. H. (Essex, Romford
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W.(Bedfordshire
Bolton, T. D.(Derbyshire,N.E.)
Bottomley, Horatio
Boulton, A. C. F. (Ramsey)
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. D.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J.F.L.(Lancs.,Leigh)
Brunner,Sir John T.(Cheshire)
Bryce, Rt. Hn. Jas. (Aberdeen)
Bryce, J.A (Inverness Burghs)
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Chas.
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cawley, Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Coats,SirT.Glen(Renfrew,W.)
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir W. J. (S.PancrasW.
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, CH.(Sussex,E.Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cory, Clifford John
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Crosfield, A. H.
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh,S.)
Dickinson, W. H. (StPancrasN.
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobson, Thomas W.
Duckworth, James
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne,Maj.E.Martin(Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)

Elibank, Master of
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Erskine, David C.
Essex, R. W.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert J.
Glendinning, R. G.
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Greenwood, Hamar (York)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hn. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hedges, A. Paget
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hooper, A. G.
Hope, W.Bateman(Somerset,N
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, Wm. (Carnarvonshire)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)

Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese,Sir Joseph F.(Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A.Levy (Essex,Harwich)
Lever, W. H. (Cheshire, Wirral)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J.M. (Falkirk B'ghs
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh,Jeremiah (Down,S.
MacVeigh,Charles(Donegal,E.
M'Arthur, William
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Mallet, Charles E.
Mansfield, H. Rendall (Lincoln)
Marks,G.Croydon(Launceston
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meehan, Patrick A.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murphy, John
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Newnes, Sir George (Swansea)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson,CharlesN.(Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien,Kendal (TipperaryMid
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly,James(Roscommon,N
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek

Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Pearson, Sir W. D. (Colchester)
Philipps, Col. Ivor (S'thampton)
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, C.E. (Edinburgh, Central)
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Holland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rees, J. D.
Rendall, Athelstan
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'th
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Sir C. E (Manchester)
Scott, A. H. (Ashton under-Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick, B)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant, Sir Edward (Salisbury)
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thompson, J. W. H. (S'mers't, E.
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent
Ward, W. Dudley (Southampt'n
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, H. Anderson
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williamson, A.
Wills, Arthur Walters
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh. N.)
Winfrey, R.
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Rt. Hn Sir Alex F
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Barrie, H. T. (Londonderry, N.)
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cave, George
Cavendish, Rt. Hn. Victor C. W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Craik, Sir Henry
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Du Cros, Harvey
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants, W.)
Fell, Arthur
Fetherstonhaugh, Godfrey
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hervey, F. W. F. (Bury S. Edm'ds
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hill, Henry Staveley (Staff'sh.)
Houston, Robert Paterson
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir John H.
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Sir Francis William
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Meysey-Thompson, E. C.
Morpeth, Viscount
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield)
Nield, Herbert
O'Niell, Hon. Robert Torrens
Parker, Sir Gilbert (Gravesend)
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington)
Ratcliff, Major R. F.
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Starkey, John R.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Thomson, W. Mitchell- (Lanark
Thornton, Percy M.
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Lane-Fox and Mr. Gibbs.

CLASS V.

6. "That a sum, not exceeding £1,196,905, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907,

for Expenditure on the Services included in Class V. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
1. Diplomatic and Consular Services - - -	303,856
2. Colonial Services - -	827,952
3. Telegraph Subsidies and Pacific Cable - - -	49,497
4. Cyprus (Grant in Aid)	1,000
5. Treasury Chest Fund -	14,600
	£1,196,905

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 337; Noes, 79. (Division List, No. 291.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Armitage R.
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Beck, A. Cecil
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, Sir J. Williams (Devonp'rt
Benn, W. (T'wr Hamlets S. Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, J. H. (Essex, Romford)
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W. (Bedfordshire)
Bolton, T. D. (Derbyshire, N.E.
Bottomley, Horatio
Boulton, A. C. F. (Ramsey)
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Sir John T. (Cheshire)
Bryce, Rt. Hn. Jas. (Aberdeen)
Bryce, J. A. (Inverness Burghs)
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Chas.
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Coats, Sir T. Glen (Renfrew, W.)
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir W. J. (S. Pancras, W.)
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C. H. (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cory, Clifford John
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N.
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobson, Thomas W.
Duckworth, James
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Maj. E. Martin (Walsall)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Erskine, David C.
Essex, R. W.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herb. John
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Greenwood, Hamar (York)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r.
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hedges, A. Paget
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hooper, A. G.
Hope, W. Bateman (Somerset, N.
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvon-sh.)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester
Lambert, George

Lamont, Norman
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese,SirJoseph F.(Accrington)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever,A. Levy (Essex,Harwich)
Lever, W. H.(Cheshire, Wirral)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M. (FalkirkB'hs)
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down,S.
MacVeigh,Charles(DonegalE.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Mallet, Charles E.
Mansfield, H. Rendall (Lincoln)
Marks,G.Croydon(Launceston
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meehan, Patrick A.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murphy, John
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Newnes, Sir George (Swansea)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson,Charles N.(Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Captain Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien,Kendal (TipperaryMid
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly,James(Roscommon,N
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Pearson, Sir W. D. (Colchester
Philipps,Col.Ivor(S'thampton)
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Holland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rees, J. D.
Rendall, Athelstan
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards,Thomas(W.Monm'th
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson,Rt. Hn.E.(Dundee)
Robertson,Sir G.Scott(Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Sir C. E. (Manchester
Scott,A. H.(Ashton under Lyne
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hn. T. (Hawick, B.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth,Thomas F.(Leitrim,S.)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley,Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh)
Stewart Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant,SirEdward(Salisbury
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas,Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thompson,J.W.H.(Somerset,E
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds,S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke-on-Trent)
Ward,W.Dudley(Southampt'n
Wason,John Cathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, H. Anderson
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williamson, A.
Wills Arthur Walters
Wilson,Henry J. York,(W.R.)
Wilson,J. W.(Worcestersh.N.)
Winfrey, R.
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Woodhouse,SirJT(Huddersf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Rt.Hn.SirAlexF.
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,RtHn.HughO
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hn.A.J.(CityLond.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Beach, Hn.Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cave, George
Cavendish, Rt.Hon.VictorC.W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig,CharlesCurtis(AntrimS.
Craik, Sir Henry
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Du Cros, Harvey
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants, W.)
Fell, Arthur
Fetherstonhaugh, Godfrey
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Hamilton, Marquess of

Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hervey, F.W.F.(Bury S.Edm'ds
Hill, Henry Staveley (Staff'sh.
Hunt, Rowland
Kennaway, Rt.Hn. Sir John H.
Keswick, William
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Long, Rt.Hn. Walter(Dublin,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Sir Francis William
Lyttelton, Rt. Hn. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Marks, H. H. (Kent
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Meysey-Thompson, E. C.
Morpeth, Viscount
Nicholson, Wm. G.(Petersfield
Nield, Herbert
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Parker, Sir Gilbert (Gravesend)
Pease, Herbert Pike(Darlington
Ratcliff, Major R. F.
Rawlinson, John Frederick P.
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sandys, Lieut.-Col Thos. Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, F.E.(Liverpool, Walton)
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Thomson, W. Mitchell-(Lanark)
Thornton, Percy M.
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C.E. Howard
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart-
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Starkie and Sir Clement Hill.

CLASS VI.

7. "That a sum, not exceeding £582, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure in respect of the Services included in Class VI. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz.—

	£
3. Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances - - -	383
4. Hospitals and Charities, Ireland	199
	£582

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 334; Noes, 78. (Division List No. 292.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Armitage, R.
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A.(Finsbury, E.)
Baring, Godfrey(Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Beck, A. Cecil
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, Sir J. Williams(Dev'np'rt
Benn, W(T'w'r Hamlets, S.Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, J. H. (Essex, Romford)
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W. (Bedfordshire
Bolton, T.D. (Derbyshire, N.E.)
Bottomley, Horatio
Boulton, A. C. F. (Ramsey)
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J.F.L (Lancs., Leigh)
Bryce, Rt.Hn. James (Aberdeen
Bryce, J. A. (Inverness Burghs)
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt.Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt.Hn. Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Chance, Frederick William
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Coats, Sir T. Glen (Renfrew, W.)
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J.(S. Pancras W.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C.H(Sussex, E.Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cory, Clifford John
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dickinson, W.H. (St. Pancras N.
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dobson, Thomas W.
Duckworth, James
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Major E. Martin(Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Erskine, David C.
Essex, R. W.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Ffrench, Peter
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Gladstone, Rt.Hn. Herbert John
Glendinning, R. G.
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Greenwood, Hamar (York)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward

Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardie, J. Keir (MerthyrTydvil)
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hedges, A. Paget
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hooper, A. G.
Hope, W. Bateman(Somerset, N
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Leif (Appleby)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich)
Lever, W. H. (Cheshire, Wirral)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macdonald. J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Mallet, Charles E.
Mansfield, H. Rendall (Lincoln
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meehan, Patrick A.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murphy, John
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Newnes, Sir George (Swansea)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncaster
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool).
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly, James(Roscommon, N.
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs, Leek)
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Pearson, Sir W. D. (Colchester)
Philipps, Col. Ivor (S'thampton)
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, C. E. ((Edinb'gh, Central)
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rees, J. D.
Rendall, Athelstan
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards, Thomas(W. Monm'th
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee)
Robertson SirG. Scott(Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Rutherford, V. H. (Brentford)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Scott, A. H. (Ashton underLyne)
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick, B)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, H. A Lyulph (Chesh.)
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant, Sir Edward(Salisbury
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thompson, J. W. H. (Somerset, E
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
Ward, W. Dudley(Southampton
Wason, John Cathcart(Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, H. Anderson
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williamson, A.
Wills, Arthur Walters
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R
Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh. N.)
Winfrey, R.
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Rt. Hn. Sir A. F.
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt, Hn. Hugh O.
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cave, George
Cavendish, Rt. Hon. Victor C. W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Craik, Sir Henry
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants, W.)
Fell, Arthur
Fetherstonhaugh, Godfrey
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hervey, F. W. F(Bury S Edmn'ds
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury(
Hill, Henry Staveley (Staff'sh.)
Houston, Robert Paterson
Hunt, Rowland
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir J. H.
Keswick, William
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Dublin, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Sir Francis William
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Meysey-Thompson, E. C.
Morpeth, Viscount
Nicholson, W. G. (Petersfield)
Nield, Herbert
O'Neill, Hn. Robert Torrens
Parker, Sir Gilbert (Gravesend)
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Ratcliff, Major R. F.
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Starkey, John R.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Thornton, Percy M.
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart-
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES — Mr. Mitchell-Thomson and Mr. Gibbs.

CLASS VII.

8. "That a sum, not exceeding £350,759, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure in respect of the Services included in Class VII. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz.—

	£
1. Temporary Commissions -	27,000
2. Miscellaneous Expenses -	10,743
3. Repayments to the Local Loans Fund - - -	58
4. Ireland Development Grant	85,000
5. Repayments to Civil Contingencies Fund - -	22,958
6. Inter-Parliamentary Conference - - - -	5,000
7. Expenses under the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905 - - - -	200,000
	£350,759

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 322; Noes, 74. (Division List No. 293.)

AYES.

Abraham, Wm. (Cork, N.E.)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Armitage, R.
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Beck, A. Cecil
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, Sir J. Williams (Devonp'rt
Benn, W. (T'wr Hamlets, S. Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, J. H. (Essex, Romford)
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hn. Augustine
Black, Arthur W. (Bedfordsh.
Bolton, P. D. (Derbyshire, N.E.
Bottomley, Horatio
Boulton, A. C. F. (Ramsey)
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brooke, Stopford
Bryce, Rt. Hn. Jas. (Aberdeen)
Bryce, J. A. (Inverness Burghs)
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Chas.
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Coats, Sir T. Glen (Renfrew. W.)

Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir W.J. (S. Pancras,W.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C.H.(SussexEGrinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cory, Clifford John
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herb. J. (Tynemouth)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.
Dickinson,W.H.(St.Pancras,N.
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dobson, Thomas W.
Duckworth, James
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, MajorE.Martin(Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Erskine, David C.
Essex, R. W.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Rt. Hn. Sir Walter
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Glendinning, R. G.
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Greenwood, Hamar (York)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Right Hon. Lewis
Hardie,J.Keir(Merthyr Tydvil)
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazel, Dr. A. E.

Hazleton, Richard
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hedges, A. Paget
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hooper, A. G.
Hope,W.Bateman(Somerset,N.
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones,William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
King,Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G.(Leominster
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese,Sir Joseph F.(Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex,Harwich
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt.Hn. David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J.M.(Falkirk Bg'hs
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal,E.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Mallet, Charles E.
Mansfield, H. Rendall(Lincoln)
Marks,G.Croydon (Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Meehan, Patrick A.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Morgan G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus, Cleophas

Murphy, John
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts.Bassetlaw)
Newnes, Sir George (Swansea)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson,Charles N.(Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien,Kendal (TipperaryMid
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly,James (Roscommon,N.
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Pearson, Sir W. D.(Colchester)
Philipps,Col.Ivor (S'thampton
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, C.E.(Edinburgh,Central)
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Holland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea,Walter Russell (Scarboro')
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rees, J. D.
Rendall, Athelstan
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards,Thomas (W.Monm'th
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson, Rt.Hn.E. (Dundee)
Robertson,Sir G.Scott(Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M .(Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L.(Cleveland)
Schwann, Sir C.E.(Manchester)
Scott, A. H. (Ashton-und.-Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J.H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt.Hon. T. (Hawick,B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F.(Leitrim, S.)

Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanger, H. Y.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J.E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant, Sir Edward (Salisbury
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thompson, J.W.H. (Somerset, E
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke-upon-Trent
Ward, W. Dudley (Southampt'n
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, H. Anderson
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williamson, A.
Wills, Arthur Walters
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh. N.)
Winfrey, R.
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Woodhouse, Sir J.T. (Hudd'rs'fd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Rt. Hn. Sir Alex. F.
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt Hon. Hugh O.
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cave, George
Cavendish, Rt. Hon. Victor C.W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Craik, Sir Henry
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants, W.)
Fell, Arthur
Fetherstonhaugh, Godfrey
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Gibb, James (Harrow)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison, Broadley, Col. H. B.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hervey, F. W. F. (Bury S. Edm'd
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hill, Henry Staveley (Staff'sh.)
Houston, Robert Paterson
Hunt, Rowland
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir John H.
Keswick, William
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Dublin, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Sir Francis William
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Meysey-Thompson, E.C.
Morpeth, Viscount
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield)
Nield, Herbert
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Parker, Sir Gilbert (Gravesend)
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Ratcliff, Major R. F.
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, F.E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Starkey, John R.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Thomson, W. Mitchell (Lanark)
Thornton, Percy M.
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C.E. Howard
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C.B. Stuart
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Samuel Roberts and Mr. James Mason.

ARMY ESTIMATES, 1906-7.

9. "That a sum, not exceeding £1,803,100, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure on the Army Services, includ- Army (Ordnance Factories), viz:—

	£
5. Volunteer Corps, Pay and Allowances	1,244,000
13. War Office and Army Accounts Department	559,000
Ordnance Factories	100
	£1,803,100"

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 318; Noes, 67. (Division List No. 294.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Armitage, R.
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)

Beck, A. Cecil
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, Sir J. Williams (Devonport
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, J. H. (Essex, Romford)
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W. (Bedfordshire)
Bolton, T. D. (Derbyshire, N.E.)
Bottomley, Horatio
Boulton, A. C. F. (Ramsey)
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brooke, Stopford
Bryce, Rt. Hn. James (Aberdeen)
Bryce, J. A. (Inverness Burghs)
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Coats, Sir T. Glen (Renfrew, W.)
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C. H (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cory, Clifford John
Cotton, Sir H. J. S.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N.
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dobson, Thomas W.
Duckworth, James
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Walsall)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Erskine, David C.
Essex, R. W.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey

Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Glendinning, R. G.
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Greenwood, Hamar (York)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hedges, A. Paget
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hooper, A. G.
Hope, W. Bateman (Somerset, N
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster)
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)

Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M (Falkirk Burghs
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.)
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Mallet, Charles E.
Mansfield, H. Rendall (Lincoln)
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Meehan, Patrick A.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murphy, John
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Newnes, Sir George (Swansea)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert Staffs. (Leek)
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Pearson, Sir W. D. (Colchester)
Philipps, Col. Ivor (S'thampton)
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)

Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro')
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rendall, Athelstan
Richards, Thomas(W.Monm'th
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson, Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott(Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Sir C. E.(Manchester)
Scott, A. H. (Ashton-underLyne)
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph(Chesh.)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant, Sir Edward(Salisbury)
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thompson, J. W. H. (Somerset, E.
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
Ward, W. Dudley (S'thampton
Wason, John Cathcart(Orkney)
Waterlow, D. S.
Watt, H. Anderson
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williamson, A.
Wills, Arthur Walters
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, J. W. (WorcestershireN.)
Winfrey, R.
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersf'd
Yoxall, James Henry
TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cave, George
Cavendish, Rt. Hon. Victor C. W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craik, Sir Henry
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants, W.)
Fell, Arthur
Fetherstonhaugh, Godfrey
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest (Berks, East)
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hervey, F. W. F. (Bury S. Edm'ds
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hill, Henry Staveley (Staff'sh.)
Houston, Robert Paterson
Hunt, Rowland
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Dublin, S)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Sir Francis William
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Meysey-Thompson, E. C.
Morpeth, Viscount
Nield, Herbert
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Pease, Herbert Pike(Darlington)
Ractliff, Major R. F.
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Starkey, John R.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Thomson, W. Mitchell-(Lanark)
Thornton, Percy M.
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Chairman do report these Resolutions to the House."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 298; Noes, 67. (Division List No. 295.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Adkins, W. Ryland D.
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Allen, Charles P. (Stroud)
Armitage, R.
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Beck, A. Cecil
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, Sir J. Williams(Devonport
Benn, W.(T'w'r Hamlets, S.Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, J. H. (Essex, Romford)
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W.(Bedfordshire

Bolton, T.D. (Derbyshire, N.E.)
Bottomley, Horatio
Boulton, A. C. F. (Ramsey)
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brooke, Stopford
Bryce, Rt. Hn. James (Aberdeen)
Bryce, J. A. (Inverness Burghs)
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clarke, C. Goddard
Clough, W.
Coats Sir T. Glen (Renfrew, W.)
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras W.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C. H (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cory, Clifford John
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Ellis William (Eifion)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dobson, Thomas W.
Duckworth, James
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Major E. Martin (Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Erskine, David C.
Essex, R. W.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Gladstone, Rt Hn. Herbert John
Glendinning, R. G.
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Greenwood, Hamar (York)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hedges, A. Paget
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hooper, A. G.
Hope, W. Bateman (Somerset, N.
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jardine, Sir J.
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewith, Sir George
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster)
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Mackarness, Frederic C.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.)
MacVeigh, Chas. (Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
M'Micking, Major G.
Mallet, Charles E.
Mansfield, H. Rendall (Lincoln)
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Meehan, Patrick A.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Molteno, Percy Alport
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murphy, John
Myer, Horatio
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Newnes, Sir George (Swansea)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Chas. N. (Doncaster)
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Captain Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary Mid.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
Parker, James (Halifax)
Partington, Oswald
Paul, Herbert
Pearce, Robert (Staffs., Leek)
Pearce, William (Limehouse)
Pearson, Sir W.D. (Colchester)
Philipps, Col. Ivor (S'thampton
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rendall, Athelstan
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards, Thos. (W. Monm'th)
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson, Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Sir C.E. (Manchester)
Scott, A.H (Ashton under Lyne)
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James

Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick,B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, D.John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim,S.)
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant, Sir Edw. (Salisbury)
Tennant, H. J. (Berwickshire)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thompson,J.W.H (Somerset,E.
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke uponTrent)
Ward, W.Dudley(Southampt'n
Wason, JohnCathcart(Orkney)
Watt, H. Anderson
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williamson, A.
Wills, Arthur Walters
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W R.)
Wilson,J.W.(Worcestershire,N
Winfrey, R.
Wood, T. M‘Kinnon
Woodhouse,SirJ.T.(Huddersf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood,Rt.Hn.SirAlex.F
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.HughO.
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Beach, Hn.MichaelHugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Carson, Rt. Hn. Sir Edw. H.
Cave, George
Cavendish, Rt. Hn. VictorC.W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craik, Sir Henry
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hn. A. Akers-
Faber, George Denison (York)
Fell, Arthur
Fetherstonhaugh, Godfrey
Finch, Rt. Hn. George H.
Forster, Henry William
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H.B.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hervey, F.W.F.(BurySEdm'ds
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hill, Henry Staveley (Staff'sh.)
Houston, Robert Paterson
Hunt, Rowland
Lambton, Hn. Frederick Wm.
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Dublin,S)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lyttelton, Rt. Hn. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Meysey-Thompson, E. C.
Morpeth, Viscount
Nield, Herbert
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Pease, Herb. Pike (Darlington)
Ratcliff, Major R. F.
Rawlinson, JohnFredk. Peel
Roberts, S. (Sheffield,Ecclesall)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford,East)
Smith, F.E.(Liverpool, Walton
Starkey, John R.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Thomson,W. Mitchell-(Lanark)
Thornton, Percy M.
Valentia, Viscount
Walrond, Hn. Lionel
Williams, Col R. (Dorset, W.)
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B.Stuart-
Younger, George

Tellers lor the Noes—Sir Francis Lowe and Captain Faber.

Resolutions to be reported to-morrow.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. Emmott (Oldham) in the Chair.]

Motion made, and Question put, "That towards making good the Supply granted to His Majesty for the Service of the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, the sum of £68,528,828 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 252; Noes, 64. (Divisional List No. 296.)

AYES.

Abraham,William (Cork, N.E.)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Armitage, R,
Asquith,Rt.Hn.Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker,Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Beck, A. Cecil
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn,W.(T'w'r Hamlets,S.Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black,Arthur W. (Bedfordshire
Bolton,T. D. (Derbyshire, N.E.)
Bottomley, Horatio
Boulton, A. C. F. (Ramsey)
Brace, William

Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brooke, Stopford
Bryce, J. A.(Inverness Burghs)
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton,Rt.Hn.Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton,Rt.Hn.RichardKnight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clough, W.
Coast,Sir T.Glen (Renfrew, W.)
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett,C H (Sussex,E.Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cory, Clifford John
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dobson, Thomas W.
Duckworth, James
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne,Major E.Martin(Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John Edward
Erskine, David C.
Essex, R. W.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Gladstone,Rt.Hn.HerbertJohn
Glendinning, R. G.
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Right Hon. Lewis
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hedges, A. Paget
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hope,W.Bateman (Somerset,N
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones,William(Carnarvonshire)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kincaid-Smith Captain
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Lamb,Edmund G.(Leominster
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese,Sir Joseph F.(Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever,A.Levy (Essex,Harwich
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
MacVeagh,Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal,E.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
Mansfield, H. Rendall (Lincoln)
Marks,G.Croydon (Launceston)
Massie, J.
Meehan, Patrick A.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murphy, John
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Newnes, Sir George (Swansea)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson,CharlesN.(Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien,Kendal (TipperaryMid
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly,James(Roscommon,N.
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
Parker, James (Halifax)
Paul, Herbert
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek
Pearson, Sir W. D.(Colchester
Philipps,Col.Ivor (S'thampton)
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price,C.E.(Edinburgh, Central)
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Holland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Rendall, Athelstan
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards,Thomas (W.Monm'th
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, G. N. (Norwich)
Robertson,Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee
Robertson,Sir G.Scott(Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Scott,A.H.(Ashton under Lyne)
Seaverns, J. H.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw,Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick, B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth,Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edwar
Strauss, E. A. (Abindgon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant,Sir Edward (Salisbury
Thomas,Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thompson, J.W.H.(Somerset,E
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Walsh, Stephen
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Ward, John (Stoke-upon-Trent
Ward,W.Dudley (Southampt'n
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney
Watt, H. Anderson
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J, (Glamorgan)

Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, W. J.(Worcestersh. N.)
Winfrey, R.
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Woodhouse,Sir J.T.(Hudd'rsf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood,RtHn.Sir Alex.F
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.Hugh O.
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Beach,Hn.Michael Hugh Hicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cave, George
Cavendish,Rt.Hn. Victor C. W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil,Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craik, Sir Henry
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Faber, Capt.W.V. (Hants.,W.)
Fell, Arthur
Fetherstonhaugh, Godfrey
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Forster, Henry William
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon,J.(Londonderry, South
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hervey,F.W.F.(Bury S.Edm'ds
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hill, Henry Staveley (Staff'sh.)
Hunt, Rowland
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Long,Rt. Hn. Walter(Dublin,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Sir Francis William
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Meysey-Thompson, E. C.
Morpeth, Viscount
Nield, Herbert
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Pease,Herbert Pike(Darlington
Ratcliff, Major R. F.
Rawlinson,John Frederick Pee
Roberts, S.(Sheffield,Ecclesall)
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sandys, Lieut.-Col.Thos.Myles
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford, East)
Smith,F. E. (Liverpool,Walton
Starkey, John R.
Thomson, W.Mitchell (Lanark)
Thornton, Percy M.
Valentia, Viscount
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Wortley,Rt. Hon. C.B. Stuart-
Younger, George

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. George Faber and Mr. Walrond.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Chairman do report this Resolution to the House."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 239; Noes, 55. (Division List No. 297.)

AYES.

Abraham, Wm. (Cork, N.E.)
Acland, Francis Dyke
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Armitage, R.
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert H.
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Beck, A. Cecil
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, W. (T'w'r HamletsSGeo
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hn. Augustine
Black, Arthur W.(Bedfordsh.)
Bolton, T. D. (Derbyshire,N.E.
Bottomley, Horatio
Boulton, A. C. F. (Ramsey)
Brace, William
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Bryce, Rt. Hn. Jas. (Aberdeen)
Bryce, J. A. (InvernessBurghs
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, Rt. Hn. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, RtHnRichard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clough, W.
Coats, Sir T. Glen (Renfrew, W.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett,CH(SussexE. Grinst'd)
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cory, Clifford John
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth
Cremer, William Randal
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, S.)
Dobson, Thomas W.
Duckworth, James
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Maj. E Martin(Walsall)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, Rt. Hn. John Edward
Erskine, David C.
Essex, R. W.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Ffrench, Peter
Field, William
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gill, A. H.
Ginnell, L.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert J.
Glendinning, R. G.
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hn. Sir Edward
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gulland, John W.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Right Hon. Lewis
Hardie, JKeir(Merthyr Tydvil)
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hedges, A. Paget
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)

Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hope, W. Bateman (SomersetN
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Illingworth, Percy H.
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Wm. (Carnarvonshire)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kekewich, Sir George
Kincaid-Smith, Captain
Lamb, Edmund G. (Leominster
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir J. F. (Accrington)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, A. Levy (Essex,Harwich
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macdonald, J.R. (Leicester)
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S
MacVeigh, Chas. (Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
Mansfield, H. Rendall (Lincoln
Marks, G.Croydon(Launceston)
Massie, J.
Meehan, Patrick A.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murphy, John
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Chas. N. (Doncaster
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly,James(Roscommon,N.
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
Parker, James (Halifax)
Paul, Herbert
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Pearson, Sir W. D. Colchester)
Philipps, Col. Ivor (S'tham'ton)
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, Robert John (Norfolk, E.
Priestley, Arthur (Grantham)
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Holland
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Rendall, Athelstan
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards, Thos.(W.Monm'th)
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson,SirG.Scott(Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson S.
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herb. L. (Cleveland)
Scott, AH(AshtonunderLyne)
Seaverns, J. H.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hn. T. (Hawick, B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Spicer, Sir Albert
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant, Sir Edw. (Salisbury)
Thomas, Sir A.(Glamorgan,E.)
Thompson,JWH(Somerset, E.)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Walsh, Stephen
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Ward, J. (Stoke upon Trent)
Ward, W. Dudley (Southa'pt'n
Wason, John Cathcart(Orkney)
Watt, H. Anderson
White, George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R)
Wilson,J.W.(Worcestersh., N.)
Winfrey, R.
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Woodhouse, SirJT(Huddersf'd.
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood,RtHnSir Alex. F.
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. H. O.
Balcarres, Lord
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Beach, Hn. Michael HughHicks
Beckett, Hon. Gervase
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cave, George
Cavendish,Rt. Hn.Victor C.W.
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craik, Sir Henry
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Faber, George Denison (York)
Faber, Capt. W. V. (Hants, W.)
Fell, Arthur
Fetherstonhaugh, Godfrey
Finch, Rt. Hn. George H.
Forster, Henry William
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon,J. (Londonderry,South
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.
Hay, Hn. Claude George
Hervey,F.W.F.(BurySEdm'ds)
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hill, HenryStaveley (Staff'sh.)
Lane-Fox, G. R.
Long,Rt. Hn. Walter (Dublin,S
Lyttleton, Rt. Hn. Alfred
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Mason, James F. (Windsor)
Meysey-Thompson, E. C.
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Pease, Herb. Pike (Darlington)
Ratcliff, Major R. F.
Roberts, S. (Sheffield, Ecclesall
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East
Smith,F.E.(Liverpool, Walton)
Starkey, John R.
Thomson, W. Mitchell-(Lanark
Thornton, Percy M.
Valentia, Viscount
Walrond, Hon. Lionel
Williams, Col. R. (Dorset, W.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Younger, George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Frederick Banbury and Mr. Lonsdale.

Resolution to be reported to-morrow.

MUSICAL COPYRIGHT BILL.

Order for Third Reading read.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. GLADSTONE, Leeds, W.) appealed to the House to pass the Third Reading of the Bill. His hon. friend the Member for the Scotland division of Liverpool had brought the Bill to this stage, and it was supported by three leaders of Parties in this House. When it had reached the Committee stage the Government intervened and adopted the Bill, because they thought that a serious injustice was entailed upon composers as the law now stood. It had been said that they had intervened because of the action taken by large firms. All he could say was that that was not so in his case. For some two years he had felt that grave hardship had been imposed, not upon large and influential firms who were well able to take care of themselves, but upon the composers of songs, especially composers of the best songs, who had been very unfairly dealt with. He might be carried away because of some interest on his part in the musical profession and in the art of music. He must confess that in regard to the Members who offered opposition to this Bill he had not observed that any of them were connected with the musical profession, or, gifted as they were in other respects, endowed with musical talents. It seemed to him that, as he was to some extent associated with the musical profession for many years, he had a particular interest in this question. As the Government had only intervened in support of the Bill at a late stage it was obvious that they were not responsible for the original drafting of the measure. As a matter of fact, they did not intervene until the session was drawing to a close and until the Bill had reached the Committee stage. The Government had considered the matter and were prepared to meet the objections of some of his hon. friends below the Gangway who said that the Bill would have a very drastic effect if it was passed in its present form. He thought his hon. friend in charge of the Bill would not only admit that his Amendments were satisfactory to those hon. Gentlemen, but also recognise their perfect sincerity of purpose in objecting to certain portions of the Bill, and in pointing out certain dangers which might attend the passing of some of its provisions. The Government were prepared to meet the desires and wishes of hon. Members who had put forward reasonable objections to the Bill. They had therefore drawn up Amendments which they had submitted to hon. Gentlemen who had taken a leading part in criticising the Bill. He understood that all the hon. Members were favourably disposed towards those Amendments. They had amended the Bill so that there should be no imprisonment for a first offence. They had also provided that the printer, as well as the hawker, should be liable, and they had limited the power of arrest without warrant. The proposals which they should bring forward in another place were first of all that no proceedings were to be taken in respect of any offence committed before the music was registered at Stationers' Hall, whether the music was published in England or abroad. In the second place, they would propose that no arrest was to be made without the authority of the owner of the copyright, who should give the titles of the copyright works in regard to which infringement was complained of, the particulars being addressed to the chief police inspector of the district. Then to meet the point that a hawker might innocently purchase pirated copyrighted music he proposed another Amendment. The Bill provided that the hawker should prove his innocence, and if he did so he should escape any penalty, and the point of their third proposal was that if no conclusive proof could be adduced either way, and that might happen occasionally or even frequently, the hawker, if it was his first offence, would not be liable to any penalty. The effect of the Amendment would be where there was the printer's and publisher's name upon the music to throw the onus of proof upon the prosecutor. The fourth Amendment was that there should be an appeal to Quarter Sessions. He hoped these Amendments would satisfy hon. Members who opposed the Bill, and that they would now allow it to go through.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

*Mr. J. D. WHITE (Dumbartonshire) said his opposition to this Bill as it stood was based not on a knowledge of music but on a desire to safeguard the liberties of innocent people. He was opposed to musical piracy as much as anyone, but he held that such new and drastic provisions should be qualified by proper safeguards. He considered that no proceedings should be taken unless the piece of music upon which the prosecution was founded had been registered before the commission of the alleged offence. In the case of music which had first been printed abroad in a country not within the international conventions no copyright could be subsequently obtained here, and yet he had been informed that in some such cases there had been what was really a bogus claim to copyright. His principal objections to the measure as it stood had been substantially met by the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, and he would only suggest that proper facilities should be given to the public to consult the list of prohibited music. In view of what the right hon. Gentleman had said he would not move the Motion standing in his name, but at the same time he expressed no opinion as to how these Amendments would read when put into the Bill, and reserved the right of subsequent criticism.

*Mr. MORTON (Sutherland) said he had no objection to the Bill itself as a whole. He only opposed the one portion which said that a man must be considered guilty unless he could prove his innocence. That clause ought to be taken out altogether. No Government ought to put into a British Act of Parliament such a clause as that. He expressed the hope that in another place they would take a more enlightened view and delete the clause. If the Government once adopted this retrograde and un-British legislation, and put objectionable clauses of this character into Acts of Parliament, they were bound to come to grief.

*Mr. BYLES (Salford) said that when the Bill first came before the House it was said that there was no objection to it, that in fact everybody was in favour of it. The right hon. Gentleman deserved no credit for the Amendments he had moved, and he (Mr. Byles) was willing to let the Bill go through as it was, being satisfied that these Amendments had been put in. Those who opposed the Bill, however, were entitled to the credit, and they had been subjected to a good deal of obloquy in the matter. The hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool had several times said, in trying to get it through, that the Bill was agreed to on all sides. After the critics of the measure had exposed the weakness and mischief that lurked in it men began to read the Bill, and the divisions disclosed the fact that many eminent laywers and old and respected Members of the House were of their way of thinking. He considered that that result and the Amendments made by the Government were a complete justification for their opposition. He was glad to think that the Bill would become law in a condition far less objectionable than when first introduced, though it was not satisfactory even now. He only hoped the Government would take care to induce the Upper House to insert the promised Amendments.

Mr. LUPTON thanked the Secretary of State for the Home Department for having granted some of the Amendments asked for. He desired to put to the right hon. Gentleman a question with reference to the list that the publisher had to send to the police stating the music which was not to be sold by "pirates." He believed it was understood that a copy of that list was to be supplied to any member of the public who applied for it.

*Mr. GLADSTONE said he should not like to give a definite opinion on the point. He confessed he saw at present no objection to what the hon. Gentleman said, but he would give further consideration to the matter.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a third time and passed.

STREET BETTING BILL [Lords].

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

*MR. BOTTOMLEY (Hackney, S.) said he was surprised that the provisions of this Bill had never been explained to the House by any Member of the Government, and he did not see his way two nights in succession blindly to follow His Majesty's Government into the division lobby. He was present in pursuance of that much debated thing called a mandate to resist any legislation of the character contemplated by this Bill. This measure came before the House under these circumstances. A month ago the Home Secretary was approached by a deputation asking him to deal with what was alleged to be the serious evils of street betting. The hon. Gentleman expressed sympathy with the idea, and suggested that somebody should introduce a Bill on the lines of Lord Davey's Bill which was brought in in another place last year, and said that he would be disposed to look favourably upon it. He (Mr. Bottomley) ventured to take up the suggestion and proposed the outline of a Bill which he thought contained all the provisions necessary to stamp out what every man must admit to be an institution which if possible it was most desirable to get out of existence. But his proposal was received with the derision which perhaps his presumption merited. Time passed and other deputations waited upon the right hon. Gentleman, and ultimately an hon. Member introduced a Bill called the Street Betting Bill which after the First Reading was suddenly dropped in favour of the Bill now before the House. This Bill came down from another place, and was the second adopted child of His Majesty's Government. As to whether the right hon. Gentleman felt as much pride in it as in the other he did not know, but he ventured to express some surprise that the strongest Government of all time should find it necessary at the fag end of the session in order to get on the Statute-book some permanent record of its legislative genius, to resort to the expedient of disappointed and desperate women—to adopt a nondescript offspring and thrust it upon the House without even giving it a decent christening or any kind of introduction. If the intention of the Government was to stamp out the evil of betting, surely it was strong enough to have dropped the system of instalment legislation in regard to this measure, and to have said that they would grapple with the whole difficulty, suppress it, and make it illegal in every shape and form. He did protest against the hypocritical spirit which underlay a measure of this kind, which asked the public outside to believe that this House was the enemy of all forms of betting, but had no more courage than to put its hand on the man who put his shilling on a horse in the street, leaving the rich and middle-class gambler absolutely free. He heard with a sense of guilt the impeachment of the hon. and learned Member for North Louth when he said that the Liberal Party once in power was more one-sided and more intolerant in its legislation than any Tory Government.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): I said it was easier to get jobs through the Liberal Party.

*MR. BOTTOMLEY said it was another aspect of the same matter. The hon. and learned Gentleman used the phrase that Liberal majorities were in the habit of foisting upon this House measures of a character which hitherto he thought were the prerogative of Tory Governments. The House was to-night asked to pass a Street Betting Bill which could do no possible good. He objected to it first because it was class legislation in its worst form. It touched the little man, and left out the middle-class and big man entirely. He objected to it even more strongly because it would have no other result than to aggravate the evil. If they removed the little man from the street, agencies would spring up in every workshop and factory in the land. They could not stamp out the instinct of a little gambling excitement in the human breast. There would arise little amateur bookmakers in factories and workshops, bringing facilities and temptations under the very noses of men. As an example, let them take the town of Crewe. There were only two bookmakers in that town ten years ago, and they carried on their business as street bookmakers. A mistaken enthusiasm on the part of the authorities drove those men out of existence. There were to-day fifty bookmakers carrying on a lucrative business in Crewe in offices, shops, and works, and the betting going on among the workmen to-day in Crewe was a hundred-fold greater than when two men carried on business in the streets. As regarded the exclusion in favour of betting on racecourses, he might point out that on a big race day, such as the Derby, there was more betting than in the streets and betting offices throughout the year. Yet the Government said that workmen might go to the race-course and bet as much as they liked. To test how thoroughly this matter was understood in the constituency of Clitheroe, the hon. Member for which had opposed his Bill, he got a petition signed by the chief inspector of police, by various other members of the police force, ministers of every denomination; and one Catholic priest made it the text of his sermon and urged his congregation to sign it. The petition lay in the House to-day. There was not a police official whom he had privately consulted, and he had consulted many, who did not say that any such provisions as this Bill contained would not grapple with this evil. He ventured to say that this was another of those blind acts of surrender to Nonconformist and other ecclesiastical influences which told them that they had to put on the Statute-book a lot of puritanical social legislation of this character. [Cries of "No."] He asked the Government to tell the House what was their object in this Bill. If they said that street betting *per se* constituted the bane of the working men of this country, then they were bound to go a step further and show that suppression of the street bookmaker would remove that danger. In proportion as they removed the street bookmaker from the observation of the police and from places where he could be freely dealt with under by-laws, local Acts, and the general law of the country, they increased the facilities for betting in all the workshops and factories of the land. If the promoters of the Bill objected to betting he was surprised that they had not the courage to tackle the whole thing and say that betting altogether should be suppressed. He protested against this method of adopting the legislation of "another place" without receiving any explanatory statement. The Bill was not called for; there had been no demand for it. It was never put before any of the constituencies at the late election. It would do harm rather than good. He did not say this with any desire to increase betting facilities among working men. He should like to see every working man give up betting, but it was mere hypocrisy to pretend that he would. He would be no party to a piece of class legislation of this kind. If they suppressed street betting, they would increase the evil indoors where it would be free from public supervision and control. He begged to move "That this Bill be read a second time upon this day six months."

*MR. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton), in seconding the Amendment, said the hon. Member for South Hackney had very properly shown that the evils which the promoters of this Bill desired to remove would not really be cured by the provisions of the measure. It was a Bill which made one law for the rich and another for the poor. It was notorious that at this moment there were in the West End of London offices known to the police, and to persons who desired to engage in betting, where betting could be indulged in. If any man in humbler circumstances desired to do that which the rich were allowed to do, he was made to suffer the full penalty of the law. He was not alone in opposing this Bill. Mr. Wharton, who took very great interest in this Bill when it was before Parliament in previous sessions, was satisfied that it would not in any proper fashion cope with the gigantic evil which the promoters of the measure desired to remove. That right hon. Gentleman had wide Parliamentary experience and was well known as a keen and most earnest social reformer. But he submitted that the way in which they should endeavour to reduce street betting was by imposing a fine so heavy that it would not be worth while for the bookmaker to pursue his business in the streets. Under this Bill, however, an ignorant and practically an innocent person who had no knowledge of the law nor of the powers of the law might go and bet with a bookmaker in the street and subject himself to very serious penalties. That seemed to him utterly unreasonable, when this ignorant person knew that he was only doing what rich men were doing elsewhere with impunity. The Government by this measure were making one law for the rich in the West End and another law for the poor man in the streets of the East End. This was an attempt to pander to sentimentality and a bit of shop-window dressing for the Nonconformist conscience. The evils connected with betting must be dealt with in a different spirit and by different methods, and therefore he begged to second the Motion.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now,' and at the end of the Question to add the words 'upon this day three months.'"—(*Mr Bottomley.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

*MR. GLADSTONE said that the hon. Member for Hoxton had stated that this Bill had been introduced to satisfy the Nonconformist conscience. But what were the real facts ? The Bill had come from the House of Lords, and special influence had been brought to bear on himself to forward its progress by a most influential deputation from both Houses of Convocation. The general law with which the authorities had had to deal on this question was that where an obstruction in the street was caused a fine not exceeding £5 could be imposed. There were in many places by-laws providing for the imposition of a fine not exceeding £5 for street betting; and in some large towns it was possible under the provisions of local Acts to inflict heavier penalties for second or subsequent offences. But the present system of fines was wholly insufficient; and some of these betting men snapped their fingers in the face of the police. The magistrates said that this street betting was a great national evil, and he agreed. Every one knew that under the existing law there was no power of imprisonment for street betting. The question of dealing with the evil had been under the consideration of a Committee who had gone very thoroughly into the matter, taking a large amount of evidence, and that Committee, which included Lord Davey, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Compton, Lord Durham, Lord James of Hereford, had come to the conclusion that this was an evil that ought to be dealt with by legislation. Hence their Report and this Bill. It had been conclusively proved by inquiry by a House of Lords Committee that the practice of betting in the streets had increased enormously of late years, and had resulted in much evil among the working classes. It appeared that these street bookmakers betted not only with men but with women and children. The Committee recommended, in view of the acknowledged evils which existed, that there should be further legislation, and they also recommended amongst other things that the magistrates should have power to send bookmakers to prison without the option of a fine for inducing boys and youths to gamble. They also recommended that there should be a £10 fine for a first offence, £20 for a second offence, and £50 for any subsequent offence with power to send a bookmaker to prison without the option of a fine. These were the recommendations which the Government had adopted. There were cases given in which one bookmaker had been fined fifty-four times in four years; twenty-one had been fined eighteen times; twenty-six seventeen times; twenty-eight twelve times and so forth. The total number of summary convictions during the last three years in the Metropolitan Police district was no less than 6,263, and the significant fact was that the number of persons convicted only numbered 1,882. In the evidence before the House of Lords Committee the case of a man who was fined £5 was quoted. The man said he hoped the magistrates would not trouble him next time to come to the Court, but he should be happy if fined again to send the £5. The present state of the law was farcical, and the only question was whether this Bill was the right way of dealing with it. If betting men were licensed the House would have to make bets recoverable. This Bill was not directed against the poor man's betting at all, and if betting were removed from the streets there were plenty of opportunities for the working man to bet as much as he chose. Let him bet with his friends. He was no purist in this matter, but everyone knew the difference between the evils of betting with a bookmaker and backing one's opinion with a friend. They did not wish to interfere with anybody's freedom, but they wished to stop the weaker brother and women and children from ruining themselves. They also wished to save our streets from what they considered a scandal. He should like to abolish betting on racecourses, but it was a big question, and must be done by a direct Act of Parliament, and this was a smaller question which they were going to deal with separately by this Bill.

SIR E. CARSON (Dublin University) said he was entirely in favour of this Bill, but he desired to see it carried further. What he wished to know was this: If this Bill was carried it had occurred to him that it might be made to apply to bets made by telegraph, and he did not see why it should not. Through the telegraph the Government was made the means of betting all through the country, and received a revenue from it. He hoped, therefore, it would not be going too far if the right hon. Gentleman said that, so far as the Government could do it, betting by telegram should be prohibited. If that were done, he thought they would have gone a great way to make this Bill a success.

MR. J. W. WILSON (Worcestershire, N.) said that the Committee which considered this Bill had had before them not only this year but last applications and petitions from large towns in the north in favour of these very powers. And, in fact, the powers given by this Bill had been in force during all the present year in Halifax and Accrington. At least three Bills giving these same powers to certain towns had gone through both Houses, and the working classes in those towns had deliberately supported their local bodies in obtaining them. He felt that these powers ought to be extended. It was not a question of making a new law, but of making an old law more efficient. He believed that there was no measure before Parliament that would receive such universal acceptance as this, and he was only surprised that such a Bill should have come down year after year from the Lords and never have been taken up by the Government then in power.

MR. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe) said the Bill before the House was not satisfactory so far as he was concerned. There were no doubt good reasons for Clause 2, but he could assure the House that he and those associated with him were quite as anxious to get at the professional better in the ring as the other. In their opinion the man in the ring was equally guilty. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would consider the suggestion of the right hon. Member for Trinity College and give effect to it in this Bill. If he did the Labour Party would give him all the support they could. There was no doubt as to the views of the Labour Party in this House. He knew the temptation put in the way of the working men. The working men were as anxious as anybody to deal with the matter. They desired to curtail this evil but not in the way suggested by the hon. Member for South Hackney, by registration, and elevating the betting man to a position of respectability. The object of the hon. Member for South Hackney was to make the bookmaker a respectable tradesman with an open door into his office. The working men were not prepared to do that. What the hon. Gentleman had said about Clitheroe was true, but the paragraph inserted in the paper to which he had referred asking that the bookmaker and other persons connected with betting should be put under supervision and control was slipped in by a trick.

*MR. BOTTOMLEY: Has anyone withdrawn his signature?

MR. SHACKLETON said he had received hundreds of postcards from his constituents who said they had signed the petition under a misapprehension.

He had heard from the Temperance Association, the Free Church Council, and many ministers of religion pointing out how they had been "let in." He had the honour of fighting a gentleman on this question at the last election who backed up betting in his address, saying that every man ought to be allowed to put a shilling on a gee-gee. He beat his opponent by over 8,000 votes, which, he took it, was a better record of what his constituency thought about betting than any such trick as he had referred to. He would be prepared to support the Second Reading of this Bill, but on the strict understanding that if there was an opportunity of dealing with street betting in a wider sense he should support it.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.) asked whether the Bill applied to Ireland.

AN HON. MEMBER: It does.

MR. LUPTON said he had been for many years an ardent opponent of street betting but it was impossible to support this measure. [Cries of "Divide."] If it were right to put down Bills for discussion at one o'clock in the morning it was right that they should be discussed at that hour—[The further remarks of the hon. Member were rendered inaudible by cries of "Divide" and "Order."]

MR. CLOUGH rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question, "That the Question be now put," put, and agreed to.

Question, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question," put accordingly, and agreed to.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

NAVY AND ARMY EXPENDITURE, 1904-5.

Resolutions reported.

Whereas it appears by the Navy Appropriation Account for the year ended the 31st day of March, 1905, and the statement appended thereto, as follows, viz.:—

(*a*) That the gross expenditure for certain Navy Services exceeded the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £415,439 18s. 8d., as shown in Column No. 1 of the Schedule hereto appended, while the gross expenditure for other Navy Services fell short of the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £449,539 13s. 7d., as shown in Column No. 2 of the said appended Schedule, so that the gross actual expenditure for the whole of the Navy Services fell short of the gross estimated expenditure by the net sum of £34,099 14s. 11d.

(*b*) That the receipts in aid of certain Grants for Navy Services fell short of the total estimated receipts by the sum of £80,479 6s. 10d., as shown in Column No. 3 of the said appended Schedule, while the receipts in aid of other Navy Services exceeded the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £76,198 8s. 9d., as shown in Column No. 4 of the said appended Schedule, so that the total actual receipts in aid of the Grants for Navy Services fell short of the total estimated receipts by the net sum of £4,280 18s. 1d.

(*c*) That the resulting differences between the Exchequer Grants for Navy Services and the net expenditure are as follows, viz.:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Total Surpluses - -	455,107	18	8
Total Deficits - -	425,289	1	10
Net Surplus -	£29,818	16	10

And whereas the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application, in reduction of the net charge on Exchequer Grants for certain Navy Services, of the whole of the sums received in excess of the estimated Appropriation-in-Aid, in respect of the same Services, and have also temporarily authorised the application of so much of the said total surpluses on certain Grants for Navy Services as is necessary to cover the said total deficits on other Grants for Navy Services.

1. "That the application of such sums be sanctioned."

Schedule.

Number of Vote.	Navy Services, 1904–5. Votes.	Gross Expenditure.		Appropriations in Aid.	
		Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure. 1.	Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure. 2.	Deficiencies of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 3.	Surpluses of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 4.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1 - - -	Wages, &c., of Officers, Seamen, and Boys, Coast Guard, and Royal Marines - - - -	67,474 12 8	—	27,310 2 9	—
2 - - -	Victualling and Clothing for the Navy - - - - - - -	—	4,869 8 7	—	13,100 9 4
3 - - -	Medical Establishments and Services - - - - - - -	—	11,525 9 9	1,689 19 2	—
4 - - -	Martial Law - - - -	—	1,094 17 11	3 17 10	—
5 - - -	Educational Services - - -	—	12,944 6 2	—	3,310 8 11
6 - - -	Scientific Services - - -	4,167 15 5	—	—	8,634 10 5
7 - - -	Royal Naval Reserves - -	—	26,290 0 8	669 9 2	—
8 - - -	Shipbuilding, Repairs, Maintenance, &c. :				
Sec. 1 -	Personnel - - - -	—	23,824 18 8	—	803 14 6
Sec. 2 -	Matériel - - - -	224,212 8 9	—	—	26,823 8 1
Sec. 3 -	Contract Work - - -	—	279,759 11 0	37,273 4 9	—
9 - - -	Naval Armaments - - -	—	11,028 19 9	—	19,155 8 7
10 - - -	Works, Buildings and Repairs at Home and Abroad - - -	—	78,202 1 1	—	4,367 19 8
11 - - -	Miscellaneous Effective Services	82,354 11 5	—	3,912 19 0	—
12 - - -	Admiralty Office - - - -	1,751 7 1	—	—	2 9 3
13 - - -	Half-Pay, Reserved and Retired Pay - - - - - -	5,584 1 3	—	4,103 10 6	—
14 - - -	Naval and Marine Pensions, Gratuities, and Compassionate Allowances - - - - -	5,604 12 10	—	5,436 16 9	—
15 - - -	Civil Pensions and Gratuities -	22,235 13 11	—	79 6 11	—
	Amount written off as irrecoverable - - - - - -	2,054 15 4	—	—	—
		415,439 18 8	449,539 13 7	80,479 6 10	76,198 8 9
		Net Surplus, £34,099 14 11		Net Deficit, £4,280 18 1	

Surplus surrendered to the Exchequer ... ... £29,818 16s. 10d.

Whereas it appears by the Army Appropriation Account for the year ended the 31st day of March, 1905, and the statement appended thereto, as follows, viz. :—

(*a*) That the gross expenditure for certain Army Services exceeded the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £256,367 3s. 3d., as shown in Column No. 1 of the schedule hereto appended; while the gross expenditure for other Army Services fell short of the estimate of such expenditure by a total sum of £365,574 5s. 6d., as shown in Column No. 2 of the said appended Schedule; so that the gross actual expenditure for the whole of the Army Services fell short of the gross estimated expenditure by the net sum of £109,207 2s. 3d.

(*b*) That the receipts in aid of certain Army Services fell short of the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £8,475 7s. 10d., as shown in Column No. 3 of the said appended schedule; while the receipts in aid of other Army Services exceeded the estimate of such receipts by a total sum of £383,643 16s. 2d., as shown in Column No. 4 of the said appended Schedule; so that the total actual receipts in aid of the grants for Army Services exceeded the total estimated receipts by the net sum of £375,168 8s. 4d.

(*c*) That the resulting differences between the Exchequer Grants for Army Services and the net expenditure are as follows, viz. :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Total Surpluses - -	701,636	8	5
Total Deficits - -	217,260	17	10
Net Surplus - -	£484,375	10	7

And whereas the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury have temporarily authorised the application, in reduction of the net charge on Exchequer Grants for certain Army Services, of the whole of the sums received in excess of the estimated Appropriation-in-Aid in respect of the same Services, and have also temporarily authorised the application of so much of the said total surpluses on certain Grants for Army Services as is necessary to cover the said total deficits on other grants for Army Services.

2. "That the application of such sums be sanctioned."

Schedule.

Number of Vote.	Army Services, 1904–1905. Votes.	Gross Expenditure.		Appropriations in Aid.	
		Excesses of Actual over Estimated Gross Expenditure 1.	Surpluses of Estimated over Actual Gross Expenditure. 2.	Deficiencies of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 3.	Surpluses of Actual as compared with Estimated Receipts. 4.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1	Pay. &c., of Army (General Staff, Regiments, Reserve, and Departments) -	—	166,856 6 11	—	7,751 1 11
2	Medical Establishments : Pay, &c. - -	—	223 19 2	—	5,037 6 7
3	Militia : Pay, Bounty, &c. - - - -	—	58,279 1 9	2,527 15 9	—
4	Imperial Yeomanry : Pay and Allowances	—	46,175 10 3	—	770 11 2
5	Volunteer Corps : Pay and Allowances -	12,562 16 5	—	—	567 5 8
6	Transport and Remounts - - - -	—	2,777 12 6	—	269,809 12 1
7	Provisions, Forage, and other Supplies -	115,062 16 11	—	—	15,128 14 8
8	Clothing Establishments, and Services -	—	22,939 19 10	—	1,968 3 8
9	Warlike and other Stores : Supply and Repair - - - - - - - -	10,285 12 6	—	—	31,117 2 3
10	Works, Buildings, and Repairs : Cost, including Staff for Engineer Services -	—	33,771 18 3	—	22,350 11 8
11	Establishments for Military Education -	2.211 14 11	—	4,527 10 8	—
12	Miscellaneous Effective Services - -	7,617 12 3	—	—	2,647 11 9
13	War Office : Salaries and Miscellaneous Charges - - - - - - -	39,458 7 8	—	1,357 7 8	—
14	Non-effective Charges for Officers, &c. -	—	24,735 1 8	—	10,133 15 7
15	Non-effective Charges for Men, &c. - -	35,675 15 9	—	—	16,361 19 2
16	Civil Superannuation, Compensation, and Compassionate Allowances - - -	—	4,814 15 2	62 13 9	—
	Balances irrecoverable - - - -	33,492 6 10	—	—	—
		256,367 3 3	365,574 5 6	8,475 7 10	383,643 16 2

Net Surplus, £109,207 2 3

Net Surplus, £375,168 8 4

Surplus surrendered to the Exchequer ... £484,375 10s. 7d.

Resolutions read a second time.

First Resolution agreed to.

Second Resolution :

Motion made, and Question put, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

The House divided :—Ayes, 156 ; Noes, 11. (Division List No. 298.)

AYES.

Acland, Francis Dyke
Alden, Percy
Armitage, R.
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Beck, A. Cecil

Benn, W.(T'w'r Hamlets, S.Geo.
Bertram, Julius
Billson, Alfred
Bottomley, Horatio
Boulton, A. C. F. (Ramsey)
Brace, William
Bryce, J.A.(Inverness Burghs)
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Byles, William Pollard
Cairns, Thomas
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Clough, W.
Coats, Sir T.Glen(Renfrew, W.)
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Corbett, C.H.(Sussex, E.Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Duckworth, James
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Dunne, Major E.Martin(Walsall
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Frank (Radnor)
Elibank, Master of
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T.R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Findlay, Alexander
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gill, A. H.
Gladstone, Rt.Hn.Herbert John
Glendinning, R. G.
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gulland, John W.
Hardie, J.Keir(Merthyr Tydvil)
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hedges, A. Paget
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hope, W.Bateman(Somerset, N.
Horniman, Emslie John
Illingworth, Percy H.
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Kekewich, Sir George
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Leese, Sir Joseph F.(Accrington
Lever, A.Levy (Essex, Harwich)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.)
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W.
Mansfield, H. Rendall (Lincoln)
Marks, G.Croydon (Launceston)
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morse, L. L.
Murphy, John
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Charles N.(Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien, Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Donnell, C. J. (Walworth)
O'Grady, J.
O'Mara, James
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Price, C.E.(Edinburgh, Central)
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Holland
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Renton, Major Leslie
Richards, Thomas (W.Monm'th
Rickett, J. Compton
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L.(Cleveland)
Scott, A.H.(Ashton under Lyne
Seaverns, J. H.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T.(Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F.(Leitrim, S.)
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Thomas, Sir A.(Glamorgan, E.)
Thompson, J.W.H.(Somerset, E
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Verney, F. W.
Walsh, Stephen
Watt, H. Anderson
White, George (Norfolk)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Williams, Llewelyn(Carmarth'n
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, J.W.(Worcestersh. N.)
Winfrey, R.

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Arkwright, John Stanhope
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Forster, Henry William
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J.(Londonderry, South
Hill, Henry Staveley (Staff'sh.)
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Pease, Herbert Pike(Darlington
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Starkey, John R.
Thomson, W. Mitchell-(Lanark)

Tellers for the Noes—Sir George Doughty and Mr. Claude Hay.

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. T. M. HEALY said that some parts of the Bill were obscure. He did not see why the Bill should be so drafted that it was necessary to read it four or five times in order to get at the meaning.

MR. STAVELEY HILL (Staffordshire, Kingswinford) said this was a measure which ought to receive greater discussion than could be given to it at this hour (2 a.m.). It might involve a large expenditure of money, and if greater facilities were given to municipal authorities to obtain loans, it would mean an increase in the rates. He moved, "That this Bill be read a second time upon this day three months."

SIR F. BANBURY (City of London), in seconding the Amendment, said he did not think that a Bill dealing with £3,500,000 should be brought forward at this hour without explanation, and allowed to pass without discussion of any kind. What were hon. Gentlemen opposite for? Why were they paid high salaries? Not to come down with Bills and give the House no explanation of them. This was not the way to expedite business.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now,' and at the end of the Question to add the words 'upon this day three months.'"—(*Mr. Staveley Hill.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. CLAUDE HAY said that huge sums of money had already been voted at this sitting without explanation. Why should a certain number of persons, under one of the provisions of this measure, be exempted from the ordinary duty of meeting their liabilities in connection with the principal and interest of loans? He represented a very poor district, and he certainly claimed the same exemption for it. It was the business of the Minister in charge of a Bill to give some explanation of it, especially at this hour of ten minutes past two in the morning. It was recognised even by the Members below the Gangway that they did not understand the meaning of Clause 3.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. MCKENNA, Monmouthshire, N.) said that it was absolutely necessary to get this Bill through before the 4th August. The hon. Member for the City of London must, at least, understand the meaning of Clause 3, because he recollected the hon. Baronet being present when an identical Bill was presented by the last Government; and no one who had the City experience of the hon. Gentleman was likely to misunderstand what the Bill or any clause of it meant. If this Bill was not passed it would cause great loss to local authorities because the latter would have to pay a higher rate of interest for the money which they wished to borrow. This was, in fact, a Bill which was passed every year.

Question put—

The House proceeded to a Division.

MR. SPEAKER stated that he thought the Ayes had it, and, on his decision being challenged, it appeared to him that the Division was vexatiously claimed, and he accordingly called upon the Members who supported and who challenged his decision successively to rise in their places, and he declared the Ayes had it, eight Members only who challenged his decision having stood up.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

SOLICITORS BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. EMMOTT (Oldham) in the Chair.]

MR. CLAUDE HAY moved to report progress upon the ground that the Bill ought to be discussed at a more convenient opportunity.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again," put, and negatived.

Bill reported without Amendment; read the third time, and passed.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) ACT (1898) AMENDMENT BILL.

Read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS [REPAYMENT.]

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the extension of time for the repayment of a loan made by the Public Works Loan Commissioners to the South Staffordshire Mines Drainage Commissioners, in pursuance of any Act of the present session, to grant money for the purpose of certain Local Loans out of the Local Loans Fund, and for other purposes relating to Local Loans.—(*Mr. McKenna.*)

Resolutions to be reported this day.

Whereupon Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to the Order of the House of the 13th July.

Adjourned at half after Two o'clock.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, 1st August, 1906.

The Lord Bishop of Durham took the Oath.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Solicitors Bill [H.L.]; Glasgow and South Western Railway Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to.

Water Orders Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Commons Amendments considered (according to order), and agreed to.

Newburgh and North Fife Railway (Extension of Time) Order Confirmation Bill; Paisley Roads Order Confirmation Bill; Inverclyde Bequest Order Confirmation Bill; Perth Corporation Gas Order Confirmation Bill. Read 3ª (according to order), and passed.

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION BILL.

Petitions against.—Of parents, guardians, and teachers of children attending schools at Copp; Oswaldtwistle; Knuzden; Milnrow; Farnworth; Clifton; Newton; Blackburn (two); Ramsbottom; Castleton (two); Accrington (six); Castleton (two); Westleigh (two); Bolton (two); Newney; Howe Bridge (two); Dearnley (two); Harpurhey; Melling in Lunesdale; Blackburn; Middleton (two); Lower Broughton (four); Ruswarp; Westcombe Park; Ashow; Fernhurst; Shaw, near Oldham; Eartham; Darowen; Penrhoslligwy; Sapiston; Christow; Temple Colston. Of inhabitants of Tardeligge Parish, Bromsgrove; Pirton Parish, Hertfordshire; Crosby Ravensworth; Bickershaw.

Read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRAMWAYS ACT, 1870.

Report by the Board of Trade of their proceedings under the Tramways Act, 1870, during the Session of 1906.

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1898.

Orders made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising—

The construction of light railways in the parts of Lindsey, in the county of Lincoln, from Winteringham to Barton-upon-Humber, and from Whitton to Aldborough in extension of the North Lindsey light railways.

The Urban District Council of Barking Town, to take lands for the purpose of widening a road on which a light railway authorised by the Barking Light Railways (Extensions) Order, 1903, will be laid in the urban district of Barking Town, in the county of Essex.

LABOUR STATISTICS.

Third Abstract of Foreign Labour Statistics.

TREATY SERIES, No. 9. (1906).

Convention between the United Kingdom and China respecting Tibet, signed at Peking, April 27th, 1906 (to which is annexed the Convention between the United Kingdom and Tibet, signed at Lhasa, September 7th, 1904). (Ratifications exchanged at London, July 23rd, 1906.)

ARMY.

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for War on army re-organisation, dated July 30th, 1906.

METEOROLOGICAL COMMITTEE.

First report of the Meteorological Committee to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, for the year ended March 31st, 1906.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Education Bill, 1906 (Draft Ballot Regulations).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

ARMY.

Further Regulations under the Regimental Debts Act, 1893.

SHOP HOURS ACT, 1904.

Closing orders made by the Portadown Urban District Council.

Order made by the Council of the City of Bath, and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the hours of closing for certain shops within the city.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

ARMY.

Return respecting: Laid before the House (pursuant to Address of Tuesday the 24th of July last), and to be printed. (No. 198.)

CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES.

The Lord Ribblesdale appointed to take the Chair in Committees of the Whole House this day, in the absence of the Chairman of Committees.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Standing Order No. XXXIX. considered (according to order), and suspended for this day's sitting.

THE LAND PURCHASE ACT.

Lord MASSY: My Lords, I beg to ask His Majesty's Government how many estates sold under the Land Purchase Act of 1903 have had the sporting rights vested in the Land Commission; what steps have been taken by the Commissioners for the preservation of game on such estates and for letting the shootings; and will the Government place on the Table of the House a copy of the regulations made by the Lord-Lieutenant to enable the Land Commission to deal with the sporting rights vested in them in accordance with Section 13, Sub-section 1, of the Land Purchase Act, 1903.

I have put these Questions on the Paper in the interest of the general preservation of game in Ireland. I have been for some years connected with an association which was formed in that country for the protection of game. That association has done excellent work, but we have had a very hard task with the Estates Commissioners. Instead of assisting us the Estates Commissioners have opposed us in every way. On one estate they absolutely refused to allow us to put up notices to prevent trespass in pursuit of game on those lands. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the tenants of Ireland do not care about the preservation of game, for in several cases where large estates have been sold to the tenants they have themselves combined to preserve the game on their several holdings.

Lord DENMAN: My Lords, in view of the important debate which awaits us, I hope I shall not be expected to give more than a very brief reply to the Questions of the noble Lord. The noble Lord asks how many estates sold under the Land Purchase Act of 1903 have had the sporting rights vested in the Land Commission. I am informed that twelve estates have been so treated, and that in six more estates the rights have been vested concurrently in the superior landlord. The noble Lord then inquires what steps have been taken by the Commissioners for the preservation of game on such estates and for letting the shootings. Up to the present the Land Commission have not taken any steps for the preservation of game on these estates. I agree with the noble Lord that there is a certain amount of hardship in this matter, but I must ask him to remember that many questions of urgency have arisen in connection with the working of the Irish Land Act more important than this particular one, and which have engaged the attention of the Government. The question of shooting rights cannot be one of such great importance, because only in eighteen estates out of a total of 1,006 sold has it been necessary to deal with sporting rights in this manner. Finally, the noble Lord asks whether His Majesty's Government will place on the Table of the House a copy of the regulations made by the Lord-Lieutenant. The regulations are not definitely decided upon, but a draft of them is now under consideration. If the noble Lord will put this Question to me at a later period of the session I hope I shall then be in a position to lay a copy of the regulations on the Table.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

[Second Reading.]

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

*THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (The Earl of CREWE): My Lords, although in rising to move the Second Reading of this Bill to make further provision for education in England and Wales, I cannot put forward the plea for indulgence which is often advanced by those who have only lately become members of your Lordships' House, yet I am none the less disposed on that account to ask for your consideration on this occasion. As your Lordships are aware, it is the custom in this House, so far as speeches are concerned, to take the First and Second Reading of a Bill together. It is necessary, not merely to explain the principles on which proposed legislation is founded, but also to give some account of the actual particulars of a Bill. In this case the general outline is very familiar to many of your Lordships, but the particulars are unusually intricate and obscure, and, consequently a speaker in my position has to steer his ship very carefully in order to avoid, on the one hand, running up against the rock of platitude, or, on the other hand, being engulfed in the whirlpool of detail.

There is a further consideration which makes me ask for your Lordships' indulgence, and that is founded upon the composition of this House in relation to this particular measure. In another place, I think, pretty nearly all the different religious bodies affected by this Bill are well represented, but in your Lordships' House that is not the case. The Church of England is represented here not only in great variety, but also in the most authoritative manner possible. The Roman Catholic Church is also well represented here, but I do not know whether in the course of this debate any voice will be raised speaking authoritatively on behalf of the Nonconformist bodies, or on behalf of those who take a purely secular view of this question. I am almost tempted to wish that for once in a way the two Houses could have sat together on this subject in joint session. I feel that the debates which would then have followed would have been not merely exceedingly instructive, but also very possibly somewhat exciting.

I do not propose to dwell at any length upon the history of this question, and, indeed, it is only in relation to what is known as the religious difficulty that I propose to deal with history at all. As your Lordships all know, the association between teaching and the different religious bodies in this country is of very long standing. It dates from the days when a clerk and a cleric were almost indistinguishable. I need not remind your Lordships, although I should be blamed if I did not do so to some extent, of the services which have been rendered to the cause of education in the past in this country by the Church of England and also by other religious bodies. I have no intention of minimising those services. On the other hand, I do say this, that any scheme for continued control of education on behalf of any church must be subject to two very distinct considerations. In the first place, we are bound to consider the lapse of time. There must be some statute of limitations in this matter, and we are bound to regard the new conditions under which we live; and so far as the Church of England is concerned I merely desire to say that while I recognise to a great extent the claims which she has put forward, yet I am not prepared to admit that all the schools which are said to have been built by the Church have really been built with Church money, because a very considerable number of them have been built as the appanage of country estates, and others have been erected, as is well known to your Lordships, less with a desire to promote a particular kind of education than with a wish to effect some saving on the rates.

I need not dwell on what is known as the compromise of 1870. That was a compromise somewhat sulkily arrived at, but perhaps it was not altogether unsuited to the circumstances of the time. In 1876 an important step was taken by making school attendance everywhere compulsory. I pass over the changes of the intervening years, and come at once to the Act of 1902, under which the elementary education of this country is still carried on. In that year Voluntary schools for the first time applied for, and obtained, rate aid, disregarding many warnings such as that which was given by Bishop Wilberforce in the course of the 1870 controversy, when he said that immediately you introduce the ratepayer you must give him the real direction of the instruction furnished by the rates. You know very well that the Act of 1902 has created a vast amount of discontent in this country. I remember that the noble Viscount, Lord Cross, in the course of the debates in this House on that Bill, said that when the Bill passed the feeling against it in the country would subside. That has not proved to be the case. Wales revolted almost *en masse* against the Act. Some 70,000 summonses were issued against those in England who declined to pay rates under these conditions; and behind them there was a vast body of people who for one reason or another did not see their way to join in that particular form of protest, but at the same time deeply resented the provisions of the Act.

That was the position which the Government had to face when we came into office. We had to consider what alternative systems exist for elementary education in this country which either we or any Government could possibly adopt. It might be possible in this country to adopt a secular system pure and simple. I, for one, have no desire to disparage the value of what is known as ethical teaching. I am quite prepared to admit the great value of such teaching, and I might remind your Lordships that the present administration at the Board of Education has issued regulations designed to extend it. But, against the introduction of a secular system into this country there remains one fatal objection—that the people of this country will not have it. That is sufficiently shown by the fact that when it was proposed in another place only sixty-three members of Parliament could be found to vote for it as against 477 who recorded their votes in the opposite lobby. I think we must presume that that majority at least reflects the opinion of the country, and shows that the people of England and Wales are determined not to have to depend in their elementary schools upon a system of teaching which is not governed by some supernatural sanction.

Failing a purely secular system, you may fall back in one form or another on what is known as concurrent endowment. There is no doubt that there are many people in this country who feel a strong abstract objection to concurrent endowment. The teaching or endowment of religion in any form, they say, is not the business of the State; but I am bound to admit, and I make a present of the argument to noble Lords opposite, that if it could be shown that any system of concurrent endowment of religious instruction was suited to our social system in this country and was fair in itself, I do not believe that these theoretical objections would weigh the value of a brass farthing in the minds of the people of this country. I can imagine a case in India of a town containing so many Hindoos, so many Mohammedans, and so many Sikhs, not differing greatly in social position as between the different religions, in which it would be a matter of very small importance whether schools for their children were concurrently endowed or not. But what we maintain is that no approximation to those conditions exists in this country.

Concurrent endowment may take different forms. It may be either complete—that is to say, in which the State provides schools and teaching for all the different religious bodies in the country—or it may be modified in a form in which the State assists in the erection of school buildings by people of a particular religious denomination, accepts the use of those buildings for secular teaching, and pays denominational teachers; or lastly, concurrent endowment may take the form of what I venture to describe as a pseudo-secular system, that principle which was advocated in another place by Mr. Chamberlain, by which religious instruction is to be given by State teachers within school hours. I will say a word upon each of those forms in turn.

The first form, that of complete concurrent endowment, I venture to dismiss very briefly. The multiplication of religious beliefs in this country is so vast that it would be obviously impossible for the State to supply schools and teachers to suit everybody. Of course, we should all agree that there must be some limitations. Nobody would suggest that a single family of Swedenborgians settled on Salisbury Plain had a right to have a school built for them at the public expense and a teacher maintained who believed and was prepared to instruct the children in the principles of the Church of the New Jerusalem. But even without taking almost ludicrous instances of that kind, it is perfectly obvious to anybody who knows the circumstances of this country that it is absolutely impossible to build schools and to find teachers of a particular denomination for all the different varieties of belief in this country.

I pass to the second form, modified concurrent endowment, which represents what really, I think, is the general denominational demand in this country. It represents very largely the demand which the Church of England makes in this matter; that is to say, that a religious denomination should be allowed to erect a building which should be taken over for certain purposes by the State, represented by the local authority, on the understanding that religious teaching should be given in the schools and a denominational teacher should be paid by the State. I am obliged to say that in my judgment such a solution of the religious difficulty is absolutely impossible as a permanent solution, because of the utterly unfair advantage which it gives to the Established Church. In the first place, the Established Church covers a great variety of beliefs, and it appears to me that when you are endowing concurrently you must know exactly what it is you are endowing. Now, it is in one sense the boast and the pride of the Church of England that she casts a wide net; she casts an even wider net than the Church of the Fisherman himself; but that very fact makes it infinitely more difficult to do in this case what in effect is giving a special privilege to the Church.

Just think, my Lords, in this form of State assistance to denominational schools, what an immense advantage, what an essentially unfair advantage, is given to the Church of England by the existence of the parochial system. So far as rural districts are concerned, the gain by the existence of the parish church and all its surroundings to the cause of that particular denomination is almost incalculable, and, therefore, I say without hesitation, that if it were desired to institute a permanent system of concurrent endowment in this country, a necessary preliminary would be the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England. But, my Lords, if that were done, I should certainly not admit that the conditions were even then equal as between the Church and other religious bodies in this country. After all you have to reflect that the religious cleavage in own social fabric is not vertical, cutting through all classes. It is a horizontal cleavage, including, roughly speaking, what are known as the upper classes and the wealthy classes within the Church of England. I repeat that statement without hesitation. By far the greater part of the land in this country belongs to members of the Church of England. That of itself obviously gives a great advantage in this particular matter, and if you compare the position of the Church of England with that of a poor body such as the Primitive Methodists, who after all are not to be despised in any sense, numerically or otherwise, for they have some half million children in their Sunday schools—if you compare the conditions of such a body with those of the Church of England, you will see that nominally to treat all bodies alike is to give a most preponderating advantage to one.

I desire to say one word upon the proposition which I include under this head of concurrent endowment, a proposition which is of special interest because it represents the only alternative proposal that has been made by the Opposition since this Bill has been brought in—I mean Mr. Chamberlain's proposal of what are known as all-round facilities. His proposition is that in all schools religious teaching of that kind which is desired by, I suppose, a certain number of parents should be given not at the expense of the State, but within hours of compulsory attendance, and by the teacher whom the State appoints and pays. I might at first point out that there is one important body in this country to whom such a solution as that must be utterly unpalatable. I refer to the Roman Catholic Church. I say that it is not possible for the Roman Catholic Church or, for those members of the Church of England who demand a religious atmosphere running through the whole of the education of the school, to accept a solution of this kind, which makes the schools nominally secular and really secular during the hours of ordinary education, but permits ministers of religion or teachers of religion to give instruction during the specified half-hour. But I should prefer, on the general question, to rest my condemnation of this proposition on a much higher authority than mine. It is that of a right rev. Prelate who, unfortunately, is not yet a Member of this House, but who has been one of the doughty opponents in the country of this Bill. I mean the Bishop of Manchester. At the Representative Church Council on 6th July last Chancellor Smith moved a resolution to the effect that it was the duty of all local education authorities to make provision in the schools for the imparting of such religious instruction to the children as the parents required, or, in the absence of expressed requirements, was in accord with the form of religion to which the parents belonged. The Bishop of Manchester said he did not think the Chancellor had clearly worked out in his own mind what was the effect of requiring the local authority in such area to provide religious instruction on the lines of the denomination to which the parent belonged. He pointed out that even in villages there were most extraordinary varieties of belief, and said he was not himself prepared to agree that the country would tolerate the expense of such an arrangement. After pointing out that if the local authority were compelled to provide competent teachers in all the different forms of belief the education rate would go up by leaps and bounds, the right rev. Prelate added—

> "On the other hand, if the denominations were to provide it he was quite sure it meant in the long run that the Church of England would take an advantage of the other denominations which he did not wish the Church of England to take. If they required the teaching to be given at the expense of the denominations, they would be making a grab at religious education far greater than they were accused having made up to the present time."

I am quite content to rest, so far as the Church side of the matter is concerned, upon that statement of the right rev. Prelate; but I am bound also to remind your Lordships that the educational objections to such a system are overwhelming. It would be exceedingly difficult in many places to arrange anything like proper accommodation for different kinds of teaching being given at the same time, and as for the destruction of discipline, I can assure your Lordships that you would only have to take the opinion of the great mass of teachers in the elementary schools to find that they stand aghast at the notion of the adoption of any such plan as this. We have dismissed, therefore, secular education, and we have dismissed the different forms of concurrent endowment. We therefore fall back upon the proposition contained in this Bill. We are anxious, so far as the existing condition of things and the past history of the schools will allow, to found a national system of elementary education.

I will proceed to illustrate the principles which this Bill is intended to carry out by some reference to its actual clauses. Clause 1 says that on and after the 1st day of January, 1908, a school shall not be recognised as a public elementary school unless it is a school provided by the local education authority. It is not too much to say that this clause is the Bill. It is—and we have no desire to conceal the fact—an undenominational Bill tempered by certain exceptions, and not an undenominational Bill professing to be hedged round by safeguards, simply because we do not believe that those safeguards can possibly be devised. Clause 1 declares the principle of public control. Some people have stated that we have a mandate to introduce the principle of public control. I am one of those who are not fond of talking about mandates. I do not think I have ever used the phrase, and I am not sure that I approve of the theory; but as regards this particular point I would prefer to put what comes to much the same thing in another way. If at the last General Election any Liberal candidate had stated on a platform in the constituency which he hoped to represent that he was utterly indifferent to the principle of public control in elementary schools, there is not the slightest doubt that his hoped-for constituents would have conducted him to the railway station and asked him to try his fortune elsewhere. And that I think is shown by the fact that this principle is ushered up to your Lordships by the great majority of no less than 192 obtained on the Third Reading of the Bill in another place. It is the old story in the old homely phrase, "The man who pays the piper may call the tune;" or as a civic dignitary who did not like homely phrases preferred to put it—

> "The individuals who desire to have a voice in the selection of the programme must be prepared to provide remuneration for the orchestra."

It is very remarkable, my Lords, how much lip service is done to this principle even by those who profess to disapprove of the provisions of this Bill. Many people who dislike the Bill yet say that they are not prepared to contest, particularly after what has happened in the country, the principle of public control. Some have said—

> "Why did you go into this intricate matter? Why didn't you simply bring in a Bill stating that in Voluntary schools instead of four foundation managers and two managers representing the local education authority, the number should be reversed, and there should be four representing the local authority and two representing the old foundation of the school?"

That sounds very simple and agreeable at first sight, but I think it is necessary to explain why that could not be done. There is a section—Section 23—in the Act of 1870, which allows the managers of a voluntary school to transfer such school to the local authority. If our Bill was passed it was pretty obvious that the new managers would have adopted this clause. In that case you were at once brought face to face with all these difficult questions relating to the fair way of treating the trusts of the schools and the user which you require from the schools, which we have to face later on in this Bill. On the other hand, if you had repealed Section 23 of the Act of 1870 and taken away that power from the managers, then your public control would obviously have been quite illusory. These four gentlemen appointed by the local authority would simply have had to carry out the duties imposed upon them by the trusts of a denominational school, and their only office would have been to order in the coals and settle the special kind of pen to be used by the children.

In this clause, to put it briefly, the object which we believe we effect is to place an undenominational school within the reach of every child whose parent desires him to attend one, and by so doing we remove one principal grievance of which the Nonconformist churches have complained. That is one-half, at any rate, of what is known as the Nonconformist grievance. It is admitted, I believe, by almost everybody. It was explicitly admitted by the noble Viscount Lord Llandaff in the course of the debates in 1902, and it is admitted to-day by Mr. Balfour. Mr. Balfour says he has always admitted it; but there is no comfort to be got from Mr. Balfour on the subject, because he evidently thinks it is as far beyond the means of human prevention as an earthquake or an eruption of Vesuvius. I pass to the acquisition of the schools for this purpose. What we hope is that a great number of arrangements will take place under Clause 2. As your Lordships know, a very considerable number of arrangements have taken place under similar circumstances already. Many schools of different kinds, particularly privately-owned schools, have been transferred to local authorities at nominal rents. May I ask your Lordships to consider what it is that the Church, for I am speaking practically now of the Established Church, stands to gain by a transfer of this kind, and what it stands to lose. It stands to gain in all probability a certain amount of rent for the building. It has to the good the taking over by the local education authority of the liability for repairs, and it also has on the credit side those facilities which I shall describe on a later clause. On the other hand, it does lose a considerable portion of its power under the trusts, and it loses the power of appointing the teacher.

Before leaving this branch of the subject, and while still dealing with the acquisition of the schools, it is convenient, I think, to pass over the intervening clauses and to come to the points dealt with in Clauses 9 to 12 inclusive, which describe what happens where no arrangement takes place between the local authority and the owner of the school. Of course, I need not remind your Lordships that where schools belong to private owners it rests entirely with the owner to say whether he chooses to part with his school or not, under certain restrictions as to user which appear later in the Bill; but where schools are subject to trusts a Commission is appointed to deal with the matter.

That Commission takes the place of the Board of Education in the first instance, and in the second instance it takes the place of the courts of law to which further appeal might be made, and it is specially provided that the Commission is to carry on its affairs according to the principles followed by the High Court in exercising as successors of the Court of Chancery the ordinary jurisdiction as to charities. That means principally that where in the opinion of the Court the trust cannot be literally carried out, it should be carried out as nearly as circumstances admit. That is what is familiar to many of your Lordships as the doctrine of *çypres*, and that doctrine will be followed by the Commission. It is further provided that the Commission have to take into consideration, in fixing the terms, what real alteration takes place in the future condition of the school from the condition which it has enjoyed in the past; that is to say, when it is a question of fixing terms the Commission are bound to take into consideration what the school can really be said to be losing by the Bill. As regards the *personnel* of the Commission, that is one feature in the Bill, and perhaps almost the only one, which has I think been subjected to no criticism. The Commissioners are three gentlemen of very high standing—Sir Arthur Wilson, who is one of the most eminent members of the judicial body in England; Sir Hugh Owen, who is a civil servant of unequalled experience; and Mr. Worsley Taylor, so familiar to many of your Lordships who sit in the Committee rooms upstairs, in which he has always been distinguished, not merely for his eminent skill as an advocate, but also for his great fairmindedness. I am glad to know that since the names of these Gentlemen have been announced the practice of describing this Commission as a Star Chamber has ceased, probably from a conviction that their proceedings will be carried out with every regard to justice as understood in this country in the twentieth century.

It will no doubt be argued in the course of this debate that we have no business to deal with these trusts at all, that we have no business to touch them. As to that I might say that some very substantial interference with those trusts took place in the year 1902. Where it suited noble Lords opposite to alter the trusts they did so, very greatly, as we know, to the annoyance of many of their clerical supporters. I would ask your Lordships for one minute to consider what the position is with regard to the claim of the Church of England in this matter. It seems to me reasonable to show that the condition of things has so very greatly altered since those trusts, or a great number of them, were instituted, that it cannot possibly be maintained that they are to be treated as absolutely sacred. I will give you the total sums which were contributed to the maintenance of voluntary schools from 1870 to 1900. In the year 1870 the voluntary contributions and endowments for the maintaining of Voluntary schools reached the sum of £466,000; the Government grants at that time were £562,000. In 1880 the voluntary contributions had risen to £877,000, owing to what happened after the passing of the Education Act of 1870, and the Government grants rose to a little more than £1,500,000. In 1890 the voluntary contributions were £917,000, and the Government grants just under £2,000,000. In 1900 the voluntary contributions were £963,000, and the Government grants £4,417,000. Since 1902, of course, the case is very much stronger, because the voluntary contributions have to a great extent died away, and the vast amount of rate aid, which cannot be calculated because the amount applied to Voluntary schools and to Council schools is not separated, would, of course, bring the figure up to an infinitely greater amount. But the effect of what I have

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just read is this, that in 1870 the Government grants counted for 35 per cent. and the voluntary contributions for 30 per cent. of the total cost, the balance of cost at that time being provided by fees. In 1900 the grants had risen to 78 per cent. of the total cost, and the voluntary contributions had fallen to 17 per cent. It cannot be denied that under those circumstances the conditions have vastly altered, and that it is really, therefore, open to us to modify these trusts in what we consider a fair spirit.

I do not think that the idea that this country is bound by a perpetual obligation to carry on these trusts at the public cost is one that can be regarded as tenable for a moment. I would put an analogy to your Lordships. Suppose the hospitals were handed over to the local authorities. I can imagine a case of a hospital built many years ago by a gentleman who believed in the practice and principles of homœpathy. After a lapse of years people cease to subscribe to this hospital, and it therefore has to be handed over to the local authority. The homœpathic community say to the local authority—

> "You will pay the whole of the expense of this hospital; you will pay the doctors, the nurses, and also for the diet of the patients and all the expenses connected with it. In consideration of that fact you shall be allowed to order the stores from the butcher and the grocer, but we propose to retain in our own hands the appointments of all the doctors and the nurses, and to prescribe the complete *regimen* for the patients."

Would any local authority look, or be asked by a Court of law to look at such a proposition as that? Yet it is not very dissimilar from what the country is now asked to do in the case of these trust schools.

I pass over clauses which deal with the temporary use of the schools, and what would happen if the trustees of a school tried to close it off-hand. I go back to the question of religious instructions and the facilities which are offered. In the Council schools, now, as we hope, greatly to be multiplied in number, the ordinary rule of religion is what is briefly known as the Cowper-Temple system. We had a discussion but a very few days ago upon that system, and I do not propose to dwell upon it at all at this moment; but I do most emphatically repeat that that religion as given in the Council schools at this moment meets the wishes of the vast majority of the parents of the children who attend them. We hear a good deal about the parents and the wishes of the parents in the course of these discussions, but I notice that when Cowper-Temple instruction is under discussion the figure of the parent is, so to speak, wheeled away into the background. What then is urged is not what the parent really does want, but what in the opinion of gentlemen who speak on the subject he ought to want. I fearlessly repeat that this instruction gives what he really desires. I do not say that it is by any means complete. We know it is not complete, but we maintain that it can be supplemented, and obviously between defect and excess in this matter there is a vast difference, provided that the defect can be supplemented elsewhere.

Clause 3, the clause which deals with facilities, meets the cases of those who complain that Cowper-Temple teaching, as I briefly call it, is defective. I will deal later with those who consider it erroneous. The first case is dealt with by the giving of two days' facilities for special religious teaching, with special arrangements ensuring that each child may receive it. It need only be given on two days a week, and it is given at the hour usually set apart for religious instruction. It is argued that under this system you give a most unfair advantage to the council school Cowper-Temple teaching, because you allow that to be given by the teachers, and you do not allow the teacher to give this facilities teaching. It sounds a paradox, but the desire for Cowper-Temple teaching is, I believe, so general that nobody would particularly volunteer to give it as given, unless it was given by the teacher under the auspices of the local authority. That sounds like a paradox, but you can easily find a parallel from what happens in our political discussions.

We have undenominational politics and we have doctrinal politics. There are several matters on which we are all agreed—the excellence of trial by jury; the admirable adaptability of our constitutional monarchy to the needs of our Empire; and other things of this kind.

But when noble Lords opposite send down orators at the expense of their Party to make speeches in the country, it is not upon those truths that they dwell. They dwell upon what I may call doctrinal politics—such questions as the advantages of coolie labour in South Africa, or the sanctity of our present system of licensing public-houses. Therefore, it undoubtedly is the case that if this undenominational teaching had to be privately paid for it would not be given. Some people think that Nonconformists might give it. I believe there is a general belief among a great many people who do not read history and know nothing of the immediate past, that Lord Mount Temple was a Nonconformist. Many of your Lordships remember the distinguished and pious figure of Lord Mount Temple in this House; and, as you know, he was a distinguished representative of the Evangelical Churchmanship of the Victorian era. Some people imagine that Nonconformists would out of their own pockets give the kind of teaching which is imparted in those syllabuses which we discussed the other day. I have no reason to suppose that they would do anything of the kind. I have no doubt that if they had to pay they would teach the doctrines of their particular church. Therefore, we maintain that there is a complete answer to the criticisms which are levelled against us for allowing this particular form of teaching to be given by the teacher.

What I have said about this undenominational teaching is, of course, not universally true. There are some who consider it to be not merely incomplete, but actually erroneous. It is perfectly obvious to anybody who has even glanced at these syllabuses that no Jew could allow his child to be instructed in that way. Then you have the Roman Catholic Church. As we all know, to the Roman Catholic Church the Bible is not the sole rule of faith, and they are not prepared to admit that what is spoken of as simple Bible teaching can be supplemented in any way by teaching outside. You cannot have a stronger proof of the position of the Roman Catholic Church in this matter than this. We know that a translation of part of the Scriptures into the vernacular is at any rate liable to be placed on the Index of prohibited books. That shows how many miles apart Protestant and Catholic stand in this matter; and, of course, it is also undoubtedly true that there is a very considerable section of the Anglican Church who hold the same views. What proportion of the Church of England join in the Roman Catholic objections we have never been able to discover. We may possibly have some light thrown on that fact in the course of these debates; but we know from the protests which they have made that they exist, and that they feel deeply on this matter. They, too, like the Roman Catholics, are not satisfied unless they can get a religious atmosphere into the schools.

That was a fact which the Government had to face very early indeed when this legislation was being prepared, and some means had to be found for meeting it. We met it as best we could by drawing a distinction, necessarily rough, but, as we believe, very real, between urban and rural schools. It is necessary to bear that distinction carefully in mind, and also the distinction between well-found denominational schools which have been erected with a distinct determination to maintain special religious teaching, and the inferior and worse found so-called denominational schools which we do not think require the same consideration. That is a distinction which has not been fairly drawn. *Rusticus urbano confusus, turpis honesto.* This is the origin of Clauses 4, 5 and 6 of the Bill. Those clauses give to certain schools the special facilities on all five days of the week, and they allow this instruction to be given by the teacher. This privilege is confined to urban areas, including urban districts with not less than 5,000 population, and it is only given where it is satisfactorily shown that four-fifths of the parents desire it and that accommodation can be found if necessary for the remaining children whose parents do not desire it.

We selected urban districts for two reasons. In the first place, because it is in those populous districts that alternative schools will generally be found, and also because as a rule those who desire this particular teaching and dislike any other are, as a rule, clustered around particular churches. That is true of Roman Catholics, but also to some extent of Anglicans. I noticed in reading the Return on the subject of Ecclesiastical Discipline that it is stated that among the 559 churches which were inquired into there were a certain number where the more extreme forms of doctrine and ritual were used. These were mostly in the Metropolitan area or in seaside places, though some of them were in rural parishes. I think it is not unfair to assume that it is in the neighbourhood of such churches as those that schools would exist to which this particular provision might reasonably apply.

This four-fifths proposition has received a vast amount of criticism from different sides. It is by no means liked by some of those who ordinarily support His Majesty's Government, and it is not accepted with enthusiasm by those whom it is intended to benefit. Those facts to my mind speak strongly in favour of this being a sensible proposition. We are asked, Why four-fifths? There may be some who think that five-sixths would be a more reasonable figure; others might say three-fourths; and some people might find a magic in the fraction of seven-tenths. When I was listening to a debate in the other House I heard an hon. Member say that what appeared to him as fair was a majority consisting of one-half. He was an English Member too. When you say, Why four-fifths? any provision where a particular figure is mentioned is open to such a question. People who have incomes below £160 a year pay no income tax. There is no great difference between an income of £159 and £160. Then why particularly £160? Or, if I may quote a case which is more germane to this particular subject, there is a section in the Act of 1902 which provides that a school shall not be considered unnecessary if the average attendance is not less than thirty. One may say, Why thirty? What is the essential difference between a school with an average attendance of thirty and one where the average attendance is only twenty-nine? All you can say here is that the figure four-fifths sufficiently stamps the school as having a definite denominational character, and at the same time it leaves a reasonable probability that accommodation will be found elsewhere for the children of such parents who do not require the teaching. A similar argument which I will not labour applies to the 5,000 limit which is mentioned in the Bill.

Having detained your Lordships so long, I have no intention of going into the complex details of the appeal in this clause. Its form, I admit, is somewhat complicated. This is accounted for by the fact that it represents a considerable number of concessions, and in drafting a Bill there is nothing so fatal to conciseness as concessions. I therefore will not attempt to describe the method of appeal which is intended to safeguard the parents in this matter. I shall probably have some opportunity later of doing so; but I do say this, that the substitution which some think so simple of the word "shall" for "may" in this clause and so making it mandatory, would, in our opinion, land both the schools and the Board of Education in very real difficulties. We believe that the method of appeal which we suggest, added to the possibility in the last resort—I hope only in the last resort and very seldom—of the school standing out of the system altogether and not being supported out of the rates, offers a much more genuine protection and a much more solid probability of getting these four-fifth schools than if the word "shall" was substituted for the word "may."

The next question is one which has given rise to a great deal of discussion. It is the question of attendance at the school during the religious instruction, and whether that attendance is to be compulsory or not. I am reminded of a story which I think is printed in Mr. Herbert Paul's "History of England," of a reply made by Bishop Thirlwall to a Conservative friend of his at Cambridge who objected to the admission of Dissenters to the University on the ground that the presence of Nonconformists would put an end to the practice of Church-going, and that the alternative was compulsory religion or no religion at all. "I confess," said the Bishop—"that the distinction is too subtle for my mental grasp."

Whether religion which is the subject of compulsion is religion at all is a matter which I think well worthy of consideration. Under the Act of 1870 attendance during what is known as the religious hour in schools was nominally compulsory, but as a matter of fact there is no instance of any parent having been prosecuted for not sending his child to school at that time. Things went on in that manner until the year 1903, when there was issued from the Education Department the "Anson by-law," which enabled local authorities to dispense parents from the necessity of sending their children to school for religious instruction, with a sort of general vague understanding that the child was to be given religious instruction elsewhere, but without offering any means of discovering whether he really received it or not. That by-law has been adopted by authorities representing about two-fifths of the total number of children. In the House of Commons during the progress of the Bill this subject was very keenly debated. It gave rise to strong differences of opinion which were not confined to one side, and which even invaded the circle of the Cabinet. The arguments are no doubt strong both ways. If you say that no parent need send his child to school during the religious hour, you are no doubt open to the charge of practically secularising the schools, and you are also open to the charge of making it likely that parents will take advantage of this permission to employ their children in various undesirable ways instead of sending them to school. These arguments are undoubtedly strong, but to my mind the arguments in the other direction carry still greater weight. In the first place, it is exceedingly difficult to arrange—and this is a minor matter—in some cases for the proper giving of secular instruction during that time; but, what is much more important, it is very difficult to make the conscience clause effective unless you allow the child to withdraw not merely from the instruction but from the school-house itself. It is not to be supposed that young children can stand up and announce their objection or their parents' objection to a particular form of religious instruction; nor are they likely to do so on their own initiative if the secular instruction which is provided as an alternative is, as is very often the case, of an extremely unpalatable character. I am convinced that if when at school your Lordships had been given the choice of listening for half an hour to the admonitions of a Mohammedan Mullah or doing a set of Greek iambics you would not all have chosen the iambics.

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The third argument in favour of not making attendance compulsory is one which, to some extent, appeals to the Government, namely, that it relieves us from the imputation of giving an undue preference to the ordinary council school instruction, and there is this further point which I think will appeal to some right rev. Prelates and to others of your Lordships, that if attendance is not compulsory those who do not wish their children to receive the ordinary council religious teaching can take them away and teach them in a church or in some other building separately. That is a practice which I believe is being followed in an increasing degree. It points to the fact that the clergy, who have, I believe—I shall be corrected if I am wrong—I will not say of recent years, but for some years past, shown a tendency to give less religious instruction themselves, are disposed to return to the performance of those duties which I think I am right in saying are specifically laid upon them by the canons of the Church. If, on the other hand, you compel the children to attend at the building, you will make that special church teaching in the mornings, which has become a very distinct feature in some towns, an impossibility.

Now, one word about the teacher. Two comments have been made upon the manner in which we treat the teacher with respect to this religious instruction. It is said he may always give Cowper-Temple instruction, even if unfit, and you never, except in the four-fifth schools, allow him to give the two days facilities teaching however willing he may be. Those provisions depend upon the conscience clause for teachers which is included in the Bill. A teacher employed in a public elementary school shall not be required as part of his duty as a teacher to give any religious instruction, and shall not be required as a condition of his appointment to subscribe to any religious creed, or to attend or abstain from attending any Sunday school or place of religious worship. The effect of that is that when a teacher is engaged it is not thought right to ask him what his views are, or whether he will give any particular religious instruction; but, when he is engaged, if he agrees to give the form of religious instruction, the authority may and undoubtedly will cause him to show that he is qualified to give it. That, I think, meets to some considerable extent an objection which has been often raised —namely, that there is a risk of the ordinary religious teaching being given by improper people. I believe that risk in itself is exceedingly small. After all, these teachers are a serious class of people; and the sort of Mephistopheles teacher who is supposed to be giving Bible instruction one moment and speaking at Agnostic meetings the next is, I believe, a very rare being indeed. If he exists at all—and he may exist here and there—I have no hesitation in saying that his existence as a religious teacher is a scandal, and that the local authority would, and ought under our measure, to find somebody else to give the religious instruction.

But when you say the teaching should only be given by those who believe in it, you come, it seems to me, to a very difficult question. It is very difficult to define what belief is. There are many degrees and varieties of belief, even within the ranks of the Church of England; but what I do desire to say is this, that after all conviction is much, but it is very far indeed from being everything. Unless a man has the teacher's gift, no amount of conviction or earnestness or knowledge will enable him to convey in a palatable form to children even the most simple religious instruction; whereas a man whose convictions are far less settled, if he has the gift, would in my belief be able to convey it not merely in a more attractive, but also in a more useful form to the minds of children. Then it is asked, Why not allow the teacher to give the two days facilities teaching in the transferred school? That no doubt seems a reasonable suggestion. It seems hard, undoubtedly, if a teacher is willing to give it, to prohibit him from doing so; but in practice it is believed by a very great number of people—and those who think so object strongly to any alteration of this clause—that it would act as a test—a modified test no doubt—but a real test, in a great many rural schools; and it being, as I have said, our object to make the schools in these districts undenominational, we cannot consent to a proposition which in our opinion would to some considerable extent undo one of the main purposes of the Bill itself. I may just add this, that I think it would not be difficult to show that unless you also hand over the appointment of the teacher to the denomination—which would, of course, destroy the structure of the Bill altogether—this permission would cut both ways in a great many instances. What would happen in such cases would depend upon whether the local authority desired the teacher to give the instruction or not, because the appointments made by them would no doubt be largely governed by some consideration of this question.

I pass very rapidly over the question of finance, which is one which does not specially concern your Lordships' House. It is provided by the Bill that a sum of £1,000,000 will be found to carry out its object, but I desire to make it quite clear that in the Bill no allocation of this money is suggested at all. The noble Marquess opposite, Lord Huntly, was kind enough to send me a Return he had made out as a sequel to a Question which he asked. I think it will not be difficult to show that the noble Marquess has founded his conclusions on a somewhat unreal basis, but there is no use going into details on this matter. A Bill has been promised for next year dealing, not only with this million, but with the general allocation of all the money which is provided by the State for this purpose; but I want to make this one point clear, namely, that the fact that the sum of a million was named has no relation whatever to the probabilities or possibilities of the amount required by individual schools, or likely to be received by individual schools, in the form of rent. The two things have nothing whatever to do with each other, and any argument founded on a supposed connection is illusory.

I pass, not without satisfaction, from the rather arid desert of religious controversy to the more green and pleasant land in which the children themselves live, and to one or two points of a more educational character than those with which I have been hitherto compelled to deal. Your Lordships will have observed that we do not make any alteration in the authority under which elementary education is worked in this country. I need not trouble you at any length with our reasons. Had we started with a clean slate it is possible that we might not have adopted exactly the plan followed by noble Lords opposite in 1902, but finding matters as they are we do not think it would be wise to attempt any further alterations in that respect. But experience has undoubtedly shown that some form of delegation is very much needed. In some county councils the members of the education committees complain that they come great distances at serious sacrifices of time, only to find themselves confronted with an endless agenda paper composed of the most trifling details relating to small schools, and that they really never have the chance of considering educational problems at all. For that reason we propose that in every county in England and Wales, except fourteen counties which have less than 69,000 inhabitants, schemes should be prepared for some form of delegation. The only points about these schemes which I wish to mention are these, that they must be uniform as affecting the one county; that in every case they must involve some disposal of money by the minor authority to whom the power is delegated; that the scheme must provide for the inclusion of women members on the smaller bodies; and what I think is also an important provision, that any go-ahead and energetic area which wishes to try to improve its own particular education may apply to be specially rated by the county council in order to carry out its ideas. I hope and believe that this plan of delegation will meet with general approval.

The authorities are given sixty years instead of thirty years to repay borrowed money, which will ease their position to some extent. Then, as regards higher education, the 2d. limit on the rate is removed. Clause 24 has two very important provisions—one is for the encouragement of a movement which has been carried on to some extent successfully by private enterprise, but which we now think needs public support. I mean the provision of vacation schools and play centres for children at times when they are not actually at work; and the second sub-head in the same clause applies in a limited form the important principle of medical inspection to schools. I believe that to be a most important provision. I believe that in the mere matter of dentistry alone the sum of misery and suffering which during all their life the poor children of this country go through in consequence of not having their teeth properly attended to when young is at least as great as that caused by an ordinary European war.

I will not detain you by any reference to the teachers' register, which we propose to abolish. Its abolition has been a matter of some comment, but we have been forced to arrive at the conclusion that the register, so far as it has gone has not carried out the intentions of Parliament in creating it, and what is worse, that no proposition which has been advanced by those who have most kindly given a great deal of thought and consideration to the subject will carry out the intentions of Parliament. What we hope is that the undoubted hardship which exists in the case of some of those who have gone to trouble and expense in getting themselves on to the register will be at any rate very considerably mitigated by the regulations of the Board of Education.

The next part of the Bill which I will touch on briefly deals with Wales. That probably is a matter which is likely to be considered in full when the Committee stage is reached; but I may just say this, that I believe all parties in Wales are at any rate agreed as to the principle of the creation of some central council for education.

A RIGHT REV. PRELATE: No, no.

THE EARL OF CREWE: I will not put it quite as high as that if right rev. Prelates object. I will say that there is a large measure of agreement among people of very different schools of thought in favour of the formation of a central council of education for Wales.

EARL CAWDOR: Not such a council as is proposed by the Bill.

THE EARL OF CREWE: I understand that. I was speaking as to a general agreement on the principle; and I think it will be generally agreed that if Wales wants a council the admirable manner in which the Welsh Intermediate Education Act has been carried out by the Joint Committees and by the Central Board makes it almost imperative that we should do what we can to meet the wishes of that country. I am not going at all into the details. There is one striking fact with regard to this matter, that Wales apparently desires certain powers now vested in the Board of Education to be transferred to the Treasury. This is the first time in my recollection that I have ever heard any body of people, so to speak, "nestling up" to the Treasury, but that is a matter for Wales itself to decide.

The remaining clauses of the Bill are such as I think would be more conveniently dealt with in Committee. My task is therefore at an end, and I feel I must apologise to your Lordships for having detained you at such unconscionable length. The nature of the subject made it exceedingly difficult for me to deal with it at all briefly. During the last six months it has been my duty to study so far as I could everything that has been written or said on this subject, and I do not know that any utterances of any very great importance have escaped me. Nineteen-twentieths of what has been said and written on this subject has dealt with some aspect or other of the religious difficulty. I confess that all through my uppermost thought has been this—if only all the energy, all the passion, and all the research which have produced such a volume of emotional rhetoric and such a museum of elaborate argument could have been, and now could be, applied to the real advancement of education in this country! This religious difficulty has swamped everything, or almost everything. What was originally the second part of our Bill, dealing no doubt with a somewhat controversial, but an exceedingly important question—that of endowments—had to be sacrificed owing to the lapse of Parliamentary time, and is one of the victims of the religious question.

I ask, my Lords, is it not possible that this long strife can somehow be made to cease? In a very few days your Lordships are going to disperse to your homes at a delightful season of the year. Possibly some of you may be able to spare time from more attractive pursuits to consider this thorny question and to reflect what an immense gain to the nation would be a declaration of peace after this more than thirty years religious war. I know very well that there are some provisions in this measure which your Lordships are disposed to condemn. May I ask this, not merely that you should refrain from condemning without full knowledge of what is actually proposed, for I am sure your Lordships will not do that, but also that you will refrain from condemning without very anxious consideration of all the possible alternatives. Some of those alternatives seem at first most attractive, but we, too, my Lords, have had to consider them and sometimes very reluctantly have had to reject them because in our opinion they were utterly incompatible with a final settlement of this question. If your Lordships will give the subject full consideration in that spirit, I believe that you will admit that this measure represents an honest and a not altogether unsuccessful effort, seriously designed and seriously carried out, towards a just solution of this most baffling and intricate problem.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2a."—(*The Earl of Crewe.*)

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY: My Lords, the noble Earl who has just sat down, and who has so lucidly introduced this complicated matter, asked for your Lordships' sympathy in the difficult task he was undertaking. I can assure my noble friend that if there is one Member of your Lordships' House who can sympathise with him in that appeal it is myself, for I performed a similar duty when in office on more than one occasion.

The noble Earl has dealt fully with a great number of the clauses of the Bill. We on this side of the House all understand that Clause 1, giving complete popular control, is the hinge on which the whole Bill hangs, and in the course of his opening remarks my noble friend stated that that was the opinion of himself and his colleagues. I regard that clause as the keystone of the measure, which, in my opinion, absolutely destroys the denominational schools from the point of view of denominational education, and therefore is an attack upon the Established Church of this country. The noble Earl went on to say that he was convinced that he had the people of the country at his back in the line which he and his Government are taking. I think he stated that if anyone had announced at a meeting in the country that he was opposed to the ratepayers having popular control in the matter of education that man would be promptly escorted to the railway station.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: I was speaking of Parliamentary candidates.

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY: I agree entirely with what the noble Earl said. I believe that the people of this country are in favour of public control in elementary schools, but when they declared that as their opinion they did not anticipate that the chief measure of the session would have for its object the endowment of Nonconformity at the expense of the whole community, especially of the Church of England, the abolition of Church influence in Church schools, and that the Bill would be a stepping-stone towards the disestablishment of the Church of England. There is no doubt that the ratepayers fully anticipated that there would be additional representation on the boards of management of non-provided schools, but I venture to say they never thought for one moment that the Government were going, by one stroke of the pen, to abolish the 14,000 voluntary schools which have done such spendid educational work for generations past.

What did the people of this country form their opinions upon in this matter previous to the general election? They formed those opinions on the various speeches made by the President of the Board of Education, Mr. Birrell. In one speech Mr. Birrell said—

> "Not only was he desirous that there should be Christian education in all schools, but he was also anxious that there should be facilities given, if they could be arranged on proper terms, whereby all denominations would have the opportunity of instructing children who attended the schools in what they believed to be their true religion."

On another occasion Mr. Birrell declared that—

> "He hoped it would be possible to have in the public elementary schools in this country simple religious teaching for those who were content with it, and also to give facilities that those people who wanted more definite dogmatic instruction should have it so that their children might enjoy the benefits of it."

What did Mr. Birrell mean by that? He undoubtedly meant that where Cowper-Temple teaching was required it should be given, but where extra religious instruction was desired it should also be given. Therefore, if any mandate on the subject was given by the country at the general election it was on the programme set out by the Minister for Education, and was in favour of religious teaching.

Much allusion has been made to the Act of 1902. It has been naturally criticised; but let me say at once, as one who was to a great extent responsible for that measure, that the Act of 1902 destroyed nothing. I may be told by my noble friend opposite that it destroyed the school boards, but if my noble friend will carry his mind back to 1870 he will remember that the school boards were only set up as a last alternative because there were no local authorities. The Act of 1902 destroyed nothing; but, on the contrary, it was a constructive and educational measure. I challenge the noble Lord opposite to show me any provision in this Bill which by any stretch of imagination can justify its being called an Education Bill. It is a Bill to destroy religious education; there is nothing in it to benefit the general education of the country. The Act of 1902 co-ordinated all grades of education under one head, and under the system set up education is steadily and gradually improving. I have myself been to a great number of the big towns in the country, and not only do I find the Act working smoothly and well, but it is praised by all classes of the community. I know that in some of the rural districts there is annoyance at having to pay a rate which they did not have to pay before, but I cannot see that there will be any reduction under this Bill.

The system on which provided and non-provided schools have been working side by side since the year 1870, and as the Act of that year intended them to work, has been entirely to the benefit of the education of the country. The atmosphere of religion in the denominational schools has permeated the whole district in which those schools are situated, and this is bound to have had beneficial results; and, owing to its being necessary for the non-provided schools to be as efficient as the provided schools secular education has been kept up to the same high standard. Therefore I am at a loss to know how it can be in the interest of education to strike this blow at the great work done by voluntary schools. I do not think the country realises what it owes to Church or voluntary schools. Many years ago, when there were no other schools of any sort or kind, the sole education of the country was provided by these schools. Children of Nonconformists took every advantage of the educational facilities thereby offered, and I believe the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade has admitted having received his elementary education in a voluntary school in Wales. The people who now denounce these schools were not above taking advantage of them.

I regretted to hear the sneers which the noble Earl cast upon the reason why these schools were provided and kept up. He seemed to insinuate that they were provided for pecuniary reasons in order to keep down the rates. I repudiate that suggestion entirely. The supporters of these schools have made sacrifices for their maintenance out of love for religion and education. I could quote to your Lordships case after case where clergymen have devoted the whole of their incomes to the support of these schools on behalf of religious education. The landed interest, too, has supported these schools, because landlords have believed in them and wished the children of their tenants to benefit by the religious education imparted. To hear our political opponents talk, one would imagine that the voluntary schools as they now exist were under the absolute control of the managers. Anyone who has studied this question knows that that is not the case. The local authority has absolute control over each and every one of them, with the exception of the very short time in the morning which is devoted to religious instruction and with regard to the selection of the teacher, but they have the power of veto where they consider the teacher is not competent to give secular education.

I agree entirely with the cry for popular control. The ratepayers of the country should have the control of expenditure out of the rates, but apparently it is considered that the only people who pay rates are Nonconformists. There has not been a religious census for many years past, and consequently it is impossible to draw a distinct line as to the sums paid by the various denominations, but my own conviction is that if the rates paid for education could be earmarked it would be found that supporters of voluntary schools pay an amount sufficient for the maintenance of their schools, and yet, while paying for Cowper-Temple teaching in provided schools, they are not to be allowed their own denominational teaching. The noble Earl has told us that this is an undenominational Bill. He has reiterated the statement of the Prime Minister that—

> "This is an undenominational Bill setting up an undenominational system, and we must regard it in that light."

The noble Earl went at some length into what he described as concessions and facilities. The so-called concessions and facilities, which have been so much dwelt upon, are in my opinion illusory.

I give the President of the Board of Education credit for an intention to deal fairly with the denominational schools. I have read his speeches both before he was Minister for Education and since, and I am convinced that in his heart of hearts he would wish to do justice to those who hold the views I have expressed; but I consider that Mr. Birrell is in the unfortunate position of the dog that is wagged by the tail. It looks as if, whenever he has made a concession, he has been immediately taken to task by colleagues in the Cabinet and a section of his supporters in another place, the result being that his concession has been instantly hedged in and guarded by conditions which make it worthless. I give Mr. Birrell credit for being an extremely able man, and I should therefore like to know whether he gives these concessions because he knows they are illusory or because he thinks they will be of value.

In this Bill plausible facilities are undoubtedly given for religious teaching, but they are hampered by the conditions as to the time when it shall be given and the exclusion of the regular teacher. It is the regular teacher who best knows the way to the heart of the child, and on this point I would refer the noble Earl to a speech of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education. In that speech Mr. Lough emphasised the importance of having the religious education given by trained and regular teachers because they knew the way to the child's mind better than did anyone else. In those circumstances I should like to ask what are the reasons which persuaded His Majesty's Government to refuse to allow the child to be taught by the teacher who their own Parliamentary Secretary tells us is the person best qualified to give that teaching. I have myself a large school at Seaham in which there are 1,139 boys, girls, and infants, and thirty-three teachers. I would ask the noble Earl, who is going to do the work of those 33 teachers on the days in the week allotted to religious education? The clergyman and two curates cannot be asked to do it all in the allotted days, and I want to know how outsiders are to be got in the schools in the time.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: I am sorry to interrupt the noble Marquess, but I should like to ask, are these all Church children?

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY: They represent all denominations except Roman Catholic, but they have gloried in the fact that they have had this instruction at the hands of the thirty-three teachers to whom I have referred. That system has gone on to the entire satisfaction of the parents, and there has hardly been a withdrawal of a child from that school. In the Bill you maintain that there shall be no qualification in the future for teachers. I did not quite follow what the noble Earl said with regard to the position of teachers, and whether they would be liable to dismissal.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: They are not liable to dismissal. I was speaking of new teachers being engaged, and I said they would not be subjected at the time of their engagement to any test whatever as to their religious opinions, neither would they be subject to any obligation to attend or abstain from attending any place of worship or Sunday School or anything of the kind. But afterwards, if they agreed to undertake religious instruction, it might then be ascertained if they were qualified to give it. If they were obviously disqualified the local authority would have to find somebody else.

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY: I do not know how the noble Earl reconciles that with his Bill. I understood that all tests and qualifications were to be abolished.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: Tests, but not qualifications.

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY: I do not understand the fine distinctions which are drawn between tests and qualifications. If you have a teacher to teach arithmetic you insist on his being qualified to give that instruction, but, according to the noble Earl, those responsible for the giving of religious instruction are not to be compelled to possess any qualification at all.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: I am sorry again to have to interrupt the noble Marquess. No question is to be asked when the teacher is engaged as to his religious opinions, but if engaged he is asked whether he is willing to give religious instruction.

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY: Yes, but you have not the slightest idea whether he is qualified to give it or not. If a teacher is to teach anything well he must thoroughly believe in it himself. The President of the Board of Education admitted, on the Third Reading, the importance of religious teaching being given by a well-trained teacher. He said—

> "I agree with the Archbishop of Canterbury that religious instruction is very badly given. I have heard it given again and again in Board schools and in Church schools, and I have very seldom heard it given otherwise than badly. That is a criticism, not of the system, but of teacher. A well-trained teacher is the thing we want."

Yet it is the well-trained teacher you propose under this Bill to turn on one side. That is a point on which I lay great stress. I hope that in the recess those responsible for the Bill will ponder over the words of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, that—

> "the efficiency of religious teaching depends on the earnestness of the conviction of the teacher."

The facilities, as they are called, are entirely at the discretion of the local authority. The word "may" instead of "shall" comes in frequently, and, owing to the fact of its being permissive, Clause 3 holds out hopes that cannot, by the widest stretch of imagination, be regarded as certainties.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: In Clause 3 the facilities are obligatory if the school is taken.

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY: Yes, but only if it is taken. I know that in the House of Commons an endeavour was made to obtain an appeal to the Board of Education, but Mr. Birrell refused to accept that because of the wish of the local authorities to be all powerful. Therefore, what is the position of these schools if the local authorities are hostile to the granting of facilities for denominational teaching?

I now come to Clause 4, which, with the exception of Clause 1, is the most important Clause in the Bill. Let me first of all consider what was the intention of the Government in introducing that clause. I think it is notorious that it was introduced in order to secure the Roman Catholic vote, and, secondly—and this was by no means its least object—to retain the services of the noble Marquess the Leader of your Lordships' House. It must have been intended to cut out the Church schools. That must have been in the minds of those who drafted the clause, because it is confined to urban districts of over 5,000 inhabitants, and His Majesty's Government know full well that the great majority of voluntary schools are in the rural districts and could not possibly come under this clause. To my mind, the clause will be found impossible in its working. The conditions to be fulfilled before facilities are granted are almost incapable of fulfilment, even within the areas to which the clause applies. What is the explanation of the Roman Catholics in another place voting so constantly against the Government on this? It is because they are finding out that the clause will not benefit them, for the simple reason that in nearly all Roman Catholic schools there are a large number of children of other denominations. The denomination that will be benefited is that of the Jews. I contend that it will be impossible to get four-fifths of the parents to vote as the Bill requires. But there is a further restriction imposed, viz., that there shall be no facilities given unless there is alternative accommodation for the children of parents who do not desire facilities. Thus there might be a school of 100 children the parents of ninty-nine of whom desire facilities. If there were not another accessible school for the remaining one child facilities could not be granted. The facilities clause is, in fact, utterly useless.

Then we come to another very important provision — the Council for Wales. I object to separate treatment for Wales on constitutional grounds. I decline to agree to a proposal for what I may call Home Rule all round. There is no more reason why this step should be taken in regard to Wales than in regard to Durham, the Ridings of Yorkshire, and every thickly populated part of the country; and I must deny entirely a statement of the noble Earl opposite that all parties in Wales are agreed on the principle of this proposal. I do not think that right rev. Prelates opposite connected with Wales will contradict me when I say that there are a large number of people in Wales who will not accept that principle. This is a question which was scarcely discussed in the House of Commons. The Government did not seem to know their own minds one day from another, and proposal after proposal was submitted. I think this is a point which will have to be carefully considered when the Committee stage of the Bill is taken. I was Minister for Education when we had to put into force the Defaulting Authorities Act, and if we had not put that Act into force 205 voluntary school teachers in Montgomeryshire alone would not have had their salaries, nor would the school have been provided with coal or light. If this is the treatment which these unfortunate teachers received then, what will be their chance of fair and just treatment in the future ?

Then the financial proposals of the Bill appear never to have been thought out. We are told that £1,000,000 is to be given annually for the purpose of the Bill, chiefly, I believe, for the purpose of taking over or paying rent for what are called transferred schools. When I read that the sum was to be £1,000,000 I puzzled my brain as to how that amount had been arrived at. It would have been easy to ascertain the number of schools to be taken, and the number of children attending them, and to have struck an average of so much per child ; but to my amazement the only reason given for fixing £1,000,000 was that it was all the Chancellor of the Exchequer could spare. There is not much finance about that. Mr. Asquith stated in another place that he considered the clause for medical inspection and the clause for delegation the two most important clauses in the Bill. That shows the feeling of His Majesty's Government. Is the question of religious teaching to be considered of no importance at all ? Apparently that is so, for the Chancellor of the Exchequer expressed his opinion that these were the only two clauses of importance.

I may be asked why, if I hold these views so strongly, I do not move the rejection of the Bill. If I had done that it would have amounted to a declaration that the Act of 1902 was perfect. No Bill that has ever passed through Parliament can be considered a perfect Bill, and still less so when it is built upon the foundation of another imperfect measure like the Act of 1870. Therefore, I am ready to allow that there is room for improvement in our educational system. The Second Reading of the Bill should be allowed so that it may be carefully considered clause by clause and line by line. In this House there is no closure, and I hope your Lordships will take full advantage of that fact and insist on closely examining the details of the Bill. I do not know who understands the Bill. I doubt whether His Majesty's Ministers do, for their speeches in another place are of an extraordinarily contradictory character. Is it likely then that the ordinary man in the country can understand it ? The rapidity with which this measure has been rushed through the House of Commons has aroused the indignation of even my noble friend opposite, Lord Stanley of Alderley, who is a strong supporter of His Majesty's Government. Even Lord Stanley of Alderley declared that Government Amendments had been inserted in the Bill quite unconsidered.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY : I was only referring to one particular Amendment.

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY : These matters, at any rate, should be fully considered, and I quote my noble friend as having said that an Amendment to one important clause in the Bill had been dealt with in a most unsatisfactory manner. What is, after all, the chief object of this measure ? It is to abolish denominational schools and denominational teaching, and it is a direct attack therefore, on the Church to which we are proud to belong. I hope your Lordships and the people in the country will not go away thinking that if this Bill is carried it will do no harm to the Church. It is a stepping-stone to the disestablishment of the Church, and I think it is well that the people of the country should understand that. I am one of those who regard this as a very grave question. We are all working for one end—to inculcate in the rising generation of this country those principles which we Churchmen hold so dear. We are convinced that the teaching we have given has been conducive to the welfare, happiness, and prosperity of our people, and we desire that nothing should be done to impair it.

*THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: My Lords, we have heard the case for the Bill to which you are asked to give a Second Reading set before us with clearness and in large measure with a fairness which I think left nothing to be desired. We have had from the front Bench opposite weighty criticisms about some of its details and a good many of its principles. I will try not to go over again the ground which has already been well trodden. I approach the question perhaps from a somewhat different standpoint. I should like to say at the outset that some of us feel on this subject a peculiar difficulty in speaking adequately in Parliament, because the matter concerns so closely the deeper and more sacred parts of life as to make it not always easy to express in a public speech the innermost reality of what one feels about it all. No one can have had such opportunities as I have had during the last few months of being in touch day by day with some of the best of the teachers in our schools without finding how for them at least the whole of this question is swept outside the category of social or political controversy and is felt by them to involve interests which are too sacred and too deep for words.

I want first to look at the Bill in its setting in the history of the last half-century or more. When we are dealing with a highly controversial question, and want to be on our guard against unconscious prejudice or distorting bias, it is well sometimes to stand back a little from the subject and to look at the events as they will appear to the cool, unemotional historian who may be telling the story when this century is drawing to a close. The more faithfully and the more competently that we can do this the more likely shall we be to see things in their true balance and proportion, and to judge of the relation which each great episode bears to the rest. For the story of education during the last hundred years in England groups itself round certain great episodes and certain great men. Some elements of the controversy—some vehement outbursts of opinion—which seemed at the time likely to endure have proved to be evanescent. To take a single example, drawn from a period within the lifetime of many who are here, and within the political recollection, I suppose, of a few of our veterans. In 1847 there was a great Parliamentary duel between Macaulay and John Bright. Macaulay vainly endeavoured to convince Mr. Bright that it was a good thing that the State should take some responsibility for the education of the people. Mr. Bright remained entirely unconvinced, and set his views forth in a memorable speech. Nobody holds those views now, and I only refer to the matter as a curious object lesson. When we remember that his were the opinions held by a vigorous section of a great Party within recent times, it should make us a little cautious as to what is colloquially called "cocksureness" about the permanent validity and weight of some political nostrum or some popular cry.

The really curious fact in that long story is that on almost every occasion of widespread controversy the practical difficulty has ultimately turned, as it turns to-day, mainly on the religious question. The Nonconformist for a whole century has asked, when any large educational question has been raised, whether the change would not increase and consolidate the power and *status* of the National Church. Churchmen on the other hand have asked whether the particular change under discussion would not prevent them from discharging a responsibility which they were not only able and willing, but absolutely bound, to discharge for the good of the nation as a whole. It is that particular difficulty which has again and again divided men when they might, it would seem, have almost come together upon everything else. It was that which exactly a century ago sundered these two pioneers of education—good men both of them, but angular and eccentric—Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster. It was that which wrecked the statesmanlike and far-seeing Bill of Lord Brougham in 1820; it was that which led, in part at least, to the opposition which the Manchester school gave to the education grants in the '30's and '40's; it was that which hampered the revised Code in 1861; it was that which forced a change of front upon Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster in 1870; it was that which destroyed the Bill of the late Conservative Government in 1896; it was that which, in some counties at least, has made the Act of 1902 drag its wheels very heavily. My Lords, that is, in one sense, a humiliating confession, and perhaps especially so when it is made by an ecclesiastic. Is it wonderful, one asks, that, this being so, we should have heard from time to time in recent years the cry—"Sweep away the whole thing that causes so much strife where strife is unnecessary, and let us have in our schools secular teaching only?" Considering the impatience and irritability of human nature one understands without difficulty why such a thought should find wide expression. And yet, my Lords, it only needs a clear and insistent gaze into the facts to satisfy us how fallacious the cry is. The actual facts, surely, are these. Every sort of people in the controversies of these hundred years who have combined practical experience of our schools with real enthusiasm about elementary education are agreed in saying that it does matter beyond words for the forming of character in the elementary schools of the nation that they should be carried on upon a basis of religious teaching, or rather, that that golden thread should be woven through and through the web which they construct. The very importance which everybody attaches to the manner in which the thing is to be done is of itself very striking evidence as to the necessity which they feel that it should be done. What they differ about is the question: On what lines and by what men and women is that golden thread to be inwrought? Could anything be more fatuous than to say, in a moment of impatience, that the proper way to solve the perplexity is to sweep the whole thing aside?

Take a humble parallel. I believe it is agreed by almost everybody that for little children a milk diet is essential, and I am further told that at this moment there are, in connection with the great Poor Law schools of the kingdom, groups of medical men divided into factions as to whether that milk should be sterilised, boiled, or given in its natural state. What should we think of the reformer who was to argue that, having regard to these controversies, it would be better that no milk should be given at all? The analogy is not a very profound or close one, but it seems to me that it holds water for our purpose. The instinct of the English people is sound and true that their children should be Christianly brought up at school as well as at home. They are ready to trust the teacher pretty largely as to the nature of that instruction and the manner in which it is to be given, but they do want the religion taught to be real. Many of us clergy, my Lords, who have spent years in ministering to the sick and whole among the working class population, are familiar with the parent's frank declaration. "I have not made an over good use of my own life. I wish I had my school days over again, but at least I do want my boy, my girl to get help for living better than I have done." Yes, my Lords, people do care very much about religious teaching, not merely in the vague way that it is sometimes put, that the children of a Christian nation ought to receive a Christian upbringing, but as something definite and real which they believe will make a difference to their children's lives. Any policy which ousts religious teaching from our schools is a policy, as it seems to me, born of impatience and despair. They are ill-omened parents, and their progeny is likely to be noxious and deformed.

But to return to the endeavours which the last fifty years have seen to find some solution of the problem. Of course, before 1870, the difficulty of the subject, though real, was far less complex than it is now. The mass of educational supply throughout the country was purely voluntary. The very first grant made by Government was only about seventy years ago, and was absolutely trifling in amount. Even in much later days the proportion of voluntary effort to the aid that came from the State was enormous, the State's contribution being for many years comparatively trifling.

But in 1870 a far-reaching and beneficent endeavour was made to enlarge and strengthen our educational system as a whole. It was made on great lines by thoughtful statesmen, who looked at the matter all round. Three men were prominent in the work—Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Forster, and the noble Marquess who so worthily presides over the House to-day, and who was then responsible for bringing forward that Bill in your Lordships' House. I am not going into the merits of the Bill of 1870. I regard it as a really great and wise conception, and I am glad to think that on that, though there have been strange things said to the contrary in some quarters, most people are entirely agreed. I am not often in agreement on this particular kind of subject with a very prominent man in English life today, Dr. Clifford, but I find he says—

> "[The Act of 1870] is the truest ideal of State education for its young citizens which the nation has yet conceived, and the most just and beneficent legislation Parliament has framed to actualise it. It is the high watermark of our civilisation. It is the sign of the dawn of a new educational era ; 1870 is in fact the most fruitful year of the 19th century."

If that be so, it is well worth our while to see what was the essential character of the main political provision, using the expression in the large sense of the word, which belonged to that piece of legislation. The most marked feature in it, that which gave rise to controversy at the time, but was adhered to throughout by the statesmen who were in charge of it, was that it was a Bill to supplement and encourage, not to supplant, the denominational system of the country. Again and again Mr. Gladstone warned the House of Commons not to belittle, not to ignore, not to waste what he called our noblest educational asset, that which came from a religious impulse and religious zeal. I quote some words of his from the debates of 1870—

> "As Christianity, since it came into the world, has given a new character to secular philanthropy, so religious zeal has created in this country especially, an amount of anxiety never before exhibited for the promotion of a sound secular education." ...

And again—

> "In this matter of education, it is a great mistake and error, in our view, to think that secular education given by a State machinery is *per se* better and more valuable than the same education given by machinery voluntary in its character. Setting aside that which is abstractedly desirable, I think we are justified in feeling that this enormous power which exists in the country ought to be turned to account."

And if any one doubts that that was not merely an element in the Bill, but was the very backbone of the policy that was then taken in hand, let him look, not at the rhetorical words spoken in the debates of that year, but at what was said a little later by its author, when the Bill was at work and people had had time to see and understand its provisions and their meaning. Three years after the Bill was passed, and when its character could be fairly judged, Mr. Bright, in a great speech at Birmingham, denounced the Education Bill passed by the Government of which he, though somewhat of an invalid at the time, had been a member. He used these words—

> "It was a Bill to encourage denominational education, and, where that was impossible, to establish board schools. It ought, in my opinion, to have been a Bill to establish board schools, and to offer inducements to those who were connected with denominational schools to bring them under the control of the school board."

Thereupon Mr. Forster reminded Mr. Bright that, before the introduction of the Bill, its character had been clearly explained to all the Cabinet, including Mr. Bright. He enclosed the Memorandum then circulated, to recall, as he said, to Mr. Bright's memory—

> "that it is in fact founded on that principle to which you now object—namely, that our object should be to supplement the present voluntary system ; to enforce compulsory school provision, if and where necessary, but not otherwise ; to give time, after educational destitution is proved, for bad schools to be improved, or new schools to be erected under the existing voluntary system."

Mr. Bright, in his reply, admits that he had forgotten the Memorandum, and, speaking of the new departure, says—

> "This great concession, unexpected and, as I think, wholly evil, has had the effect of fastening on the country the old system."

I quote those words, because they show how everybody, friend and foe alike, realised the basis and character of the policy adopted and established. From first to last, during the debates there ran a similar challenge to the friends of denominational schools to use their opportunity and, on the strength of that Parliamentary encouragement, to build new schools and thus to strengthen their systems. It is quite easy to quote Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster to that effect, but I should prefer to quote, in his presence, and to his honour, the words of the noble Marquess, the Lord Privy Seal. Speaking in this House on its Second Reading, he said—

> "The Bill proposes to maintain all existing schools at present in receipt of Government aid on their present footing. We desire that they should continue and extend, and needlessly to destroy one of them would be to inflict a great mischief."

And, again—

> "In considering the educational wants of a school district, however, we distinctly contemplate the taking into account not merely of existing schools, but of those which are about to be supplied *bona fide* for the benefit of the district. On this point your Lordships will read Clause 8 in connection with Clause 10, and you will see that the friends of voluntary education in each district will have an opportunity of supplying within a reasonable time, if they can, the deficient education . . . I think that is a fair and ample warning to the friends of voluntary education; and, considering the demands of the children for education, a fair and ample opportunity of supplying it is thus afforded."

Those words show the basis, or one of the bases, upon which our contention rests, that schools built by voluntary contributions during the years which followed 1870 acquired what I should call an absolute claim, as a mere question of fairness and honour, not to have their distinctive character taken away whatever might be the provision made for preserving it—and there are many ways in which that can be done—unless the schools can be shown, what it is not even contended or attempted to show, to have wholly failed to carry on effectively and for the general good the work which they undertook to do.

Here was the friendly challenge of the Liberal Government of the day to the Church and other denominations to take the matter in hand and do their best, and what was the response? The Church and other bodies, to use a colloquial expression, "buckled to," and in the course of the years which followed they built 5,000 new schools at a cost of some £9,000,000, which it would have been quite easy to throw on the rates. I will give the figures more exactly. The number of Church schools under inspection was, in 1870, about 6,900. In 1889 it was about 11,800, an increase of 4,900. Or, if you express it in terms of school places, the figures in 1870 were 1,411,000, and in 1889 2,621,000 school places, an increase of over 1,200,000 school places as the result of the voluntary contributions which had been raised in that time. All these schools were built in answer to the challenge of the noble Marquess who is now Lord Privy Seal. At the lowest estimate the Church of England expended, in order to provide these places, nine and a half millions of money, quite apart from the Parliamentary grants, the amount of which was trifling compared with the rest. But in the figures I give that amount is not reckoned at all.

It has been very courteously and very truly said to-night by the Lord President of the Council that we must not claim all that as a result of Church enthusiasm; that a very large sum was subscribed to keep out school boards, with their heavy rates and that some of it was given by people who did not care a straw about religious education. I am quite prepared to admit that in a great many cases large sums of money were given by trustees, and corporations and by railway companies and by other bodies which did not profess to look at the religious instruction side of the question, but who wanted to avert a school board rate. I think it would be most deceptive to deny that there has been a considerable amount of money given in that way for the building and maintenance of voluntary schools, but, when you have deducted all the money that can on the highest estimate be ascribed to such an origin, there remains a vast sum which had a distinctly religious origin and purpose. It was given in order to maintain in districts where the people wanted it a type of school which the parents knew would give that personal relationship which springs so largely from voluntary effort, especially when that voluntary effort is linked in with other kinds of work going on in the parish. The donors knew further that their gifts would secure the real type of religious teaching and religious teacher which they regarded as so important to the highest interests of the school or rather of the children attending it.

But I would rather stand on ground which is in no sense open to that challenge. Take the towns in which rates were being levied and in which subscribers to voluntary schools were also themselves paying rates, or take what has been done in the counties since the passing of the Act of 1902, which rated the country all round. I have here the figures for three dioceses taken absolutely at random, and I find that since "the appointed day" under the Act of 1902 the diocese of Canterbury has spent £50,000, Oxford £57,000, and Winchester £105,000 either on the building of new schools or on the enlargement and improvement of existing schools. It surely is almost impossible to say that these schools can be taken over and entirely transformed in their character without an absolute violation of the whole traditions of English public security and of English public honour. Perhaps I should plead guilty to the fact that I have again and again urged such contributions and assured the donors that their gifts were quite safe, inasmuch as no Parliament and no Government could possibly alienate that money, given freely within the last few years, for a purpose which every Government has encouraged and applauded.

I dare say I shall be told in this debate that nobody thinks of confiscating and destroying these schools, but presently I shall show your Lordships how, if this change comes about, there will be something more than transformation—there will be an absolute end of any true preservation of the principles for which this money was given and this effort made. I beg you to understand clearly that I am not claiming any sacred inviolability for everything contained in every trust. I do not object to modification or change in these matters if there is good cause shown, and if the conditions are fair; but if it means a *bouleversement* of what has been done and the scattering to the winds of money which has been given, and if this is deliberately done in order to bring about just those conditions which were expressly deprecated by the donors and which it was hoped would be averted by that money being given, I think pause is necessary before we go forward in a course so contrary to the best traditions of English honour.

In a question such as this, it is sometimes useful to leave generalities alone and to give attention to some concrete instance, not of course because it is unique, but because it is a specimen of what is happening in greater or less degree all over England.

I will take an example from a London parish close to which I resided when I was Bishop of Rochester. I refer to the parish of St. John, Kennington, which contains one of the very poorest bits of London, one of those regions which are marked with special blackness in Mr. Charles Booth's statistical maps. In or around the parish there are several very large and flourishing board schools, to whose excellence I am glad to bear warm testimony, and also two other schools, St. John's and St. Michael's, one attached to the parish church and the other to a mission church. What has the building of those two schools cost the donors, who, please remember, were people who were already being heavily rated for the Board Schools? They have spent on St. John's site and buildings, £14,780, and have just intimated to the county council their readiness to spend £1,200 more to make good certain deficiencies pointed out by the county council, provided they have some security against the alienation of their gifts. They have in addition to the £14,780, also spent on maintenance £13,416. On St. Michael's there has been spent £3,000 on buildings and £7,000 on maintenance, or, altogether on the two schools, £38,196. Now notice please that all this has been spent by people who have been paying School Board rates all the while, spent in order that they might secure something they very much cared for. What is going to happen in regard to these schools? These two schools are immensely popular and have excellent Government Reports. A great many parents in that poor region desire their children to go to them rather than to the excellent board schools which stand close by, and this not perhaps because of their denominational teaching so much as because of their whole tone, character and spirit. One asks wonderingly: Who are the aggrieved people if these schools go on as they are? Every parent has a board school at hand if he prefers it. Why is he to be debarred from having this sort of school if he likes it better, and if we are willing and able to supply it? I may be told the four-fifths clause will come in here and virtually enable the school to go on as it is. I do not think so, and I will show in a few moments what will happen if this measure becomes law. I was going to give you similar details about another school—an East London school this time. But perhaps I should weary you by a repetition of such details. If any one will inquire for himself as to the schools of St. John at Hackney, rebuilt within the last few years at the cost of some £10,000, he will learn what devotion and self-sacrifice can do in a cause for which people really care.

Let me here say one general word. It is sometimes claimed that a change has come about because of the falling off of voluntary subscriptions. That is a most fallacious statement. Whenever you hear that subscriptions have fallen off it is always the percentage that is meant, as compared with the enormously increased expenditure. People forget that the whole cost of living and of education has increased so gigantically. Instead of having fallen off, voluntary subscriptions have doubled. In 1870 the subscriptions for the maintenance of voluntary schools were only £329,000; they rose in 1880 to £587,000; and in 1901 they had risen to £678,000. And yet it is quite true that the percentage these voluntary subcriptions bear to the whole cost of education works out at a good deal less than in 1870, because the cost of everything has risen so normously. What the Government have to show in order to justify the Bill on that score is, not that there is a falling off in the percentage of income from voluntary subcribers as compared with the whole educational expenditure, but a falling off in the interest on the part of subscribers as shown by smaller gifts. This is abundantly refuted by the figures I have quoted.

If it could be shown that the schools had ceased to be really efficient, or had ceased to invoke the enthusiasm of the people as shown by voluntary subscriptions, then I should be ready to say that the terms on which the money was promised in 1870, and since that time, might be reconsidered. But neither of these things is true. As regards the higher grades of technical efficiency and the winning of scholarships, I admit that the voluntary schools have not been fully able to hold their own against the great board schools of the towns. But when you hear that comparison drawn to the discredit of voluntary schools as such always look at something else. Look at the country board schools. Think of the difference between the country and the towns, not between board and voluntary schools. It has further to be remembered that in towns Church schools are hampered by the fact that their buildings are usually older than the board school buildings, and are being superseded by modern requirements. But ask any impartial Government inspector whether the voluntary schools in the last ten years have not been contributing as good a type of citizen to the country as the board schools, and I am perfectly certain you will not find an inspector to tell you to the contrary.

So far, then, we have seen the origin, the history, and the present position of what we used to call "voluntary" schools, and their relation to the Government challenge of 1870.

In 1901 the difficulty had risen to a high point, owing, as I have said, to the increased cost of education, a cost which private resources could not adequately meet, although the contributions from voluntary sources were double what they had been a few years ago. I hold no brief for the solution arrived at in the following year as completely satisfactory. I should not if I had had the power have passed the Bill exactly in the form in which it became law, but at least it was in my judgement an honest and vigorous attempt to prevent all the voluntary enthusiam and self-sacrifice from being in vain and yet to be fair all round—to give more financial support from public sources to the schools, and at the same time to give increased popular representation. That was what was attempted, and in many parts of the country the plan has worked admirably, but I am very far from saying that it was not necessary, especially after the recent election, to have a reconsideration of that position and to make a new endeavour to meet difficulties that had been discovered or had arisen.

That was the situation which the present Government had to meet. I believe, and I have always said, that the difficulties they had to face were very great, especially in regard to the single school areas, that it was a most anxious and trying position, and that I did not envy those on whom the responsibility of the task lay. The position was difficult enough, and it was enormously complicated by the popular cry, and the Parliamentary pledges lightly given by people who, as it now becomes abundantly plain, did not really understand what those pledges were thought to carry, and what they implied. It was a great opportunity for a great measure, and I am myself the more disappointed because I felt intensely sanguine that we were going to have a great measure dealing with the question on a large and generous scale. I should like to refer your Lordships to an article in the *Independent Review* for July by Canon James Wilson, once headmaster of Clifton—a great Liberal and a great educationist who has thought out this problem to its depth, and has looked at it from every point of view—on what he calls the Government's lost opportunity.

We are told by Lord Crewe, as we have been told by many others, that the nation has declared in favour of complete popular control and that there shall be no sectarian tests, and I go a very long way with that cry. Popular control I have never deprecated; I am not afraid of it if you leave the controlling power really free; but if you give the nominal power to an authority with one hand tied, if you give freedom to go in one direction, but do not allow one step to be taken in the other—if you say this is complete control, it does not seem to me to be popular control worthy of the name. Give complete control as you have it in Scotland, or let Parliament, if you prefer it, lay down detailed conditions after full discussion as to what they are to be. But do not let us say there is complete public control and then find that those to whom the supposed control of religious education is entrusted are tightly tied on one side and allowed full liberty on the other.

Then, as regards tests, I have no wish that a teacher should be unduly restricted in his calling by denominational tests provided that he can show that he is duly qualified for the work he has to undertake; but with all respect to teachers—and there is no class of men and women for whom I have a more genuine regard — I would remind teachers that they, after all, exist for the schools, and not the schools for the teachers.

But what does the Bill do? It takes 14,000 existing schools, with their trusts, and demolishes, not the mere wording of the trusts, but the very essence and pith of them. The characteristics that make a denominational school different from others are abolished, and the school is handed over to a local authority, which may, if it likes, refuse to take it; or, if it does take it, may practically secularise it save for some two hours in the week, and may appoint teachers who are unwilling to give, or untrained to give, religious teaching; and if religious teaching is given, and the teachers are willing to give it, no child need go to school until the religious lesson is over. A burden of temptation is by this means laid on the poorest homes and presses there most hardly; or the children may come from homes in which parents are altogether careless, and, therefore, of the religious teaching of those children we should be specially careful. To say to these parents that their children need not attend until after the religious teaching is given is almost to put a premium in certain homes upon parents' neglect or parents' eagerness for gain, and it will do quite incalculable harm to the interests of the children.

We are told that local authorities will not on any large scale destroy or even impair the system of religious teaching, but are we quite sure that that can be counted upon everywhere? Of course, no man will allege it of England as a whole. I am quite prepared to say that local authorities in the main will try to act fairly, and I would trust them generally, but the Bill binds them in one direction to allow a denominational teaching and leaves them free in another to go as far in the secular direction as they like. Again, surely our usual and reasonable trust of the local authority is qualified by the facts disclosed in the Return which has been furnished to us so promptly and efficiently in answer to my request, and which I brought before the House last week. I then ventured to call attention not only to a large number of schools where there is no inspection of the religious teaching, but to the fact that there are many in which, to all intents and purposes no religious teaching at all is given. I quoted the statistics given, and, as nothing is so useful as a concrete instance, I mentioned the case of Huddersfield, not, of course, for any special reprobation, but as an example of what may happen anywhere. I referred to the words in the rules of the Huddersfield local authority—

> "In the schools provided by the council no religious teaching shall be given,"

The Regulation goes on to prescribe what it calls "religious observances" which may last for fifteen minutes at most, and consist of a hymn, the Lords' Prayer, and the reading by the principal teacher of some verses of the Bible without note or comment. Imagine the value of that form of "instruction" given to very little children! Such is the system followed at the present time in Huddersfield. Now there are twenty-one or twenty-two Church schools in Huddersfield in which I suppose there are something like 120 teachers, at the very least, who on the appointed day, when this Bill becomes operative, will be absolutely debarred from giving, not any denominational teaching, but any real religious teaching at all. If I am wrong the noble Earl will correct me. As I read the Bill, it will be in the power of the local authority of Huddersfield, which has declared plainly its opinion that there ought to be no religious teaching but only religious observances such as I have described.

The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: May I draw the most rev. Primate's attention to Sub-clause 5 in Clause 2—

> "Nothing in this section shall prevent the granting or requiring of facilities for special religious instruction in accordance with this Act, or prevent a local education authority, as a condition of an arrangement made under this section with respect to the use of the schoolhouse of an existing voluntary school, from giving an undertaking to give religious instruction which does not conflict with section fourteen of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, in the school."

If the most rev. Primate is right in thinking the teaching now given in Huddersfield is not religious instruction then some other instruction suitable to the transferred school would have to be given there.

*THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: I can only say this is very obscure. All schools are now to become provided schools. The local authority says that in all provided schools there shall be no religious instruction given. I shall be delighted to hear a method for getting out of the difficulty. As I understand, the Bill, it will be in the power of the local authority to say it will not take over a school, or, if it does take it over, to bring it, save for the excepted hours, under its own regulations as to religious instruction.

* THE EARL OF CREWE: When the school is transferred, the transferring body can make a stipulation for two days facilities teaching and three days Cowper-Temple teaching if they choose.

*THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: I am glad to be corrected, but, even at the best, imagine what will be the feelings of teachers who have gone on year after year under careful guidance giving religious teaching loyally and lovingly when they find themselves transferred to the control of an authority which lays down the principle that in its opinion no religious teaching ought to be given. The noble Earl told us that Liberal Members returned at the recent election would have been escorted out of the constituencies had they declared against public control, but if it had been made clear that the vague phrase "public control" was to mean the imposition of this cruel rule upon a great body of eager religious teachers, I cannot help thinking that such candidate as the noble Earl refers to would have found his chances of success very seriously affected.

Then I take the question of the appointment of teachers. In all schools, including those with the four-fifths facilities as they are called, the appointment of teachers is to rest wholly with the local authorities. I called attention the other day to the case of the local authority who placed at the head of a pupil teacher centre—the school where young teachers are prepared for their duties—a man who was writing to the papers condemning as among baseless myths taught to defenceless children the story of the Resurrection of our Lord. This was the man chosen by the local authority to teach in a higher grade school, and to control the pupil teachers who come both from Church schools and council schools, and, such being the view of its duty adopted by the local authority, there is obviously nothing in the Bill to prevent such a man being placed at the head of a great Church school.

You may tell me that such action on the part of the local authority is not likely, but if we are half-way in the direction of that possibility, surely we ought to look at these provisions with a view to their alteration. What we ask is not that a new religious responsibility should be imposed on a local authority, but you ask us to transfer to such an authority the schools in which the religious teaching is an essential part of our system, is definite in its character, is carefully inspected and controlled, and is given only by trained and competent men and women. This is the condition now of the schools which are to be transferred to local authorities who may prescribe, to quote their own words, that "no religious instruction shall be given." If that is untrue or unfair, I should honestly like to have it corrected.

I do ask your Lordships to believe that this is not a matter about which we feel lightly as a mere question of social or political controversy. We feel that it is something that goes far deeper. We are dealing with what concerns the immortal interests of these children, and we feel responsible, in the highest and most sacred sense, for safeguarding these interests. It is with that thought in my mind that I want to make this no question of rhetoric, in a Parliamentary sense, but to speak in words of sober earnestness. If I am right, if it is really possible that these things can come about, surely it is childish to tell us "Yes, they can do all that if they like; but Mr. Birrell hopes they won't."

Does the security come to anything else? And is that the answer we are to be satisfied with when we are invited to bring about the sweeping changes required by the Bill? If that is the true answer, let us have it in black and white, and let people ponder about it in the recess.

The time has not come yet for our formulating Amendments to the Bill; but you will have seen the kind of direction in which my own desires would tend. I think I can say without egotism or affectation that there has been no man who has striven more earnestly than I have to bring about some reasonable *rapprochement* in this particular matter; and therefore I do not speak as a heated, narrow partisan. I claim not to be so, but to be dealing with interests too large and too sacred to make it easy for us to bring them into the arena of political controversy at all.

What I desire to see done in this Bill involves changes which are pretty far-reaching. We ought to endorse, in my view, the wish of the English people by saying that there shall in all schools be religious teaching within the school hours, subject of course, to the most ample conscience clause arrangements both for teachers and for taught; and I say that especially in the interests of the poorest, weakest, and most oppressed of our little children. The religious teaching must be given by men and women who mean what they say. Then I say that definite religious teaching must be accessible to those children whose parents desire them to have it, subject to such reasonable limitations or restrictions as the authority may lay down. If you prevent this it does seem to me that your theory of uniformity is a mockery and a snare. Then I should wish to make it clear that the teachers who have spent some of the best years of their lives in thoughtfully and reverently acquiring the capacity of doing that very difficult thing—giving definite religious teaching—shall not be silenced by a stroke of the pen when they are eager to go on doing that work. It is simply impossible to overstate what England owes at this moment to our Church school teachers, both men and women. Hundreds of them have sacrificed the possibility, and in many cases the certainty, of better emolument elsewhere in order that they might go on giving the particular sort of teaching which they feel to be so important to the whole life of these children. Are you going to bid them stand idly, wistfully, by while others—amateurs, except the clergy, who can only deal with a handful in a large school—take the place of the men and women who have thus trained themselves by prayerful thought and endeavour for the task they love? I believe that proposal to be as cruel to the teacher as it would be unfair to the taught. Why should that be the one subject of human study which is to be taught by untrained teachers, and so taught because you silence the trained teachers who want to teach it? I believe that to be something which the country has never understood and never desired, and that such a rule can never be allowed to find a place in our system.

Then, the principle after which Clause 4 seems to struggle requires quite certainly to be enlarged and strengthened. I think you may feel that I have forgotten Clause 4 in what I said for example about the Kennington and the Huddersfield schools. Not at all. I believe that in most cases Clause 4 as it stands would be quite inapplicable to such schools. I have got statistics from that school in Kennington showing how many of the scholars go to Church Sunday schools, how many to other Sunday schools, and how many nowhere; and the number who go to other Sunday schools or nowhere is a very large number indeed. No endeavour is made to proselytise, but every endeavour to prevent the children going nowhere. The fact that so many non-Church parents choose this school would of itself probably operate to prevent the four-fifths majority asking for definite religious instruction of a particular kind, even if, in so poor a district, you could get them to the poll. Parents might not honestly see their way, while a child was going to a Wesleyan or other Sunday school, to say they wanted such special facilities. Some, no doubt, were sent to the Church day school with a strong denominational wish on the part of their parents; others not for that, but because the parents liked the character and tone and management of the school. They might feel that although the denominational teaching was not precisely what they would have selected for themselves, the tone and character, the spirit of the school, and the type of the teacher, resident always among them and known to them all, was such as they were eager for. Are you then going to enact that such a school is not to come under the facilities of the four-fifths clause because a conscientious parent, greatly as he or she approves the school, could not base the claim on purely denominational lines? Then my last point, which I feel to be a most important one, is that those who have directly to do with the school and its life must have some voice given to them directly or indirectly in the appointment of the teacher. It is only in that way that we can possibly stimulate and maintain a local interest in the schools. When the real Bill was introduced the President of the Board of Education laid great stress, rightly and well, on the danger of bureaucracy in this matter—on the danger that the management and control of the schools should get into the hands of clerks in county council offices. That is exactly what you are bringing about by taking away from those who have knowledge of the schools any say in the appointment of the teacher.

See what is happening now in the boroughs of London. There are boroughs of London to-day which under the new system, for which I hold no brief and have no responsibility, have airily swept away the old bodies of local managers on the ground perhaps that they want no clergy, or that they will do the management themselves. The teachers are beginning to come piteously to the former managers and to say, "No manager comes near us at all." The change to bureaucracy has already taken place. You may fairly say that it is not what the present Government ever wanted or enacted. It is due to their predecessors. I entirely agree. But when you are mending matters, will you not mend that? What I dread in that bureaucratic system is the one-man rule of the clerk or other official of the county or borough authority. Nothing can be worse educationally or worse for the teachers, or worse for the local spirit in the school. We all know the lurid pictures that used to be painted of the one-man rule of the high-handed autocratic priest or parson in the rural area who pushed everybody aside, and, so to speak, "ran" the school himself. I appeal to those who know the country districts whether the true picture was not ordinarily more like this—that there was one man who cared a little about the education of the children, and where the squire was non-resident, and the farmers were hostile to education, and the labourers were apathetic and indifferent, was slaving day by day at the work which nobody else would do and who to his great disappointment and regret had to carry as one man the burden which ought to be shared by many. Many a time I have come away from the house of such a man saddened with the knowledge that he was labouring unaided against heavy odds, and that in some instances he had thought it right to sacrifice even the higher education of his own children for the sake of promoting the life of his elementary school, and making good its financial loss. In such hours, and with such object lessons, one has many a time recalled the proverb that "the world knows nothing of its greatest men."

My Lords, I have said my say. The juncture at which we stand is a grave and critical one in our national life, and especially in the story of English education. The measure before us has passed through the House of Commons under the pressure of exigencies, partly at least not of an educational kind. In the circumstances of our modern political life such incidents must, I suppose, take place at times, whatever political Party is in power. The greater, then, the burden of responsibility which rests upon this House. If, as I hope will be the case, you this week read this Bill a second time without a division, it is not because we are accepting it, even in outline, as a satisfactory measure in its present form. Let no man who wishes to speak of this matter honestly say hereafter that we have done so. For myself I only assent to its Second Reading because I consider that when a Bill comes to us from the House of Commons under such auspices as these that House is entitled to ask that we should weigh with scrupulous care the several provisions it contains, and discuss them with a calm deliberation which circumstances rendered impossible elsewhere.

Not with any sanction of mine, nor, I am sure, with the concurrence of those who sit on the episcopal benches, shall this Bill become law as it now stands. I ask for its large amendment in the interest of what is just and reverent and true. I do not ask it in the interests of any political Party, for I have none to serve. I ask it in the interest—the highest and most sacred interest—of the little children of England. Though I bring no accusation against the authors of the Bill—for I accept frankly their assurance that they had no such intent—I do in my heart believe that these clauses as they stand imperil the religious upbringing—in the largest sense of the word, the religious upbringing—of the little children in our schools, imperil, that is, the most precious asset in their lives.

I feel certain of being able to show this in detail when we come to the Committee stage. Everything, yes, everything for England's well-being depends upon what these children's lives are going to be like; and that will depend in a large measure upon the chance you secure for them in their earliest days. As the Bill now stands there is no guarantee for the daily teaching of the elements of Christianity in our schools. If the teaching is offered there is no guarantee that it will be taught by qualified men and women. If it is so taught there is no guarantee that the children who, from the character of their homes and the circumstances of their lives, need it most, will ever attend.

Therefore, my Lords, these clauses must be amended if the Bill is with our consent to become law. Fail to amend them, and in the years to come you will hear, I am certain, two loud voices of reproach. One will be the voice of those who, in the confident belief that this House would review the whole, have voted almost lightly, or else under conditions of high pressure, for clauses whose full effect they have never adequately weighed, The other voice of reproach will come from those, Churchmen and Nonconformists alike, who have known in some town or country village the school life of to-day and can compare and contrast it with the life which, under the new conditions, will have supplanted it. When they awake to these facts they will feel—if you have left this Bill alone—that the answerableness for the disastrous change has been in large part yours. It is with those limitations and on those conditions only that I hope the House will read the Bill a second time.

LORD GLANTAWE: My Lords, as this is the first time I have had the privilege of addressing your Lordships' House it may be thought a great presumption on my part to rise immediately after the most rev. Prelate who has so ably put his case before your Lordships. No one appreciates more fully than I do the ability with which the most rev. Prelate has put forward the case of the Church, especially in regard to the religious aspect of this Bill. I have taken a very active part in the religious education of the country for a great many years. I remember that when the Act of 1870 was discussed in the country the same controversies raged, and the same arguments were used very largely as are being used to-day with regard to the present religious difficulties. I well remember how the country was moved in regard to Clause 25 of Mr. Forster's Bill, and the great excitement which it aroused; and at the great meeting which took place in Manchester in 1872 I was one of the two delegates sent from Swansea to represent the Nonconformist views upon the religious question of that time. It is sad to think that religion should be the bone of contention in almost every question that has to do with education, seeing that religion is intended to teach us to be forbearing one to another, to bear good will one towards another, to love one another, to endeavour to assist one another, not only in educational matters but in all the affairs of life.

The general character of the Bill was very ably put before your Lordships by the noble Earl who moved the Second Reading; consequently it will be unnecessary for me and other speakers to refer to the Bill clause by clause. I do not think that this Bill would have been brought forward by the Government now in power but for the unsatisfactory nature of the Act of 1902. That Act changed the whole position in regard to religious teaching, and altered the whole of the law in regard to education, especially in its financial provisions. The Act of 1902 was very unfavourably received, especially in Wales, where Nonconformity is exceptionally strong. It has been most difficult of application, and there are many places in South Wales where it has never been adopted and could not be enforced. It was offensive to a very large section of the community in that it gave the Church undue influence. It is all very well to say, from the Church point of view, that the object was to bring up the children in what is called the true religion. But the phrase "true religion" is a very difficult one to define. Those who are of a religious turn of mind generally believe that the religion of the particular sect to which they belong is the true religion. In Wales, where Nonconformists are very strong and powerful, although they may not be united except on one particular point—and that is in regard to the question of enforcing a particular kind of religion upon the children in the Principality or in the United Kingdom — they have a very strong objection to, and oppose the adoption of, any kind of religious dogma.

Many references have been made to the Cowper-Temple clause, and it has frequently been referred to in very depreciatory language. I would say, however, that no safer or sounder religion could possibly be taught to a child than that which is given under the Cowper-Temple clause. The most rev. Prelate a few days ago referred to two particular counties in Wales where no religious instruction of any kind was given—Cardigan and Carmarthen. I would point out, however, that Cardigan, although it has not put forward any formulary to be followed throughout the county, is well known throughout Wales, if not throughout the greater part of England, as being one of the most religious districts in South Wales. More professional men, and more ministers of religion of different denominations, including a large number of ministers of the Church of England, have come from Cardiganshire than perhaps from any other county in the Principality, In that county there are two colleges of high repute. One is at Aberystwith, which, through the liberality of Welsh gentlemen of wealth and position, is to-day endowed almost as well as any college in the United Kingdom. Aberystwith has turned out excellent scholars. Then we have Lampeter, at which college a right rev. Prelate who sits in this House, and who enjoys the respect of every person in South Wales who has the privilege of his acquaintance, distinguished himself. I am one of his admirers, though we differ upon this question of the religious education which our Church friends desire to see adopted in elementary schools.

Wales has always been noted for its education. Swansea was the second town to adopt the Act of 1870. I happened to be Mayor of Swansea at the time, and I was so impressed with the necessity for general education of an elementary kind which should be within the reach of all classes that I gave that Bill, with the exception of one point, my heartiest support. The only thing that I regretted in regard to that Bill was that those who had the management—the school boards—in many cases were rather extravagant in their notions, and in many places erected schools which were unnecessary or of a needlessly costly character. But experience taught the school boards. It took some time to get them well into their work, but when they were beginning to understand their work, and to apply themselves to the carrying out of education in the most economical way, the Act of 1902 was passed, which practically did away with every school board in the country. I do not mean to say that all the school boards did their work in the best possible way; possibly there were too many of them, especially in the country districts, but that could have been remedied by several boards being united together and forming one school board for the enlarged area. In London, for instance, the school board which was doing such excellent work was done away with, and its duties allocated to that overworked body the London County Council—a step very much to be regretted. Then in regard to higher education, although Wales has been backward in elementary education it has taken a lead in regard to higher grade schools, and it has reason to to be proud of the position it has taken in that respect. In Swansea higher grade schools were started very early, and I was one of the half-dozen people to whom was entrusted the duty of formulating a code to be adopted in such schools.

In regard to the Bill now before your Lordships, I would say that I am generally in favour of it. I am well aware that broad as it is, and strong as is the desire of the Government to meet the wishes of every grade and section of the people, the question is a very difficult one, but they have done their utmost to settle it once for all on the best basis possible. Clause 4 is perhaps one of the most controversial and debatable sections in the Bill. I am quite in favour of the clause as now amended, and strongly support the retention of the word "may" as against "shall," because I believe it would be very detrimental to the interests of education throughout the country if the clause were made mandatory. I believe the Government have done wisely in regard to the Amendments they have introduced, because it it comes to a fight there is no doubt at all that the local authority, supported by local opinion, can best exercise the necessary control. We have had a very fair example of that in South Wales, and I think the Government have acted very wisely in providing a safety valve in order to avoid any deadlock. It is well known that when the Act of 1902 was being enforced, especially in some parts of Wales, the local authority clearly beat Sir William Anson and all the forces which he had behind him. I will not detain your Lordships longer, but would beg to thank you sincerely for having listened to me so patiently. I shall give this Bill my hearty support.

*The Marquess of HUNTLY: My Lords, having been connected with educational matters in my county since the Local Government Act was passed, for a long time as Chairman of the Technical Education Committee, and, since the Education Act of 1902, as Chairman of the Education Committee, I should not like to allow this measure to be brought forward without saying a few words upon it. I presume that the Bill is brought in to remove the religious difficulty rather than to deal largely with educational matters, because it really deals only with the very fringe of matters which affect the well-being of education. The Bill deals with the religious difficulty, but I can assure your Lordships that as far as I am concerned, although I live in a county which has as large a proportion of Nonconformists as almost any other county in England—namely, Huntingdonshire—I have never felt the religious difficulty, either in the schools in the county or on the Committee. Nearly half of the Committee over which I have the honour to preside is composed of Nonconformists who work side by side with Churchmen in the most harmonious way. We have never had the slightest difference or difficulty on religious grounds in dealing with any matter which has come before us. The curious thing is that after the passing of the Act of 1902, when one would have thought the religious difficulty would have been brought forward, and when the voters could have elected men to represent them if there was any such difficulty as has been alleged, there was no contest throughout the county connected with the religious question at the county council elections. I might give one other illustration to show how harmoniously we have worked. Only the other day we had a meeting of our Committee to consider this Bill, and we agreed that the clauses connected with the religious question should not be discussed, the only clauses considered by us being the administrative and financial clauses of the Bill.

As I say, this Bill is intended to deal with the religious difficulty. But what was the motive power that produced the religious difficulty? There was rampant throughout the country at the late election the militant political Nonconformist. It was he who worked the late general election, and this measure is really to carry out the proposals of the militant Nonconformist as opposed to the opinions and feelings of the great mass of Nonconformists throughout the country. Many of the leading Nonconformists in my county with whom I have spoken on the matter consider the Bill to be unfair to the Church in several of its provisions. The noble Earl who moved the Second Reading said that the man who paid the piper should call the tune. I agree with him. He alluded to a Motion which I made, and to some statistics which I have had prepared, showing what will be the cost of this measure if it passes in its present form. I gathered from him that I need not deal with the financial question, as a Bill would be brought in later on to deal with that aspect of the matter, and with the present grants given for educational purposes. My object, however, is not to deal with the financial situation as it exists, but to show that in the estimate setting forth that the £1,000,000 to be granted under this Bill will provide for all that is required, a great mistake will have been made.

But before I consider the cost of voluntary schools, I would allude to the speech made on the introduction of the measure in the House of Commons. It was there said, and the statement was loudly acclaimed, that many of the voluntary schools were in a bad condition. I believe the phrase used was that there were some good, some indifferent, some bad, and some very bad, and that the latter would not be taken over by the local authority. Rent was to be paid for the good schools; the bad, or very bad, schools would not be taken over; and other schools would have to be built. That is clearly foreshadowed in the clause which says that the local authority need make arrangements only in cases where they desire to do so, which means that they will refuse to take over a great many of these voluntary schools. Therefore I think it is only fair to calculate that the cost of these transferred voluntary schools to the new authorities will be quite equal to the cost of the board schools which were taken over under the Act of 1902. The request which I addressed to various local authorities was for a return of the cost that had been involved in taking over the council schools. I have tabulated the returns from nineteen counties scattered over the country, and it comes out that on an average the cost per school in the first financial year, 1903–4, was £29, and for the year 1904–05 £30 per school. Taking this rate, and the number of voluntary schools in comparison with council schools in each of these counties, I find that it would require on an average 1⅓d. in the £ upon the whole of the country to provide for the maintenance of the transferred voluntary schools. I find also that this £1,000,000 that is dangled before our eyes represents exactly 1⅓d. in the £; because 1d. in the £ for the whole country represents £725,000 a year, and therefore 1⅓d. represents £1,000,000. I think, therefore, you may fairly argue, upon experience in regard to the 1902 Act, that the cost of the voluntary schools would absorb the whole of the £1,000,000 which is proposed to be devoted for the purposes of this Act.

But when I come to look at what has been said with regard to this £1,000,000, I find it has been stated that in the first place it is to go towards the relief of poor necessitous districts. Thus the way will be opened for very large demands in that direction. I understand that it is intended that the poor areas round about London, which are very highly rated, are to have a contribution from the fund towards the relief of their rates, and I think it was stated that where those districts had been involved in very heavy expenses they should receive a special grant. There will be very little indeed of the fund left for the purpose of aiding the local authorities in rural districts if all the necessitous areas throughout the country are first to get relief. I would ask your Lordships to consider for a moment the position of that sorely tried and overburdened man, the ratepayer. He was told under the Act of 1902 he would be rated, but in every county the rates have been higher and the expenses greater than was ever prophesied. The position is that if the grant of £1,000,000 does not go round, and any further expenses are incurred, the authorities will have to fall back upon the ratepayer, and the deficit will be raised from the rates. That is a very serious state of affairs, and one deserving of some notice. It is most unfair that where you have a hobby to ride—if I may put it so low—where you desire, for the benefit of a strong militant party, to take over all the schools and to make them of one type, you should do it largely with the ratepayers' money. If you were to say that in the event of the grant you propose not being sufficient to carry out your object the balance would be defrayed, not from the rates but from the taxes, I should have no grievance in that respect; but when we have no definite knowledge, inasmuch as this financial clause was not explained or debated in the House of Commons, and no information was given about it, I think a representative of the ratepayers would be neglecting his duty if he did not try to elicit some further information as to the effect of the financial portions of this Bill.

I will instance one other direction in which very heavy cost will be entailed by this Bill. The noble Earl alluded to Clause 24. I hail that as one of the three clauses in the Bill which do something progressive for education. I cannot say that the providing of vacation classes, play centres, or means of recreation is strictly educational, but certainly it is a worthy and very desirable object. A sub-section of that clause makes medical inspection of children compulsory as the Board of Education may direct. Let me say in passing that we shall be very much more under the Board of Education after the passing of this Bill than we have been since 1902. I do not know whether any estimate has been made as to the probable cost of this medical inspection. I presume that it is to come out of the £1,000,000 grant, or out of the ratepayers' pocket. I have made a calculation which I think will give some data to go upon. There are some 6,000,000 children on the school books at the present moment; the average school life of a child is about ten years, and it is probably an under-estimate that there are 600,000 fresh scholars per year. You could not calculate on less than 3s. 4d. per head per annum for the medical inspection of those 600,000 scholars. I think that that is a low figure, but on that basis the cost per annum would be £100,000. I should like to know whether the Minister in charge of the Bill has considered these various items which are to be made compulsory by the Bill. If this expenditure comes out of the £1,000,000, it will leave only £900,000 for the grants to local authorities, but there are also other things which have to be seen to.

Besides providing for the medical inspection of children, and the repairs of the schools, there is the rent of the transferred voluntary schools to be paid, there is the building of new schools to replace the very bad ones which are not taken over and those which are considered unsuitable according to the dictum of the Board of Education; there are also the salaries of correspondents to be paid, because hitherto we have been able, in the non-provided schools, to arrange for the correspondence with the central authority to be done free of charge, but you may be sure that the moment the schools are taken over, we shall have to pay the correspondent in each school. Then there will be the legal expenses involved in the transfers and in the whole machinery, which is no light matter. We are told that the conditions and the accommodation in voluntary schools are much worse than in the board schools, which means that much will have to be done directly to provide better accommodation, which also will involve expense.

I should like here to make one protest against what is considered by some to be the policy of the Board of Education as regards small rural schools. You have a visit from one inspector, who gives his advice as to ventilation and warming and so on; he goes away to another district, and another inspector comes who has totally different views upon these matters, and instead of objecting to small rural schools he approves of them and says that they do good work. The aim of the Department ought to be not so much the enlargement or improvement of the school, as to ensure the selection of a good teacher. It is not the school itself or the building; it is the teacher that makes the school. That is our experience everywhere, even in the smallest rural schools in counties. However small the school may be, if the teacher, whether male or female, is thoroughly earnest and capable in his or her work, there you will have a good school and the children will be well taught.

Another idea which I understand is in the mind of the Board of Education is that many of these schools might be grouped together, so that a central school might be built to which the children could be conveyed. I believe there are cases where that might be done with advantage. I know of two such cases, where the children are conveyed considerable distances. One of them is in the Fen district, near Holme, and the other is at Eaton Socon, on the borders of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire. I may tell your Lordships that the cost per child for bringing them from an area some five miles long in the Fen district is only £2 per head per annum, while in the other district of Eaton Socon the cost is only £1 14s.; so that it is really cheaper than to build a new school. But in saying that we are successful in this direction, I do not wish it to be supposed that I am advocating the extinction of small rural schools.

In the face of all these expenses involved in the various proposals of the Bill, I submit that the outlook is alarming. They will add enormously to the already excessive burdens on the rates. Unless we get some clear explanation as to who is to pay for all these things, we shall be left in ignorance, and the rates will go up without there being any chance of redress, or of the county councils or individuals having any voice in the matter. It seems to me to be a curious anomaly that it should be in the power of a Government Department to fall back on the needy ratepayer to make up any deficit that might arise in connection with that Department. It would be very convenient in the case of the Admiralty if, instead of having to come to Parliament for an extra "Dreadnought," they could simply fall back upon the ratepayer for the necessary funds. Or it would be very nice for the Secretary of State for War if from the same source he could draw the money for two or three more battalions of troops, instead of having to get his proposals through Parliament. I know of no Government Department except the Board of Education which is in the happy position of being able, in the event of having any deficit, to call upon the ratepayers to meet it. I have never understood why there seems to be no objection on the part of the taxpayer to pay for anything. The passive resister, as a taxpayer, did not object to pay his *quota* towards the school expenses, and I hope I may be able, sooner or later, to persuade the Government that any extra expenses involved by this Bill should come wholly and solely out of the taxpayer's, rather than out of the ratepayer's, pocket. I have dealt with some practical points of the Bill, and do not desire, on the present occasion, to go into the religious question, although I have as strong feelings on that matter as any other Churchman present. I thoroughly approve of what was said by the most rev. Prelate the Archbishop of Canterbury, and I only hope that before the Bill leaves your Lordships' House the injustice which we feel will be redressed, and that we shall also have some assurance that the ratepayers' interests will not be entirely overlooked.

*LORD FARRER: I should certainly not have ventured to address your Lordships on this occasion were it not that the noble Marquess the late President of the Board of Education stated that in these matters an ounce of practice was worth a ton of theory. I have been what I expect not many of your Lordships have been, and that is chairman of two rural schools for the last seven years. These two rural schools in my own district have ultimately come, by a process of what I may almost call natural selection, into practically the form that this Bill designs for rural schools generally. The two schools have rather a curious history. The first was built on glebe land about the year 1860, at a time when there was a great revival of rural education in Southern England, and it has averaged about fifty children, entirely of the rural class. The clergymen at first carried on the instruction almost entirely, which instruction of course was of a Church of England character. The second school, which was built by my father in 1872, was a school to which no special religious formulary was attached, because we believed that there were a larger number of Dissenters than of Churchmen in that part of the parish. Gradually the Church school failed to find the necessary funds, with the result that it became necessary to see how the school could be carried on. In those days none of these miserable religious squabbles had arisen, and we found that the best plan would be to form, not a school board, which was a very expensive matter, but a voluntary committee to which the ratepayers should be asked to contribute, and to allow both the clergyman and the Nonconformist minister to teach in the school. We did that for two years, with rather disastrous results. Perpetual squabbles arose, and there were attempts, one might almost say, at proselytising the children. Ultimately we came to the conclusion that it would be desirable for the schoolmaster himself in each case to give the religious instruction. From the '70's, when that was arranged, until 1902, when the new Act came into force, the system went on without a protest from a single parent, and to the complete satisfaction of persons of all shades of religious opinion in the parish. We all felt that some form of ethical teaching was absolutely necessary, and we never had the slightest difficulty in finding a schoolmaster for each school both willing and competent to give the simple Bible teaching and to draw the ethical lessons from it. The absence of dogma has never been in any way detrimental to the interests of the schools, and the interesting part is that the Churchpeople themselves accepted the teaching as willingly as the Nonconformists.

I ought to, say as regards the financial arrangements, that we found that the Church school needed enlargement. We arranged to raise on the voluntary rate, if rate it can be called, sufficient money to enlarge the school, the only condition made by the Dissenters being that similar teaching should go on as before. That we were right in the case we took I think may be seen from the fact that the most rev. Prelate, who was then Bishop of Winchester, himself signed the lease of this Church school to the voluntary committee on that very agreement. As I read this Bill, the teaching that is proposed to be given is precisely of that kind which has proved acceptable, in the parish to which I have referred, not only to Dissenters, but to Churchpeople themselves, as is evidenced by that signature. Therefore I think that a great deal of the storm and fury that has raged around these particular provisions of the Bill may be discounted when it comes to the practical teaching among the children of the people of the country, and after all it is the children that need most consideration. I believe that in most rural parishes the same possibility will be found to exist, if people can only be brought to reason—

For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight;
His can't be wrong whose life is in the right.

I should not have said more on this subject except that the Bill of 1902 very seriously interfered with our religious peace and quiet. Immediately after its passage, the demand was made that we should give back the school that had been built on the glebe as a Church school. That, we said, was of course possible if the money that had been provided by the other denominations was paid back. What our position exactly is nobody seems to know, and I venture to think that, in that one parish at any rate, the Act of 1902 gave rise to considerable discord, because all this religious difficulty had never arisen before. A desirable feature of this Bill is that it gives a chance of securing a much better representative committee than existed in the foundation managers. My experience has been that the most valuable members of our old school committee were the mothers of the children attending the schools. But when the Act of 1902 was passed, we were compelled at once to discontinue their services, and to reduce the committee strictly to the foundation managers. I say that this Bill gives a chance of remedying that evil.

I think that anyone who has had practical experience of the working of the Act of 1902 will also feel it desirable to support the change proposed by this Bill, by which smaller districts will be allowed to manage their own affairs. The county councils in many cases make admirable central authorities, but they are overburdened with work, and can have no real touch with the teaching in the schools. Therefore I think that any arrangement by which a better form of teaching organism can be provided in that respect will be greatly welcomed in country districts. I recollect very well that the noble Earl who used to lead the Opposition in this House, whose absence we so much regret, and who has had enormous experience of rural administration, told me that what he doubted most of all about the Bill of 1902 was the fact that the county area was far too large for satisfactory control, and that he had serious thoughts of suggesting, if indeed he did not actually suggest in this House, that the district council area was far better than the county. In my own case it takes three hours to get to the county centre, but not a sheet of paper or anything else can be ordered without the consent of the officials at the centre. The rates, too, have gone up. When we managed our own schools, we managed them for thirty years with a rate of less than 6d. We were solemnly promised by Mr. Balfour that that rate would not be exceeded, but would be reduced. But what has been the result? Our rate has gone up to 11d., and we have not the slightest improvement in teaching or administration.

Lord Farrer.

I am gad to find that there is one point at any rate upon which I am in agreement with the most rev. Prelate who made so eloquent an oration just now, and that is that you must get personal interest if you are to have a good school. But when I come to the most rev. Prelate's history, I confess I am somewhat surprised at the attitude that he takes up with regard to the Church and education in this countr . In looking up the history of the early part of the last century with regard to this question, I find that in 1807 the House of Commons passed a Bill enabling the ratepayers to set up a school in each parish. This House threw out the Bill on the advice of the then Archbishop of Canterbury, and these are the words that the Archbishop used in this House on August 11th, 1807—

"The provisions of the Bill leave little or no control to the minister in the parish. This would go to subvert the first principle of education in this country, which had hitherto been, and he trusted would continue to be, under the control of the Establishment, and their Lordships would feel how dangerous it must be to innovate in such matters."

Thereupon the Bill, which allowed the ratepayers' organisation to make its own school, was thrown out by this House. I venture to think, therefore, that the claim for the enormous advance in voluntary subscriptions afterwards can hardly be sustained altogether. I wish there had been more right rev. Prelates present to listen to the remarks which have been made on this subject.

But, my Lords, to return to the more general question in regard to the Bill. I have tried to find out what people mean by education. I always think it well under such circumstances, to turn to that good Tory authority, Dr. Johnson. He is one of the few men who have given a satisfactory definition of the word, and he defines education as "the formation of manners in youth." I am bound to say that on reading this Bill it appears to me to go a long way towards helping to the formation of manners in youth. The schoolmaster himself is really made a power in the land, and if he can give that ethical and civilising instruction which I have no doubt he will be able to give under the Bill, the whole of England will be leavened, because the people will feel, if the first Clause of this Bill is carried out, that they are paying for something that they are going to get.

I am extremely glad to be able to agree with the noble Marquess who spoke last as to the enormous advantage of medical inspection, and I think I can reassure him in regard to the question of cost. In our county, at any rate, it has not been anything like so serious a matter as he anticipates. I expect that he will find in his own county that there is a medical inspector at present attached to the county council. There is, at any rate, in the counties with which I am acquainted in the South of England, and the advantage to be derived from such an arrangement is very much greater than would appear at first sight. I should like to relate an incident that occurred within my own experience only last week. There was a child who, we had reason to suspect, was not being properly fed and properly treated. It is extremely difficult, as everyone who has had practical experience knows, to get evidence in a case of that sort. If you put the matter in the hands of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, you raise every sort of prejudice, and very often have great difficulty in proving your case. But if there is a medical officer attached to the central authority, who can make an inspection of the school, it is possible, as was done in this case, to tell him privately of particular children, and he is then able to give an unbiassed opinion which may alter the whole future life of the child for the better. That was a case which occurred in my own school only a week or two ago, and I mention it because the expense of taking such action is infinitesimal. If a proper roster is made in a county, the medical inspector can devote his time to the inspection of the schools in a very economical and satisfactory way.

As to the general question of religious teaching in the schools, I should not think of joining issue. There are, of course, many ways in which that might have been dealt with. I think it is dealt with in a way such as the majority of the voters at the last election desired. No one who went about, as I did, in districts which had for years returned Conservative Members, but which now return Liberal Members, can doubt that there were two subjects uppermost in the minds of the electors—free trade and education. In all my experience I have never known so strong a feeling as existed in the whole of the South of England as to the absolute necessity of an alteration of the Act of 1902. It is for that reason that I support to the fullest extent the Bill now before your Lordships' House.

***LORD ZOUCHE OF HARYNGWORTH**: My Lords, we have had several eloquent and convincing speeches upon this Bill, but I think if there is one thing more than another which has forced itself upon the attention of the House, it is that we have arrived at a most grave and serious crisis as regards this important question, and I believe that the dangers are much greater than has been supposed by some previous speakers. It is an undoubted fact that there is very great danger of this contemplated legislation being not merely an attack upon the Church of England or upon the Establishment, but an attack upon all religion in the country. What are the circumstances of the case? I am not going into any political observations of a Party nature, but we must face the facts of the case. The present Government have come into office supported mainly by men of extreme views—views of a very Socialistic nature. The gentlemen who profess these views are, to put it mildly, not very friendly towards religion in general, or towards England as a country—at all events as she is now governed. They may be right, or they may be wrong, but at all events this is a question which must shortly be faced, and I think that everything points to the fact that there is a far deeper and more insidious attack against religion in general than upon any one Church in particular. Indeed, the whole tendency of the Bill seems to point in this direction. The most rev. Prelate in his eloquent speech pointed to a great object-lesson in the town of Huddersfield, and as he said, if there is one thing more certain than another, it is that the attack made by this Bill, if it passes into law, will develop in one far greater than a mere attack upon denominational religion. According to most of the speakers who support this Bill, it would seem to be merely a question as between one Church and another, or between the Established Church and the Nonconformist bodies; but if we look at the Bill it will be seen that the matter goes a great deal further than that.

It is said that the main clause of the Bill upon which everything turns is Clause 1, which lays down that after a certain date a school shall not be recognised as a public elementary school unless it is a school provided by the local education authority. That, of course, is a very far-reaching and drastic change, but if we go a little further into the Bill we shall find an even more important clause, which in my opinion is almost the keynote of the Bill. That is Clause 7, which says that the parent of a child attending a public elementary school shall not be under any obligation to cause the child to attend at the school-house except during the times allotted in the time-table exclusively to secular instruction. In other words, the religious teaching of the schools is not to be considered a matter of obligation, and therefore, by deduction, not a matter of very much importance. It will be seen at once that this cuts two ways. It is not as though the clause aimed at any particular Church, or any particular doctrine; it cuts out the obligation to attend any sort of religious instruction. Of course, this is a matter of very important detail. If this clause has the force of law, in many instances the children will not attend at all. If it is merely optional, they will certainly not attend on a fine afternoon for the purposes of religious instruction; they would rather go to play. If, on the other hand, you pass some measure by which they shall be occupied in other work in the school you at once establish in their minds a general dislike and distrust of religious education; you are giving them a choice between something they do not care about and something they do not like, and the whole thing will result in their doing their best to escape from religious instruction. What are we to say about the fathers and mothers of these children? Will they direct their children, although their attendance is not obligatory, to attend the Scripture lesson or the religious instruction? Possibly they may do to, and I dare say they will in more cases than many people think for. It has been brought out in debate that there is a very deep religious feeling among the parents of the poor children who attend the elementary schools, and no doubt in many cases the parents will bring pressure to bear upon their children to attend. But I think it is equally certain, when we regard poor human nature, that an even larger number perhaps will say:

> "I think my children have quite enough school; I do not mind their attending religious instruction at 9 o'clock, or whatever the hour may be, if I can spare them. But I can very ill spare them, and I think it is very hard that they should be taken away for so many hours in the day for schooling which does not seem to do them very much good. I really do not see my way to allow them to attend more than they are absolutely obliged."

In this way I think it is almost certain that little by little the children will drift

Lord Zouche of Haryngworth.

away from the religious instruction, and the great danger is that the idea will be implanted in their minds that this is a matter of little importance, which they may treat with carelessness, if not with contempt. If this is carried out throughout the country we shall be face to face with a very serious problem. It is needless for me, especially in your Lordship's House, to enlarge upon the terrible consequences of what is sometimes called godless education. It would no doubt result in demoralisation of character on the part of the youth of England, and have the most terrible and unspeakable effect upon religion altogether. It is unnecessary to remind your Lordships that the word "religion" really means "restraint," and if you take away all sense of religion from poor children who, from their hard circumstances in life, are not in a position to get such good ideas of behaviour as their more fortunate brethren, if you take away all religious restraint from them, you will find them gradually not only relapsing into carelessness of demeanour, but into temptation and indulgence in various vices, and committing crimes, beginning with small offences and gradually going on to greater. There will be no restraint except the restraint of the police.

One of the most serious results of this Bill, I fear, will be a general decline of patriotism. There will be a carelessness of that duty to one's country which I think is one of the chief duties, if not the chief, among those which regulate one's relations to one's fellow creatures in this world. We have seen in the case of our new allies, the Japanese, who I think may be fairly considered one of the most religious people upon earth, how religion has helped them, and what it really means to them, and I think it may be fairly argued that their religious instincts, more than anything else, brought them safely through their terrible struggle with the Russian nation. We may also see in quite another direction the connection of religion and patriotism, and perhaps I may venture to call to memory an example in an old ally of ourselves, the Turks. The Turkish soldiery are, without any doubt, some of the finest in the world, and they are, according to their lights, although not Christians, one of the most religious-minded people, certainly in Europe, if not in the whole world. It has been said that the Turks, taking them all round, are much better Christians than the Christians. I am not going to argue that patriotism is a question merely of Sunday school teaching, because it is a large and deep feeling which may be brought out by religious observances and which may be brought seriously into contempt by neglect of those observances. It is needless for me to dwell upon the very serious consequences to the future generations of this country to take away from them in any way the exercises of religion in their education as children.

I should like to pass for a moment from that consideration to this curious Clause 4 in this Bill. That clause deals with the special facilities which, under certain conditions, are to be given for religious instruction of a special character which is confined to children living in an urban district, an urban district being defined as a district of not less than 5,000 population. I would ask what in the world is the difference between the importance of saving children's souls or seeing to their higher education in an urban area and doing the same thing in a rural district? You might just as well say there was to be a distinction drawn in regard to education between children with dark hair and children with light hair. I fail to see why numbers should enter into the question at all as far as I am able to judge from merely looking at the Bill, but anyone who looks a little more deeply into the question will see that the reason for this is apparent, and in fact, it is somewhat obvious. It is simply that this Clause opens the door, so to speak, to admit certain people whose objection to the Bill might be dangerous if they were congregated together in urban districts. There might be members of the Roman Catholic religion or the Jewish faith who seriously objected to the provisions of this Bill, and their objection might not only be an objection in words but an objection with a good many votes behind it. This Clause seems to open such a door and it gives an opportunity to the supporters of the Bill to get out of what was perhaps a serious danger.

In regard to the Bill as a whole, looking at it all through, it seems to consist of a number of very contradictory clauses. One clause hangs upon another, and one seems to contradict the provisions of another, and what is given on the one hand in the way of concessions is very much taken away on the other by the hard machinery and details as to how such concessions are to be secured. This Bill reminds one of a game which used to excite the wonder of our childhood known as "thinking of a number," where you tell the person to whom you are showing the trick what number he thought of. You ask the person to engage in several simple problems of mental arithmetic, the whole secret of the trick being that each arithmetical calculation cancels the one immediately preceding it, so that you come to nothing every time and you may make the number thought of a matter of certainty. There is nothing very finite about this Bill and it is extremely difficult to understand what it does mean. As soon as you have mastered one clause a subsequent clause appears to cancel the previous one. The Bill no doubt deals with a very complicated subject in which his Majesty's Government, or whoever are the real promoters of the Bill, could not see their way exactly as to the result when it came to be carried into effect, and therefore by this very adroit method of having clauses which seem to contradict each other they have adopted a system which affords a ready or at all events a possible means of getting out of the difficulties which they did not foresee when the Bill was originally drafted.

I should like to say a word or two about the ballot. The Bill provides that there is to be a ballot to ascertain the wishes of the parents of the children as to whether or not they would like extended facilities for special religious teaching. That seems to me rather absurd, because I do not see how you can really make sure of obtaining the ballot or of adducing any real and reliable opinion from it when you have taken it. I suppose the ballot, inasmuch as it is supposed to be secret, is as good a way as any other to adopt for this purpose, but there is this very remarkable fact in the Bill, and I do not say this in any invidious sense, but it is certainly remarkable that there is no sort of clause as far as can be seen which is drawn for the protection of that ballot, in order to eliminate as far as possible any chance of the people who engage in the ballot being tampered with. It might possibly be to the interests of men holding extreme views, who had a strong municipal position in any town, to have a ballot in order to register a decision against extended religious facilities. After all, this ballot does not come under the same head as an election ballot, and it is not a Parliamentary or a municipal election. It is merely a ballot for an expression of opinion, and though I do not mean to suggest that improper steps would constantly be taken to influence people's votes, I think, at all events, it is somewhat of a blot on the Bill that apparently no protection is taken in regard to obtaining a fair view of the parents on this very important subject without any possibility of their being tampered with.

There is another point which has been very lightly touched upon, viz., the financial considerations. That is such a complicated subject that I do not propose to deal with it except in a very brief manner. There is one thing which I think we may prophesy with great safety, and it is that in whatever form this Bill passes the rates will most certainly go up by leaps and bounds. That is always the case, because in one way or another when these matters get into the hands of the municipal authorities, they get very much into the hands of officials. And this leads to what I am sorry to say cannot be characterised by any other name than jobbery and robbery of the ratepayers. This kind of thing is bad enough under the present Act, as I can testify in regard to my own county council, but undoubtedly these things will be very much worse in the future. As a matter of fact, I think it may possibly lead to a strong objection on the part of the public to this Bill, for after all is said and done men do not like to have to pay more than they are obliged out of their own pockets. If the effect of this Bill is to raise the rates enormously and to add to the heavy burdens under which people are groaning, the Government will find a larger and more serious opposition to this measure than they bargain for.

What, my Lords, ought to be done in regard to this Bill? There are three obvious courses. Your Lordships' House might first of all reject the measure, but it has already been practically settled that that course shall not be taken; although I think your Lordships would have every right to take that course, yet it would probably arouse such a storm in which the issues would be confounded that obviously it would do far more harm than good. In the second place, we can amend the Bill. The third course is that we might pass the whole Bill as it stands. That course might possibly raise a tremendous opposition in the country, and might have a good effect in that way. Still, I think the best course to take is to amend the Bill in Committee. The most reverend Prelate indicated the points on which he would suggest amendment. May I, with great deference, suggest another point which I do not think has been mentioned? It is that it might be a good thing if it were possible to define what is really meant by undenominational teaching. We are accustomed to use the words Cowper-Temple teaching, which is fairly well known, although it has never been accurately described. I understand that it means simple Bible teaching without any dogma. It would be a good thing—although it may be a matter of some little difficulty and it would have to be done by far wiser heads than mine—to have a clear definition of what is actually meant by these words, because the great danger is that if there is no definition, as regards undenominational teaching, you may get any sort of danger from teachers who may, in reality, make fun of religion, treat it with contempt and, in fact, teach something very much nearer atheism than religion. I hope, my Lords, in any case, that when the proper time comes in the ensuing autumn months, we shall be able to amend and put into some kind of proper form this very complicated and serious Bill. I hope we shall be able to take away from it the evils which undoubtedly exist in it, and by our Amendments, in some shape or form to conduce to a settlement of this most vital and important religious question.

*THE DUKE OF NORFOLK: I agree that this Bill is not one which merely infringes the privileges of many distinct religious bodies, but one which endangers the religious interests of the country in every branch. I agree with the noble Lord who said that the dangers of this Bill are very insidious and far-reaching. There are many things about it that might make people accept it at the first glance because they might not be able to see how far-reaching the dangers which underlie it are. I wish to emphasise what has already been said, that in opposing the Bill which we shall be bound to do in its various clauses in Committee, we do feel that we are fighting not for any special opinions of our own, but for the religious life of the country as a whole. We feel the dangers which are confronting us. The noble Lord the Marquess of Londonderry spoke of certain facilities which were specially introduced in order to modify the hostility of Catholics to this Bill, and he said that we were beginning to see how futile they were. I may say that we saw that from the very beginning. The moment this fly was thrown we saw that it was made of tinsel. Speaking as an English Catholic I wish to express my strong sense of the able and steadfast way in which the Catholic Members from Ireland, disregarding political temptations which must have pressed sorely upon them, fought, and nobly fought, for the children of this country and for the Irish children in our great towns.

I have not risen with any idea of going into the merits of the Bill. There are, however, one or two points in my mind which I am anxious to make very clear. I suppose that we all have had very considerable heart-burnings as to the advisability of rejecting this Bill on its Second Reading. I venture humbly to agree with those who have already expressed the opinion that such a course would be unwise. I do not say that in the smallest degree from the point of view of the Bill itself, but merely on the general grounds of procedure which in such cases as the present appears to me to be wise for this House to adopt. I cannot, however, but think that there is a certain sense of unreality underlying our debate to night. We are discussing ostensibly the Second Reading of the Bill—whether we are going to pass it or not. We all know that we do not intend to reject it on the Second Reading, and yet we are all aware that if we went to a division the Bill would be rejected by a vast majority. I do not think anybody doubts that statement. Although no one would be more glad than I should be to make manifest by my vote the strong alarm which this Bill has caused in my mind and my great antipathy to it, I do not think that course would be wise. It is unhappily the fact and it is often lamented—although I do not think that it has ever been met by any suggestions as to how things could be otherwise—that it is generally very late in the session before any important Bills come to this House. If any great measure of importance which had been discussed for months in the House of Commons was, when it came to this House, rejected after a two nights' debate, certainly serious questions would be raised in the country as regards the constitutional position of this House. What I would venture to suggest is that we must face the fact that we have very often to allow measures to pass their Second Reading in this House which, on the whole, are measures we should feel it our duty to oppose; if they are practically forced upon us by circumstances and by the necessities of the case in public life, we must pass them; but it must not be assumed that because we pass a Bill on the Second Reading we necessarily accept the principles of the measure. We cannot be called upon to adopt both courses. For myself I do say most emphatically that I for one shall feel absolutely unfettered as regards my conduct in Committee by the fact that I allowed this Bill to pass without challenge on its Second Reading. If there were any doubt upon that point, I should have no hestiation in moving the rejection of the Second Reading, and if I pressed my Motion to a division, I venture to think the Lobby I selected would be more crowded than the other. I am therefore glad that we shall not need to adopt that course, on the understanding that the passing of the Second Reading is no acceptance of the measure in any sense or way. When we come to the Committee stage, we shall be absolutely free and unfettered by anything which has passed, and shall be able to consider the clauses of the Bill and the whole principles of the measure with open minds and absolute freedom of action. I feel that if we did not take this course, but decided to reject the Bill on its Second Reading, the storm which Lord Zouche spoke of as being possible if we rejected the Bill would break upon our unhappy heads in many quarters of the country from the very opposite reason. There is the strongest possible feeling in the country that this measure is a very extraordinary and inexplicable one, and that it has not had a fair chance of having its qualities, good or bad, brought out. The political necessities of another place have been operating with extraordinary severity. Important Amendments have for the moment attracted attention and consideration, but they have never been debated at all. I think your Lordships will feel that it is your constitutional duty to remedy that very serious defect in the conduct of this measure. There are a vast amount of people in this country who are watching with anxious eyes to see what the House of Lords will do in regard to this measure. We are sometimes told that in this House we are apt to give too much attention to questions affecting the interests of our own class, but I think it would be a blot upon our history and a disgrace to our position in the country, if upon such a question as the religious well-being of the children, we shrank in any way from taking a strong and firm attitude, such as when the autumn session comes we shall feel it our duty to assume.

The Duke of Norfolk.

I venture to submit these words because I cannot deny that undoubtedly, so far as Catholics are concerned, if this Bill is in any sense to meet our views it will have to be very drastically amended indeed. There is no doubt about that point and we have no doubt as to the firm line which we intend to take. We are glad, and we thank God to know, that in taking that line we shall be supported by all those who, whilst not only upholding some particular religious opinion, feel with us that they are fighting for the religious freedom and well-being of the children of this country as a whole. The noble Lord the Marquess of Londonderry spoke of his determination to support the Church to which he belongs. The most rev. Prelate the Archbishop of Canterbury, in a speech of remarkable clearness and ability to which we all listened with delight, brought forward instances of the noble generosity of those who in upholding the belief of the Established Church had made gigantic sacrifices for that which they believed sacred to themselves and sacred to the well-being of the country at large. I did not mean to go into these points, and fortunately for the House, I have no statistics in my pocket, but I also could tell a story of the enormous sacrifices made by the members of my own creed. I could not quote such large sums because our population is not so large, and we have to struggle and work for perhaps the very poorest population in this country, and I think that is a very strong point. I have heard it said that in many board schools there has been adopted a system of discouraging the attendance of the rather ragged and dirty children of the extreme poor. If that is the case there may be good reasons for it, but our policy has been distinctly opposite to that, for we have tried to bring the benefits of education to the extreme poor who, after all, are the people who most need it. From poverty people are most likely to drift into crime and to become a curse to their country, and I challenge contradiction when I say that no religious body in this country has done more by going into the slums and rescuing children from the gutter and educating the children of the extreme poor, and placing within their reach the benefits of education, than the Catholics. In regard to this struggle against poverty and misery and sin, I venture to say that when the annals of education in this country come to be written as a whole, it will be found that in the most essential part of the struggle the Catholics have been foremost in the fight.

I apologise for having spoken at greater length than I intended, but I really wish to emphasise the fact that we believe that the great sacrifices we have made in the past are now in jeopardy, that the facilities dangled before us are absolutely futile for our own children, without some drastic reform, and that this is really a critical time for the souls of the children throughout the country. I implore your Lordships to consider that it rests with you to make it perfectly clear that if, for the reasons I and others have suggested, we do allow the Second Reading of this Bill to pass, we are determined when we meet in the autumn to face the responsibilities of the high trust we hold and take care that no single child in this country shall have its religion put in jeopardy.

LORD BURGHCLERE: The House has heard with admiration the speech of the noble Duke who speaks with such authority for the Roman Catholics of the country. The country will be pleased that the noble Duke, who speaks for the Catholic Church, and the most reverend Primate, who speaks with equal authority for the Church of England——

DUKE OF NORFOLK: I was not assuming any official position.

LORD BURGHCLERE: I think the noble Duke has taken a very wise and moderate course in not moving the rejection of this Bill upon its Second Reading. But, taking into consideration the difficulties which always arise in this House from the late period of the session at which Bills of this description come before us, I nevertheless hope there will be time to ascertain what the opinion of the country itself is upon the measure which has been placed before us. Noble Lords have decided to put off until the Committee stage their objections to the various details of this measure, and I think that course is most right and just. I venture to think that it is always difficult for a speaker in your Lordships' House, when a great and widely-discussed measure such as this has been before the country and the House of Commons for several months, to find even some nook or corner where the foot of the explorer has not already trod. But if it is difficult on ordinary occasions, it is still more difficult to-night after the lucid and exhaustive speech of the Lord President of the Council, who, to my mind, went minutely into the details of the Bill, and also to a great extent answered the objections which were subsequently brought against it.

I listened, as your Lordships have listened, with great respect and attention to the two speeches which followed the speech of my noble friend the Lord President of the Council. We have had a speech from the noble Marquess who represented the Board of Education in the last Government, and also a speech from the most rev. Primate who speaks with such authority for the Church of England. When I heard that they were to be the speakers who would follow the Lord President of the Council I thought at first that naturally the noble Marquess would deal with the lay side of the question, and that the most rev. Primate would deal with the clerical side. But after listening to the noble Marquess and the most rev. Primate, to some extent at any rate it appeared to me that the positions were reversed. The noble Marquess, was at times, if I may venture to say so, even more clerical in his dealing with the Bill than the clericals themselves. The noble Marquess used very strong language with regard to the effects of the Bill on the Church of England, and it was language which he did not find in the speech of the most rev. Primate. The noble Marquess said the Bill was an attack upon the Established Church, that it would assist Nonconformists at the expense of the Church, and that the Bill was a stepping-stone towards disestablishment. I trust from the bottom of my heart that the Bill will not be a stepping-stone across that fateful river. I will, however, remind the noble Lord that the Bill of 1902 was, to my mind, one which, more than this measure, provided a stepping-stone which might lead more directly to disestablishment.

One question was brought forward both by the most rev. Primate and by the noble Marquess with regard to the qualifications of teachers, which I venture to think did not seem to me to be entirely grasped. I agree with the noble Marquess and with the most rev. Primate that it would be almost a disastrous thing if the religious teaching in this country was given by teachers who did not believe in what they taught. At the same time, I venture to say that this Bill contains no such conditions as that. It is perfectly true that local authorities are not allowed under the Bill to impose any religious test upon the teachers, but if the teacher is willing to undertake the religious teaching in the school, undoubtedly the local authorities will satisfy themselves that he is not unqualified to give that teaching, and if he is unqualified they will be obliged to get someone else who is qualified to undertake it.

The most rev. Primate pointed out how much money had been expended on the Church schools, and he asked if those schools were to be confiscated. I do not wish for a single moment to raise any polemical discussion in this House, but in another place the confiscation of these schools was one of the first complaints which were brought forward against the Bill, and subsequently those who preferred that charge came forward and demanded that these schools should be confiscated; if confiscation it be. I would also venture to point out that in any arrangement that is made between the provided schools and the local authorities it will be the fault of the owners of those schools, and their fault alone, if opportunities are not given for religious teaching on two days in the week. Then the most rev. Primate said that the appointment of the teachers should be in the hands of the parents.

*THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: What I said was that those who had local responsibilities in regard to the schools as managers or in any other capacities, ought to have, directly or indirectly, some voice in the appointment of the teachers.

LORD BURGHCLERE: The most rev. Primate admits that the voice of the parents in this matter is beneficial.

*THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: Indirectly.

LORD BURGHCLERE: But have the parents nothing to do with the election of the local authorities, and can they not make their voices heard with regard to those local authorities with whom the appointment of the teachers finally rests? The most rev. Primate seemed to me—and I hope I am not misrepresenting him—to have a lingering desire to see once more the Act of 1870 established. It may be that the Act of 1870 was a good one, and that it might be beneficial at the present moment, but I would point out with all submission that it is impossible to restore the Act of 1870, because that Act was killed by the Act of 1902. Therefore after the Act of 1902 has been in operation, I venture to think it would be quite impossible to restore once again the Act of 1870. It is a truism, no doubt, but it is a matter which I will venture to comment upon. It was admitted by the most rev. Primate and by the noble Marquess that the Government in framing this Bill on this particular occasion, under the particular conditions existing, was confronted with great difficulties. I think it will also be admitted that those difficulties were not of their own making. I will also venture to say that they were not of their own seeking. But they arose from recent events in connection with the Act of 1902, and mainly from events which have taken place during the last 100 years. Of course, my Lords, if it were possible to make a *tabula rasa* of the whole education question, if we could remove all the accumulation of difficulties which religious strife and secular feeling has piled up around this question, it might be possible that the Government of the day could have formulated a measure which would have been perfect perhaps for one generation, and perhaps some years hence its imperfections might be found out. They might be found out twenty-five years hence under totally different conditions. In this case that was not possible, and the Government have had to deal with the facts as they are, and I venture to think that the merits and the demerits of this particular Bill arose from the necessity and the honest necessity to endeavour to steer a safe course amid the many rocks which surrounded them during their voyage.

The most rev. Primate referred to the past history of education in this country. He referred to the Bill of 1847, and to the attempt which was made upon this question by Mr. Bright, but I observe that the most rev. Primate never referred to what took place just 100 years ago when Mr. Whitbread brought in his Parochial Schools Bill in the House of Commons. What was the nature of the Bill which was brought in in that year? It was a Bill to place the whole education of this country upon the rates. It was a Bill to enable the State to take up education, and moreover, it was a measure which enabled Bible teaching, and practically Bible teaching alone, to be given in all the schools in the country. That Bill was rejected b— your Lordships' House, and what was the result of that rejection? The result was that the education of this country was thrown upon voluntary agencies. In the first place the British and Foreign Schools Society took up the matter for several years, until a secession occurred which was the cause of the foundation of the National Society which exists up to the present day, and which was constituted in order that the children of the poor might be taught the principles of the Established Chuch. Those socieies went side by side, and it was the religious strife then stirred up which perhaps has given rise to all the subsequent difficulties. I venture to say that it was the rejection of Mr. Whitbread's Bill in 1807 that practically brought about the present religious difficulty because it meant that the State refused to take up the educational work of the country and left it to the voluntary system, and that was the origin of all the voluntary schools. Perhaps if the Bill had been passed the circumstances under which the Church of England was established would have been different from what they are to-day. If in the simpler religious atmosphere which existed at the commencement of the 19th century Bible teaching had been established in all the schools of the country by the State, I have not the slightest doubt that the great religious movement for which I myself have the greatest respect would have brought about denominational teaching and you would have had at the present moment in all the schools, as well as in particular schools that have denominational teaching on certain occasions, the Bible teaching which you yourselves desire. But we have to deal with facts as they are. I only mention these historical facts because they occurred at the great crisis when religious education was rejected, and I trust from the bottom of my heart that this House will not now repeat that same mistake at a crisis which, to all those who desire to see religious teaching in this country, is, to my mind, a much more serious crisis than that of 1807.

I have said that the Government were surrounded with difficulties in bringing in this Bill. Many suggestions have been made as to an alternative scheme, but I have never heard of one that was at all workable. It has been suggested that we should have full popular control and, at the same time, adopt the policy of secularising the schools. In my opinion the secularisation of our schools is against the popular will of the country, because the people desire religious education in the schools and they desire to have a Christian education. My noble friend the Lord President pointed out that if you wanted an evidence of what the voice of the country was at the last general election you had it definitely placed before you by that overwhelming vote against the secular system of education the other day in the House of Commons. Who is it that wishes to have secular teaching in the place of what I would call Cowper-Templeism? For the moment I would put on one side those who do not believe in any religion whatever. How many of the parents are there who prefer to see secular education rather than the establishment of undenominational education in all our schools? I venture to say that they are a very small and unimportant section of the community. Of course I honour their consistency, and I admire their courage, and I venture to say that those who wish the children of this country to have any religious teaching at all, if they prefer secularism to religious education, are exhibiting a courage of a very different type. I would ask if that is the final view of the Church at the present moment? Is that the view of the most rev. Primate? Is that the view of the larger portion of the Church of England at the present moment? Are they prepared to say that they would rather see secularism established in every school in the country than simple Bible teaching or Cowper-Templeism? If they are so prepared, all I can say is that I regret it, and they take a very great responsibility upon themselves, for it would be difficult and almost impossible, if the Church of England demanded that secular teaching should be given in every school, for the Government of the day to take it upon themselves to resist it. If, on the other hand, they do desire undenominational teaching, they cannot have it both ways. They cannot denounce this Bill on the one hand because it institutes Cowper-Templeism, and on the other hand with the same breath denounce secularism. The choice is solely between undenominational teaching on the one hand and secularism on the other. The country resists secularism and chooses religious teaching, and therefore it is not necessary for us to have an alternative scheme to the Government Bill.

It has been said —and I admit that it is a very plausible and attractive argument —that all denominations should have the right of entry into these schools, so that every denomination might have its own particular teacher. That argument has an attractive side, but I would ask your Lordships to consider whether such a proposition is workable. Is it possible? Would it not, on the one hand, disorganise the schools of the country, and on the other hand tend, in a great measure, to destroy the discipline that at present exists in the schools? I venture to say that it is unworkable, because if you admit one sect you must admit all the sects, and in the large majority of the schools of this country there are not sufficient separate rooms in which the teaching of these sects could take place. It would destroy the discipline of the schools, because you would be importing an untrained teacher to give the particular denominational instruction desired. I heard the other day in Birmingham of an instance where this provision had been, to a certain extent, tried, and when the teacher came in to give the denominational instruction the discipline of the school was so thoroughly upset that they had to call in the regular teacher to keep order whilst his untrained colleague was explaining the religious teaching which he had come to offer them. How are you going to carry that out in schools where there are several sects? How are you going to provide enough permanent teachers in the country to keep order while the untrained teacher comes in to explain the particular teaching which he is going to give? I venture to think, my Lords, as I have said before, that the right of entry into the schools is a rather attractive proposal, but it is unworkable, and we may at once dismiss that solution of the problem.

Then it has been proposed that we should return to the dual system which existed in this country before 1902,—that we should return to the system of board schools on the one hand and voluntary schools on the other. I venture to say that the Bill of 1902 which placed the voluntary schools on the rates for the first time has now made it absolutely impossible for us to revert to the system that existed prior to that date. What remains? I venture to say that this and this only remains—we should have also the dual system of management; we should make Cowper-Temple teaching universal in the schools, with special facilities for those denominational bodies who wish denominational teaching, within school hours, at the expense of the denomination, in all transferred voluntary schools; and give, moreover, extended facilities where all or at any rate the greater part of the children and their parents belong to one particular denomination alone. Those are the two principles of the present Bill, and I venture to think, in the absence of a more moderate arrangement of the religious difficulty between the various churches concerned, that this solution is the only practical one that I, for my part, have seen put forward. You will say it is a compromise. Of course it is a compromise. It is impossible in this country, with all its past history and all that has been built up, to reverse in a moment all that has gone before. Every measure of this sort must be a compromise, and even compromises have their advantages. The Bill of 1870 was a compromise which lasted for thirty years. The Bill of 1902 was a compromise, and how many years did it last? How many years was it likely to last? Like all other compromises, this Bill does not completely satisfy either party in the matter. For my own part, the fact that both Parties find something to complain of suggests to me, at any rate, that the Government have been steering a middle, a right, and a judicious course.

I have heard complaints made to-night and before to the effect that if you go to the very root of this Bill you will find vital objections. In the first place, the most rev. Primate said that local authorities need not take over voluntary schools at all, and that therefore the voluntary schools that existed at the present moment, that is, the non-provided schools, would not be taken over by the local authorities. Now, if there is one complaint I remember hearing about the Bill of 1902 from the farmers of this country it was that it very materially raised the rates, but I venture to think that if the local authorities were to refuse in all the rural parishes to take over a school which was fit and proper for the teaching of the children, and commenced setting up and building new schools, they would soon hear complaints from the ratepayers which would very speedily drive them from the position they were taking up. Therefore, it comes to this, that in those schools it rests with the owners whether denominational teaching is to be carried on. As I understand the Bill, I believe I am right in saying that it rests with the owners of those schools to make their own terms with the local authorities as to whether two days a week should be given to denominational teaching or not. I believe there are about 8,000 single school districts in the country which have non-provided or voluntary schools. I have often heard it put forward as a resaon why we should pay special attention to the maintenance of voluntary schools in these villages, that since the year 1870 the Nonconformist bodies have never taken upon themselves the obligation of building schools, and therefore in those villages a difficulty has arisen which it is impossible to avoid and which, after all, is the main crux of this Bill. That is the difficulty which exists in regard to Nonconformists who say that they are forced to send their children to denominational schools where they have to listen to tenets of which they do not approve. That is not the fault of the Nonconformists, but it is largely the fault of the Act of 1870, which, as the most rev. Primate pointed out, was an Act in favour of voluntary schools and in no way in favour of other schools. That Act gave priority to voluntary organisations. Time was allowed in order that voluntary schools might be built in various areas of the country and grants were made towards the building of those schools. At the same time it was laid down under the Act that no other schools should be established in those various areas where already voluntary schools existed to meet the requirements of the children. How, then, can you say it is the fault of the Nonconformists in these various villages that during all this time they have never built schools of their own? And how can you say that they are at all to blame for the existence of voluntary schools everywhere in these villages at the present moment?

Another objection which has been particularly brought against this Bill is that it will establish Cowper-Temple teaching in all the voluntary schools. We are told that that teaching is incomplete; we are told by some that it is the establishment of a new religion. I venture to ask how can you call undenominational teaching a religion? You might as well call the foundation of a house the house that has been built upon it. Undenominational teaching is the foundation upon which you can erect teaching, whether it be that of a temple, a church, or a chapel. I venture also to think that elementary Christian teaching is especially adapted to elementary schools. I admit at once that Roman Catholics may regard this Cowper-Templeism with a different eye from other Christian sects. I observed the other day—and it shows how broad is this basis of undenominational teaching—that the right hon. Gentleman the Minister for Education told us in the House of Commons that he knew of Catholic teachers in board schools who, at the present moment, gave undenominational teaching to the children with satisfaction to themselves and satisfaction to the children of the parents, and without any harm to their own religion. The other day the most rev. Primate initiated a debate of great importance with regard to the syllabuses which, at the present moment, are used in the various undenominational schools, and on that occasion I ventured to suggest, with all humility, that surely the time had come, if it was admitted that you are to have undenominational teaching in all our schools, when sectarian rivalries might be set aside, when the representatives of the Church of England and the Free Churches might meet together and issue a syllabus which would be accepted as a satisfactory foundation, and a Christian foundation, by all sides. I know it has been said that this is impossible; it has been said that we wish to enforce a compulsory syllabus upon all the schools of the country. For my part I really cannot see why the State should not take upon itself the duty of formulating a syllabus for all the schools of the country in the same way as the London School Board issued a syllabus which was agreed to by both Churchmen and Nonconformists. But if that be impossible I will withdraw that suggestion and ask why you should not form a model syllabus which has the assent of both Nonconformists and Churchmen which might be issued to all the schools. I think if a syllabus of that description came with such authority behind it it would undoubtedly be accepted by nine-tenths of the schools of the country. I observed in the papers yesterday a letter from various Nonconformists, gentlemen of great authority, representing all the various Free Churches in which they said that they were perfectly willing that the Bible teaching in our schools should be read in the light of the Apostles' Creed. In the syllabuses of the country at the present moment you have the history portion of the Old and New Testaments, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, the Sermon on the Mount, the Parables and the Miracles of the New Testament. Now, if these form the portion of our Christian religion which is to be read in the light of the Apostles' Creed, surely you could not have a surer foundation upon which to build in after time the higher dogmas of the different creeds.

We are told that the Bill is unjust. I am told that facilities are not given in provided schools. I am told that it would be a just Bill if you gave the same facilities in the board schools and the provided schools as it is proposed to give in non-provided schools. Those facilities have not been given for thirty years past and they have not been asked for; 30,000,000 of Christian children have been educated without them, and I challenge anyone to show that any definite accusation has been brought that any single one of those children has suffered in his or her religious education on that account. These schools were not affected by the Bill of 1902. The Bill which is brought in to-day is a corrollary of the Bill of 1902. The voluntary schools, on the other hand, and the non-provided schools, were affected by the Bill of 1902. They were put on the rates, and the problem the Government had to meet was not to bring about some new system in all the schools of the country, but how justly to settle the difficulty which had been created by putting the denominational schools on the rates. They propose to settle that question in this Bill and to settle it justly. We are giving public control over public money, and without infringing on the rights of any denominational schools. They are able to have two days a week for their denominational teaching. That is the only problem before the country, and that is why the non-provided schools have been left out. They are schools which have been for thirty years past excepted with general consent, and I venture to think with general approval. I contend that this Bill meets this particular difficulty. It gives denominational teaching on two days in the week in schools that were denominational before. Where four-fifths of the parents of the children demand it the Bill gives denominational teaching and denominational teachers with the denominational atmosphere which has been asked for by those who support that demand. Moreover, it provides that should the local authority in any way take an arbitrary line, and refuse to take over these four-fifths schools, there is an appeal to the Board of Education who may step in and give relief by making that school a state-aided school.

In conclusion, I venture to ask, can it be said, in view of the great difficulties which the Government had to encounter that this is an unjust Bill? It is not a perfect Bill; what Bill is perfect? It is a Bill which possibly may be amended. Every Bill may receive Amendments, except the Bill which the noble Marquess opposite was concerned with in 1902, when no Amendments were allowed in this House. It meets the demand which was made at the last general election; it does away with the injustices which were brought about by the Act of 1902. It does away with all those injustices without substituting others. If that is true, and holding, as I do, that it is the only practical solution which can be applied to this vexed question which is of the highest national importance, I venture to hope that your Lordships will give a Second Reading to the Bill and that it will ultimately become the law of the land.

*THE EARL OF MALMESBURY: I feel that I owe an apology to your Lordships for taking up the time of the House at this early stage of the debate, but my excuse is the Resolution which stands in my name, and which, as your Lordships no doubt are aware, I do not intend to press. The Resolution which I have placed upon the Paper is in the following terms—

> "That this House, before assenting to the Second Reading, desires to express its opinion that the system of public education in this country should be confined to instruction in secular subjects, and that facilities should be provided in all State schools, within school hours, but not at the public charge, for religious teaching in accordance with the wishes of the parents of the children."

May I at the same time ask your Lordships' kind indulgence—an indulgence which has always been granted to those who, like myself, have taken little or no part in the debates in your Lordships'

House. I hope that, although the Resolution which I have placed upon the Paper has found no favour on either side of the House, nothing which I shall say will be misconstrued or in any way give offence to noble Lords on either side. In suggesting such a Resolution of a secular character I should like to explain, if I may, that it is not my intention to belittle the importance of keeping religion alive in this country. But it is in order to remove religious discussions from the sphere of politics that I have placed this Resolution on the Paper. When an Education Bill is brought before the country, we hear practically very little of its educational side. The educational side of education appears to be of no importance whatever, although perhaps that seems somewhat contradictory. The part of the Bill which is discussed in every shape and form is that which deals with religious instruction. The reason why I placed this Resolution on the Paper is that I wish to make the State fair and just to all its subjects of whatever denomination. If I was to begin from the beginning of education in this country, I am afraid I should be told by noble Lords opposite that I am prejudiced, because we must all admit that it was the Church of England which first gave education in this country, and it is just because the Church of England occupies that strong position to-day which it in consequence deserves that there is a strong feeling hostile to that great position, and it is for that reason too that Churchmen are prepared to fight for what they consider to be their rights. I do not ask for more justice for them than other denominations ask for themselves. All I ask is that the scheme which is embodied in the terms of my Resolution may at all events so present itself, even if not approved by your Lordsips' House, that in the years to come it may be the foundation-stone of a State secular system which will give an equal welcome to all religious denominations. I notice that in another place this subject was discussed, and I am aware that it would be useless for me to say that in the House of Commons the secular education Resolution met with approbation. I have always felt that so long as we attempt to build Education Bill upon Education Bill we shall fail.

The Earl of Malmesbury.

What I want and what I very respectfully ask the noble Earl, the Lord President of the Council, to consider is whether it would not have been far more practicable to have wiped out all the old systems beginning with the Act of 1870, and to have introduced a system which would have taken no thought and consideration for existing conditions. There are many arguments in favour of the establishment of the State system. I am not prepared, and it would be bold of me to attempt to do so, to give in detail any suggestion of any of the schemes of such a system. It is a matter of indifference to me, so far as I can understand it personally, whether religious instruction is given by specially qualified teachers, under an education authority, or whether the right of entry is given to clergymen of various denominations. But one thing, my Lords, we must bear in mind that all these concessions will be of no value whatever unless we insist that religious instruction shall take place within school hours. It is no use saying that children can go and play outside when religious instruction is being given. It is no use saying that even a moral code of instruction, of which we have heard so much, is sufficient. It is no use making any of these concessions; you must either say that no religious instruction can be given in a school at all, or you must give equal facilities to all those who represent various classes of His Majesty's subjects. I know that in this House we have had the rare privilege of listening to the brilliant speech, if I may respectfully say so, of the most rev. Primate. If there was any Member of this House who in any way underrated the importance of religious instruction, after that speech he would have been entirely converted; but may I say that I am certain that in the future this Act of 1906, whether it is amended in Committee or not, will have to give way to a much wider and more far-reaching Act at no very distant date?

I have trespassed very considerably upon your Lordships' time, but I wish to say, before I conclude, that I noticed in one of the leading journals which was kind enough to give me some notice that one exception which that journal took to my suggestion was that I asserted the rights of parents and ignored the rights of teachers. Now, I venture to say that the rights of parents and the rights of teachers are hardly to be mentioned in the same breath. The right of parents to have their children educated in whatever faith they like is one which I think no Member of your Lordships' House will deny. It is for that very reason that I feel that the principle which this Bill embodies will prevent many of the most sacred ideals which generations of Englishmen have held most dear being realised. I do not wish, and it would be out of place on my part to presume to dictate to your Lordships whether I think this or that point has been neglected. Although I withdraw my Resolution and do not even press it for discussion, I do so not because I have lost conviction in regard to the principle which it embodies, but because I think I shoud be very grievously wasting the valuable time of your Lordships' House by pressing it, and I fear that the time as it is is far too short fairly to discuss the important measure which is now before the House. It is said that this scheme of secularising all schools of the State would cost much more money; we are also told that it would cost too much to take over all the voluntary schools. But is that not an admission that voluntary schools have rights, and not only have they rights of conscience but rights of property? Whatever happens in the future I hope the Government will make up its mind to go to the expense of taking over the voluntary schools and making them State schools, thus taking education out of the hands of local authorities, and placing it in the hands of a central body or department. Whatever may be the ultimate decision it would be quite easy if, instead of dividing the country into local areas, it was divided into educational districts, under the control of the head office at Whitehall or wherever else it might be. I know my scheme is unworkable under existing conditions, but I feel certain that the time will come, and I feel sure we shall live to see that time, or at all events the next generation will see it, when all education will be national, and when this religious dissension which is so painful and which has made religion a subject of electoral addresses and has caused it to be dragged into the contest of the polling booth, will cease. There are only two more remarks which I have to make — the first is that in the Army school regulations in Section 65 provision is made for the clergymen of various denominations, at hours at the discretion of the commanding officer, to come in and give religious instruction. I should like to know why that system which prevails in the Army schools cannot be extended to schools of another character. Finally, my Lords, I will, with every respect to your Lordships' House, add this one remark. The noble Lord in charge of the Bill wound up his speech by saying that he hoped the time would come when differences would cease between the various sections of those who are in disagreement over this particular Bill. All I say is that so long as this religious controversy is made the subject of Party politics, so long as measures of the kind now before your Lordships' House are introduced into Parliament, so long will religious dissension and acrimonious discussions continue. It is no use crying "Peace, Peace," when we know full well there is no peace for those who prize liberty of conscience. I apologise to the House for detaining your Lordships for so long.

THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH: I make bold to intervene in this debate not, I hope, without justification. Speaking in the name of my diocese, and unless I did that I should hold my peace, I may state the fact that the diocese of St. Asaph has done much, and if this Bill as it stands becomes law would suffer much, in the cause of education. In 1870, Mr. Forster said that if all the country had been as well equipped with schools as the diocese of St. Asaph was, it might have been unnecessary for Parliament then to intervene. A further testimony to the work done in that diocese was given by Mr. Gladstone when in 1873 he opposed the formation of a school board in the parish of Hawarden, because he preferred voluntary and free action where it was possible. A study of educational progress in Wales reveals how large a part these voluntary efforts of Churchmen formed in creating and stimulating that educational zeal for which the Principality is now conspicuous. And Churchmen in Wales may feel an honest pride in the fact that their sacrifices and generosity have not been sectional, and that the Intermediate Schools and University Colleges of to-day have drawn the bulk of their donations and subscriptions from Churchmen. The Bill now before your Lordships' House lends fresh emphasis to what I have said. Part III. is hardly an integral part of the Bill but an appendix, which by its very independence and detachment marks with gratitude the efforts of Wales in this and other causes. As a Welshman therefore in discussing this Bill, I turn first to this postscript in which for Welshmen lies a differential interest.

approach the discussion of Part III. with an open mind. Its supposed authorship must not be laid either to its credit or discredit. If it can be proved that Part III. is for the best interest of education in Wales, it would be unjust to withhold support by reason of some supposed taint in its parentage. Your Lordships are no doubt aware that a Central Board for Welsh Intermediate Education was formed under the provisions of the Act of 1889, the functions of this Board being to provide and pay for the examination and inspection of the county schools, the organisation of a pension scheme, the collection and circulation of educational information, and the arranging of conferences of governing bodies or of teachers. It may fairly be urged that we have here a precedent and an example for constituting a somewhat similar body to deal with education of all kinds in Wales. A farther indication, if not confirmation, of the application of a like principle may be found in the Act of 1902 (17 (5)), which enables county councils to unite for the forming of a Joint Education Committee. So far for precedents.

I now come to the much more difficult question of the general acceptance in Wales of the principle involved in Part III. It is true that the following resolution was adopted at Cardiff last March—

> "That this Conference is of opinion that it is expedient to create a Council for Wales, respecting Welsh Education Authorities, which shall have powers to supply, and to aid the supply of education of all kinds in Wales and Monmouthshire."

That resolution, while accepting the principle, did not of course in any way commit its supporters to the acceptance of Part III. in the present Bill. Personally I must frankly say that at Cardiff I was not able to go beyond the suggestion that a Committee should be formed to consider whether "the formation of such a National Council was expedient." I should be tampering with accuracy if I led the House to believe that Churchmen in Wales were unanimously in favour of such a Council. They are absolutely unanimous in support of any proposal which would further the interests of education. But it would be idle to conceal the fact that a large section in Wales, by no means confined to Churchmen, view this proposal with a distrust which is not unnatural. It is matter of common knowledge that the authorship of Part III. is attributed to the President of the Board of Trade. It may be within the recollection of the House that three years ago an attempt was made to bring about an educational concordat in the diocese of St. Asaph. In these and subsequent negotiations I found the President to be a man whose word I could trust, and one who showed throughout a readiness to reciprocate a spirit of concession and generosity. Having said this of the leader, I am equally bound to give my opinion of his followers of whom I have an intimate experience in Wales. The extreme section—you have their affinities in England—approach this question in a narrow and a persecuting spirit, and I say without hesitation that fair-minded men in Wales view with misgivings the bare possibility of handing over education to those who would impart into its management the destructive elements of bias and bitterness. While, therefore, I recognise that this proposal is not without relevant precedents to support it, I am not prepared to say that as it stands the people of Wales are unanimously in its favour.

Apart from considerations which may be regarded as personal or ephemeral, Part III. raises questions of a constitutional character. These have not received due discussion in another place. Devolution is involved in this proposal, but that does not in itself condemn the proposal. If there is to be devolution, then one thing must be made secure. The question of responsibility must be established on intelligible lines. The bottom fact in all these proposals is money, and it may be well to remind the House that the total education grants under this proposal which would be handed over to the Council amount to £800,000 a year. Part III. therefore involves the transference of great financial responsibilities. One aspect of this problem can be illustrated from actual experience in Wales. The practice of the Welsh Central Board raised the question of dual responsibility. They claimed that the Art and Science grants should be paid over to them, and allocated upon the results of the examinations held by their own Welsh inspectors. The Board of Education held that they were responsible to Parliament for the money, and that they therefore must be responsible for the examination which determined its allocation. The result was friction between two sets of inspectors, and the undoubted fact that the inspection by the Board of Education was more searching, and the standard more uniform, than that of the inspectors appointed by the Welsh Central Board. It is obvious that as long as the Board of Education were responsible for the grants they must be responsible for the rules and examinations by which the grants were distributed. The same principle applies to the Welsh Council with even greater force, because the interests involved are much larger.

The Bill proposes that Parliament shall, in each year, pay to the Council of Wales these grants which amount to £800,000. That proposal as it stands is, to my mind, impossible. If the Treasury pay the grants, what responsibility can they undertake for their distribution? According to the Bill, the powers and duties of the Board of Education are to be transferred to the Welsh Council. Therefore the Welsh Council will dictate the rules and provide the inspection for the distribution of these grants. What power of supervision or control is left to the Treasury? For example, they will have no power and no duty, to receive or decide any complaint made by a particular district, or by one type of school, or by individual schools, as to the allocation of the grants by the Welsh Council. This proposal eliminates any possibility of an adequate control by the Board of Education, and the report to Parliament which the President of the Board of Education could render would be the shadowy result of a general impression. If then the Welsh Council are to have full control of these grants they must have full control over the administration. I have stated this difficulty somewhat fully, because it can only be met by a solution which involves constitutional considerations. The debate in another place made clear that these powers and duties cannot be transferred to the Welsh Council while at the same time attaching responsibility to the Board of Education. What is the solution offered? That a Minister, not the President of the Board of Education, be appointed who shall have financial responsibility and financial control, and that this Minister should have complete responsibility for the Code—in other words, for the regulations by which the grants were to be distributed. For Welsh education, then, there will have to be all the arrangement and the staff which such a Ministry necessitates. The financial outlay under this head will be very considerable. And most important of all, if you are going to have this separate Ministry for Education in Wales, are you going to, and can you if you wish, stop there? By "devolution" I understand power delegated by a ruler who still remains ruler. This proposal on the other hand is described as "autonomy" which certainly means sometime more than delegation. By an "autonomous" community I understand a community subject only to its own laws. It seems to me that "devolution" might improve local efficiency, while leaving the ultimate and controlling authority intact. But "autonomy" represents a disintegrating process, which will not stop there. But there are other difficulties in this proposal for a Welsh Minister of Education. He is not to be a Welsh Minister of Education only; he is to be Secretary to the Treasury. By tacking on the Welsh appointment to some other appointment, you bring in again the dual difficulty. Furthermore we are told that appeals with regard to the question of unnecessary schools, and the question of facilities, cannot be safely trusted to the Welsh Council, or to the Minister, and therefore they are to go to the Board of Education. Here again you let in the difficulty of dual jurisdiction.

I have touched upon the question of responsibility; let me add a word upon that of finance. If the Council is established, with a Welsh Minister of Education, with full responsibility for code and finance, by what standard are the grants paid to Wales to be regulated? It is clear that Wales will have to establish its own standard, and that the English Treasury will have to provide any supplementary estimates which the Welsh Minister recommends. The creation of a new rating authority in Wales also raises a very difficult point, and I am not at all clear that Wales is unanimous in desiring the creation of such an authority.

I must apologise to the House for the length with which I have dealt with this question. My one anxiety in doing so has been to regard the question simply from the point of view of the interests of Welsh education. I am not prepared to condemn the principle of a large measure of devolution, provided such a measure safeguards a just administration, and secures efficiency with economy.

When I pass to the general provisions of the Bill, I recognise that the Act of 1902, while dealing with a very large part of the education problem, did not, as Mr. Balfour himself said in another place, solve the whole, and I believe that the country at the last election made it clear that the questions of control and tests could not remain where the Act of 1902 left them. Any just criticism of this Bill must begin with its historical context, because the controversies of to-day have their roots deep in the past. The main controversies touching the present Bill turn upon the religious question. How was this question left by the Act of 1870? The compromise of 1870 recognised voluntary schools as public elementary schools, while from the rate-aided schools all Catechisms and distinctive formularies were excluded. Let us suppose for a moment that in 1870 the State had refused such recognition, and that the voluntary schools, as such, had ceased to exist. Does any reasonable man imagine that such a restriction upon religious liberty as the Cowper-Temple clause would ever have been entertained? What, therefore, we are now asked to do is to tear up the compromise of 1870 and to enforce only that half of the bargain which was alien to Churchmen and acceptable to Nonconformists. That request seems to me unjust, and indeed, the cause of the inconsistencies, the contradictions, and the artful injustices that characterise Part I. of this Bill. Clearly if the religious question is to be re-opened, a permanent settlement can only be secured by going back to first principles. It cannot be said that the present Bill does that. The last thing which this Bill suggests in its treatment of the religious question is the idea of principle.

Upon one point the verdict of country was clear. If ever the country gave a precise mandate it did so at the last election against a secular system of education. If, then, religious instruction is to have a place in our public elementary schools, it ought to be an honoured place. This Bill on the other hand, by its restrictions and prohibitions, treats religious instruction as a negligible quantity. Imagine arithmetic being treated as a subject which the teachers need not teach, the authorities need not provide for, and the pupils need not learn. What would the mathematics of the next generation be like? I cannot believe that character is less important than mathematics. It may be contended that this Bill, by selecting one form of religious instruction which can be taught at the public expense, adequately satisfies the claims of religion. It seems to me that the imperfections and illogicalities of undenominationalism have been fully and unanswerably demonstrated. Of the many inconsistencies in this Bill one of the most glaring is its treatment of the dual system. The first clause of the Bill apparently puts an end to the dual system, and yet the Bill establishes practically four types of schools—the old provided school, with its Cowper-Templeism, the transferred school with its ordinary facilities, the transferred with its extended facilities, and the state-aided school, which is able to contract itself out of all the disabilities inflicted by this Bill.

The Bill has, by almost universal consent, established its title to one epithet. It is an unjust Bill. How could it be otherwise? Its framers have listened to those who in the past have made little, if any, sacrifice in the interest of popular education, and who appear to see in this educational controversy an opportunity for the furtherance of political designs, and for the indulgence of sectarian animosities. Little wonder that the Bill follows a tortuous course under such guidance, and the interests of education are merely used as a screen behind which an ugly blow may be dealt at the Church of England. To those who are importing this vindictive spirit into our legislation I am tempted to quote Shakespeare's warning—

> "Heat not a furnace for your foes so hot that it so singe yourself."

Criticism of such a measure is indeed easy. One fact stands out beyond all question: if this Bill passes in anything like its present shape, so far from settling the problem, it will leave it in a more inflamed condition than ever. My great objection to this Bill is that it does not move upon the lines of any intelligible principle. The ink of the clauses in which a uniform system of public control and the abolition of tests are provided is scarcely dry before some limiting and restricting clause is introduced. Personally I venture with great respect to express a hope that the Amendments in this Bill will indicate a clear line of principle.

Now, it may be said, have you any alternative to suggest? I recognise that the claim for justice becomes stronger when it is not only critical but constructive. We desire a policy of fair play for all and privilege for none. The rich man determines the faith to be taught to his child; the poor man must have the same right. The starting point of any just settlement must be that of equal rights for all parents. Is the State to teach religion? Justice answers this question clearly. Either the State must teach all religions, or none. The first plan, although fair and defensible, is impracticable. There remains the other alternative, that the State is not to pay for the teaching of any religion, but to give the fullest freedom and toleration to parents and denominations to provide at their own cost the religious instruction desired by the parents of the children. This is a facility to which no objection can be taken in a free country. The instruction must be given in school hours, and the teachers must be permitted if they like, to give it. I need not point out that such a scheme is poles asunder from secularism.

I have not touched upon the questions of property or of trusts. Common justice can urge the strongest objections to the provisions of the Bill in regard to both. But the main and sustaining motive of Churchmen through the whole length of this bitter controversy has been the one desire to make sure that the children of this country shall be "virtuously brought up to lead a godly and a Christian life." That is no ignoble motive. In this, too, they represent the expressed verdict of their countrymen. The gravest indictment of this Bill is the unanswerable fact that it places religion in a position of humiliation. It selects for recognition and endowment a form of religious instruction which may vary from little to nothing, and it places this unsatisfying residuum outside the compulsory hours of attendance. If those who are responsible for this measure were really in earnest in a desire to secure religious instruction in our schools, would they have gone out of their way to enact that that vast army of teachers who are the most competent to give religious instruction, and the most influential to impress it upon the mind of the child, shall be forbidden, even when willing and desirous, to take part in that teaching which they have hitherto regarded as their highest privilege?

For about the space of four years this land has resounded with big, swelling words about conscience and priestly tyranny. In the name of liberty the Government have composed a Bill which intrudes upon the realms of conscience and ignore every principle which deserves the name of liberal. The noble Earl the President of the Council said, in a speech marked, if I may say so, by great moderation and seriousness, that the question of religious instruction was greater in importance than any other question that now occupies public attention. But, my Lords, I ask, how have the authors of this Bill treated religion in our schools? They have first of all torn off from her sacred form those robes in which saints and apostles have clothed her, and then they have thrust her out as a dishonoured guest into a shabby anteroom, where even those attendants who would, as of old, render her willing service are forbidden any longer to do so. It seems to me that such treatment is intended only to be temporary and preparatory to the complete exclusion of religion from our elementary schools. And this comes from those who claim to have a mandate against secularism. It is possible that this Bill may find a place among the written laws of this land. But, unless the people of this country have changed their character, it cannot stay there long, because it transgresses that unwritten law of justice, established on high, which is not of to-day or of yesterday, but lives for ever.

Earl CARRINGTON: I hope, my Lords, the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph will pardon me if I decline to follow him into the region of priestly tyranny, or to discuss a possible Minister for Wales, a dual control for Wales, a council for Wales or how the staff for Wales is to be paid; and if I venture, as a dweller in the right rev. Prelate's diocese, to express great regret that he should have thought it necessary in your Lordship's House to call attention to what he has been pleased to term the narrow and persecuting spirit and the bias and the bitterness of the extreme section of that great Liberal Party to which it is my pride and privilege to belong. If the House will permit me, I should like for a few moments to call attention to the speech delivered to-night by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. That speech was a great speech, insistent with sincerity, with dignity, and with conviction, worthy of his most sacred office, worthy of the occasion, and worthy of the great hereditary House in which it was delivered; but all through it there seemed to run a curious note, difficult to define, but rising and falling like the *leit motif* in *Lohengrin*, ever present like those great Australian rivers which rise to the surface and disappear again into the earth and discharge themselves into the unknown sea.

It seemed to me in that speech, if I may be permitted to say so, there was an inability to judge the depth, the sincerity, and the reality of the Liberal and Radical Party with regard to this great question of education. [A laugh.] I expected that laugh. I know it is always said, and it has been said to-night, I think by Lord Londonderry, that we are not agreed on our policy as regards this important question. Well, my Lords, that may be so in matters of detail, I acknowledge. But these huge majorities that we have had in another place show that on the three main principles of the Bill, which have been so well explained by the Lord President of the Council—that we must have religious and not secular education, that there must be public control where public money is spent, and that there must be for teachers abolition of religious tests—on these three great points, I say without fear of contradiction there is no practical difference amongst us of any sort, description, or kind. I should be the last to deny the great and good work that the Church of England has done for the cause of education. Whatever opinions we may have of what the Church has done in days gone by, it is, I think, an absolute truth that Churchpeople in their laudable endeavour to provide schools for the children of this country have done what a great many people have done who dabble in bricks and mortar, that is, they have overbuilt themselves. In consequence of that comes the intolerable strain and the absolute impossibltity of maintaining the schools which they have built. I will take a single instance. I live in a small manufacturing town of about 25,000 people, mostly a poor artizan population. There is a voluntary Church school managed by the clergyman of the parish—a man not nominated in any way, but selected by his parishioners, and the selection is confirmed by the patron of the parish. He is a man of godly and saintly life, he is very popular amongst his parishioners, and his school is extremely well conducted in every way. To keep that school going costs £1,270 a year, and the voluntary contributions come to £158 a year, or a little under one-eighth of the whole expense. And that was called a voluntary school. Now the most rev. Primate called attention in his speech, I think, to three London schools—the St. John's school, and I think the St. Michael's school, and the Brook Street school at Kennington. As regards the St. John's school the most rev. Primate said that it would require £1,200 for necessary repairs. As regards the St. John's school, I think, although I have not had time to verify it, that the material condition, whatever the moral atmosphere may be, leaves something to be desired. The most rev. Primate told us that he was afraid parents would not ask for extended facilities. This is a Church school, I believe one of the best of the many well-managed schools of London. An excellent clergyman—a High Church clergyman, I believe—has direction of the school, and is very popular and very much respected in the neighbourhood. What is the reason why the most rev. Primate is afraid that parents will not ask for extended facilities? He also told us that children passed the council schools to go to the Brook Street school. Any man who has had anything to do with London life knows very well that there are thousands and even tens of thousands of children who pass voluntary schools every day of the week to go to council schools. Why is that? I do not think there is any denominational reason in it—none whatever. The fact is that some of the schools are more popular than other schools. Some teachers are more popular, more respected, and more loved by the children than other teachers.

I now come to another point. The London County Council was given entire management and control of the schools in London. I am not going to argue whether that is right or wrong. When these schools were given over the first thing that the Education Committee did was to send their inspectors and valuers round to see what the material conditions of those schools was. Amongst those schools there were 113 schools which were in no way suitable for the purpose, and they were put on one side. Out of 438 Church schools there were 318 the drains of which were unsatisfactory, and of that number 109 were in a very dangerous state, thirty-seven were in a very serious case, and in twenty-one cases he managers refused to allow the county authority to make any inspection whatever. Therefore we do not know what the state of those twenty-one schools was, but I may say that out of the 109 schools which were described as very dangerous for the children to be taught in, eighty-two belonged to the Church of England and accommodated 35,500 little children. If that is the state of things, and it was proved in the Council itself last Tuesday week, I ask, is it a state of things which ought to be allowed to continue, and with which it can honestly be said that it is criminal and almost sacrilegious to interfere? We have been told by the right rev. Prelate that this Bill is a gross breach of the agreement entered into in 1870, and I think I am right when I say that the Archbishop applauded that statement. What was the agreement of 1870? It was, first, that the board schools should supplement the voluntary schools.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: And not supplant.

EARL CARRINGTON: The second thing was that voluntary schools were to receive generous grants and give denominational teaching without rate aid; and, thirdly, that the board schools were to get rate aid, but that religious education, if any, must be undenominational. What did the new arrangement of 1902 do? The Tory party put the voluntary schools on the rates, but, my Lords, they violated the prime condition that all rate-aided schools must be undenominational. That was done by the Act of 1902. What does this 'Criminal Bill' do? It simply restores the agreement come to by the members of the Church of England, by the members of the Holy Catholic Church, by the Nonconformists, by the Jews, by Liberals and by Tories alike, that if you accept rates you accept undenominational teaching. We have heard several times to-night what this Bill really is. Of course it has the three great principles which I mentioned at the beginning of my speech. It gives full public control, it abolishes religious tests, and it insists on religious instead of secular education. Rent can be paid for all the Church schools that we propose to take over. Religious education is to be taught on two days a week in some of the schools and every day of the week in others.

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: May be taught; not is to be taught.

EARL CARRINGTON: I am very much obliged for the correction. What is insisted upon in the Bill, as I understand, is simple religious teaching which, to most of us, means the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostles' Creed—the simple religious teaching that we have learnt at our mothers' knees. [A noble LORD: It is not in the Bill.] Religious education can be taught on two days a week at some schools and every day in the week in others.

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY: Out of school hours.

EARL CARRINGTON: Church schools are to be kept in repair and are only to be required from 9.45 a.m. to 5 p.m. for five days in the week. These schools are at the disposal of the owners the whole of Saturday, the whole of Sunday, and every evening, subject to the occasional use of the building for evening schools, and this, my Lords, is called robbery and spoliation. I have one more word to say. It is idle to deny that our task is a difficult and delicate one; but, after all, difficulties are opportunities, and this opportunity the Liberal Government is determined to seize and to go through with its great work. It may be that some of us before our task is accomplished may go down in the stress of the fight and our comrades may place us on their shields and bear us shoulder high to that great Eternity which all must face; but, surely of us it may be said, as was said of our fathers who have gone before, "These Christian Liberal and Radical men and women have not lived and fought and died in vain."

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I hope that no such tragic fate as the noble Earl in the closing words of his speech seemed to anticipate awaits him in the discussions on this Bill. The worst that can happen, my Lords, is that instead of being a very bad Bill, it may be made a little better. It will be the work of your Lordships' House to try to bring that about. But before I enter upon that matter let me say one or two words about the speech to which we have just listened. The noble Earl told us that the Liberal Party to which he is proud to belong are agreed at any rate about general principles. I believe that the Liberal Party are only agreed about general principles because they imperfectly understand them. Let us consider for a moment what is the sort of general principles to which the noble Earl refers. He spoke of liberty of conscience. Whose conscience? Has he or the Liberal Party thought of that? Is it the conscience of the teacher or the conscience of the child—because if it is the conscience of the child he is entitled not only to receive the Cowper-Temple teaching which may be provided for him by the majority of the electors at the local election, but also the definite religious teaching for which his parents ask. Or perhaps the principle is public control, but that, as has already been pointed out by the most rev. Prelate this afternoon, must extend in both directions if it is to be true public control. If the local education authority is to be allowed to give as little religious education as it pleases, it ought also to be allowed to give as much as it pleases. Or, perhaps, the general principle to which the noble Earl referred was what is called the neutrality of the State in matters of religion. If the State is to be truly neutral we have no business to devote the resources of the State to the maintenance of one kind of religion and that alone. So that I really believe the general principles to which the noble Earl professed his adherence are really imperfectly understood by the noble Earl and the Party to which he belongs.

This subject is one of most profound importance, and one upon which we have had a most interesting discussion to-day. The truth is that when the Liberal Party have left general principles they have really shown themselves to be profoundly divided. Nothing is more striking or significant of that circumstance than the eloquent and in many ways admirable speech which the President of the Board of Education delivered in another place on the Third Reading of the Bill. I think the President of the Board of Education is a good deal to be pitied in these discussions, not merely because of their arduous character, but because of the great difficulties he has with those of his own household. In that speech he was at last driven to resistance, and turned upon some of the materialists and indifferentists of his followers in matters of education, and urged them to remember that vacation schools and the health of the children are not the only things to be considered, but that there are such things as conscience, sin, and immortality, which were to be reckoned as of higher import. Let me assure the noble Earl who has just sat down that it is not a question of rates or of how education should be maintained, much less is it a question of drains. It is a question of the religious instruction of the children of the country, and the rights of parents to have religious instruction given to their children. To my mind, whether that religious instruction is provided by taxes, rates, or voluntary subscriptions, is a matter of lesser importance. The essential thing is that the children should receive this instruction, and that they should receive it according to the wishes of their parents. If it were the case in our country that we were united in religious matters—if we were even like the sister kingdom of Scotland, where, roughly speaking, the mass of the population adhere to one form of religious belief, no difficulty on this question would arise. There are very few noble Lords whom I see around me who would doubt that the proper solution is that definite religious education should be provided by the State for all the children; but in our case, no doubt, there is a great difficulty. There are profound differences of opinion upon religious matters, and the question becomes urgent if religion is essential, which has been practically admitted in this debate. It was urged by the Minister for Education in another place. It was repeated, I think, by the Lord President in his speech this evening. It was emphasised and illustrated in burning words by the most rev. Prelate. If, as I say, religious education is essential, then the question arises, who is to decide what that religious education shall be? We have a solution. We say that the parents must decide. It is a simple solution. It goes down to the very foundation of society. It is the rock upon which all society is built, namely, the affection and therefore the responsibility of parents for their children. It has been said that the rights of parents have only been discovered for the purpose of controversy on this Bill. Nothing is more untrue. The rights of the parents, of course, go back as far as the Conscience Clause of the Act of 1870. It was the first and a very imperfect assertion of that right. It was wholly insufficient because it was of a negative character. All that you said to the parents by the Conscience Clause was this—"If you are not pleased with the kind of religious education provided at the school your child must go without." That was a very unsatisfactory solution, because the parent not only has the right to avoid the religious education to which he is opposed, but he has also the right to have for his child the religious education in which he believes. In addition to that the rights of the parents were secured by a method which was illogical and incomplete, but which to some extent met the difficulties of the case. We lived under a state of alternate schools. There were the schools where Cowper-Temple religion was taught and the schools where definite religious education was provided. Where a parent was lucky enough to live in an area where both schools existed, he could send his child where there wa definite religion or to the school where the religion taught was undenominational, as he pleased. That was never a complete solution. It was very partial in its operation. It depended not on the rights of parents but upon the private individuals who subscribed to and built the schools, and it finally broke down. After the Act of 1870 the cost of education rose so enormously as to make it impossible for private individuals any longer to compete with the State, but the rights of the parents remained. They are indestructible, and we have to meet them now in some other way. I have said that it is not true that the rights of the parents have been invented in order to meet the needs of this controversy. They have always stood out as an essential part of the policy of the Church of England and of the Party to which I have the honour to belong. There was a voluntary committee which sat by direction of the two Archbishops so far back as 1894, and consisted of many men of weight and responsibility like my noble friend Lord Cross, and my noble friend Lord Cranbrook, and the right rev. the Bishop of Southwark, and others. They reported among other things—

> "We maintain Church schools in the interests of parents who have a right and duty to secure for their children instruction according to their own religious belief."

That report was presented to the two Archbishops—it was in the time of Archbishop Benson—and the two Archbishops presented a memorandum to His Majesty's Government at that time, in which they said there ought to be kept in view in all legislation affecting public elementary schools the right of parents to determine the character of the religious instruction provided for their children. That was the policy of the Church of England as formulated by its two principal Prelates for the time being. It was also the policy of the Party to which I have the honour to belong. People talk a great deal about mandates now, and speeches which are delivered at or about the time of a general election are always supposed to have a very special importance and significance, and therefore I quote with all the more confidence a speech which was delivered in your Lordship's House by the then Prime Minister and Leader of the Unionist Party on the very eve of the General Election of 1895. This was what was said—

> "The other principle we have defended in our votes is the supreme value of religious education given according to the religion which the parents themselves profess. To that principle again, I believe this House deliberately adheres. It values it and it will do all in its power to promote the giving of religious education in pursuance of the unalienable right of the parents to decide the religion in which his child shall be educated."

That was the most official formulation of the policy of the then Unionist Party by its leader, in which was embodied in the most emphatic form the assertion of the right of the parents. That policy was repeated by the last Conservative Prime Minister. Mr. Balfour, in introducing the Bill of 1902 said:—

> "I do not stand here to plead for any particular form of denominational education. I do stand here to say, and, so far as I can to see, that every parent gets the kind of religious training for his child he desires."

So that the chain is quite complete. From first to last in the Church of England and in the Unionist Party we have put forward the right of the parent as one of the most important and leading features of our policy in reference to religious education. I do not know that in their hearts the present Government very much differ from that view. I think that if we could only get into the recesses of Mr. Birrell's mind we should find that he, too, thought the rights of the parents ought to be respected. I noticed the other day that he repudiated, and rightly repudiated, absolutely secular education. He said the parents would not endure it. So that he was aware, as everyone else is aware, that the ultimate arbiter in these questions must, and ought to be, the parent.

Let me ask how far does this Bill carry out, what, I cannot help believing, is really in the heart of the Government, viz., the supreme importance of religious education, and the right of the parents to decide what that form of religion shall be. I am not going at this late hour through the clauses of the Bill in detail, but your Lordships must have listened with profound interest to the speech of the most rev. Prelate when he described how utterly insufficient was the security afforded by the provisions of Clauses 2 and 3 for the religious education of the children in accordance with the wishes of their parents. There is no doubt, as the noble Earl said, interrupting a previous speaker most courteously, that Clause 3 is in its present form mandatory. That was one of the few concessions which was wrung from the Government by our friends in another place. But although Clause 3 is mandatory, there is no security that it will be put into operation. That remains absolutely unmet. I think the noble Earl the Lord President will agree with me when I say that as the Bill stands it is absolutely open to any local authority to refuse to take over a voluntary school. Therefore, supposing we had a local authority of what I may call the Huddersfield order, as was described by the most rev. Prelate, all that they would have to do in order to secure the kind of religious education of which they approved in their district would be to refuse absolutely to take over any voluntary school. That is not at all an impossible thing to happen. I observe that my authority is a very distinguished Irish Member, and as it has not been contradicted I imagine it is absolutely true. Mr. Healy, speaking in another place, said that the Chairman of a local authority in Yorkshire had declared that he would not rest until there was not a single denominational school in existence in its area. What have we got to expect? The Chairman of the local authority can do what he threatened to do under the Bill if he can carry his council with him, and if the particular local authority is Huddersfield I do not suppose he will have any difficulty. He can merely refuse to take over any voluntary school and then the whole elaborate provisions of Clause 3 are absolutely futile, and the protection to denominational schools is entirely wanting. The noble Earl who has just sat down said in a confident way that this would be secured and that would be secured. It is not the case. They may be secured if the local authority is friendly, but if is not friendly there is no such protection. It is in order to protect the children who are unlucky enough to live in the area of a hostile local authority that we shall have to ask your Lordships to agree to some Amendment when the Bill gets into Committee.

I wish to say one word about Clause 4. Your Lordships have heard in great detail how Clause 4 is hedged round with all sorts of elaborate limitations which I am afraid will go far to render it nugatory. I think it was Lord Burghclere who said that if schools were not treated properly under Clause 4 they had an appeal. That is to say if they can fulfil all the conditions, if there are parents of four-fifths of the children in favour of continuing the school as a denominational school, if it is in an urban district, if that urban district contains more than 5,000 people—then if all these conditions are fulfilled and the local authority refuses to give extended facilities the school can appeal. Has the noble Lord looked into the Appeal Clause? Has he followed it and understood it? I can assure him I do not say this with any view of treating him with disrespect, but he will remember that none of these clauses have been explained. They were pitch-forked into the Bill in the middle of its passage through the House of Commons, and in such a condition that they could not be explained to that branch of the legislature. As I read the Appeal Clause there is no appeal given to a school when once it has been transferred. For an appeal to lie at all it must be a school which makes this application before it is transferred. That is a very important limitation. Then the appeal must be entered before January 1st, 1908, that is to say, practically, within a year after the passing of this Bill, if it does pass into law. It will be exceedingly difficult to get things forward to such a point that an appeal will be possible in a year—and, remember, the local education authority have no motive to hurry matters, because in another clause they have complete control over the school during the year. They can do as they like in the intervening period. Why should they make things easy? If things are slightly delayed there will be no time for appeal.

* THE EARL OF CREWE: Which clause does the noble Marquess allude to as giving complete control in the interval? I think it is Clause 12 to which the noble Lord was alluding, the one where a school refuses to come to any arrangement.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: What the noble Earl means is that the school will be carried on as a denominational school during that period. I was inaccurate and apologise to the noble Earl, but all the same the point of my argument remains. No doubt it will be carried on for a year as a denominational school, but if the local authority choose to delay matters for a year no appeal will lie. But lastly, my Lords, and this I cannot really believe that the Government intend, no appeal will lie if the local education authority refuses to entertain the application altogether, because if they do there will be no local inquiry. I think it is one of the examples of the amazing drafting of this Bill. It is because this Bill has not been introduced and carried through as an ordinary Bill, but because it has been introduced under conditions which have never been seen in Parliament before, and has been battered about from side to side as pressure was put on, the President of the Board of Education has tried to find salvation first in one Amendment and then another, until he hardly knew where he was; and then when the thing ought to have been put right in the House of Commons the guillotine came down, and the Bill in this extraordinary form has been sent up to your Lordships' House. But supposing the appeal does lie. Even then the unfortunate denominational school is not out of its troubles. The Board of Education has complete discretion even then as to whether they will entertain the appeal or not, and if they do entertain the appeal it does not follow that the school will be allowed to continue as originally started. It may be deprived of all help from the rates and be relegated to the new category of State-aided schools which has been founded for the purpose of this Bill. Finally any arrangement so settled only lasts for five years. I wonder whether your Lordships have realised what that means. If any complaint is made during the course of the five years that the local education authority is not really carrying out the decision of the appeal, then the unfortunate school runs the risk of being deprived of this rate. At the end of five years what happens? The school will be a transferred school and then no appeal will lie, when the local education authority once more refuses, and it would refuse, extended facilities.

* THE EARL OF CREWE: The noble Marquess is entirely inaccurate in saying that.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: In what am I inaccurate? Am I incorrect in saying that no appeal would lie in the case of a transferred school?

* THE EARL OF CREWE: No. The noble Marquess is incorrect in saying the school would continue as a necessarily transferred school. Provided the conditions are maintained it will be continued at the end of five years.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: It is expressly provided that the arrangement only lasts for five years, and at the end it is to be reconsidered and the school will then be a transferred school. [MINISTERIAL cries of "No."] Yes, it will. It will be in the hands of the Local education authority. If I am wrong the noble Earl or some other Member of the Government will correct me, but I say that being a transferred school no appeal will lie. There is no doubt whatever that a great deal more light requires to be thrown on the drafting of this Bill, and before it has left your Lordships' House I hope it will receive it. What I have said is directed only to show that not only are the limited conditions, such as have been pointed out by previous speakers, extremely onerous, not only do they deprive Clause IV. of the greater part of its efficiency, but even in the Appeal Clause an extra blow is struck at these unfortunate denominational schools.

I have troubled your Lordships with these observations in order to show what, in my judgment, is to be said of the drafting of this Bill; but I should like to say one word upon the speech delivered by the noble Duke, the Duke of Norfolk, earlier this evening. He told us the conditions upon which he for one accepted this Bill. He told us that it was only upon the express understanding that he was not to be held to approve of the principle of this measure. I do not know whether I value that particular phrase very highly, but this I do know, that so far as I am concerned, and I speak, I am quite certain, for all those who sit with me on this bench, we agree with the noble Duke in thinking that no objection could legitimately be made to Amendments, however drastic they may be, merely because we have agreed to the Second Reading of this Bill. We maintain a perfectly free hand, and we earnestly hope that in the discussion yet to come in your Lordships' House something may be done, nay, a great deal may be done, in order to place once more upon its proper footing the right of the parents to preserve for the children definite religious education.

THE LORD BISHOP OF RIPON: My Lords, when I look at the clock I feel I should be only interposing between you and well-merited rest if I ventured to enlist your attention for more than a few moments, but at the same time you will perhaps allow me at this moment to interpose, because it seems to me there are one or two considerations which need to be in our minds in order that we may not merely anticipate those Amendments which I suppose will be brought forward in the autumn, but that we may, as far as possible, clear our minds as to general principles which might guide us in the interval. It is a happy thing, I think, that the consideration of the Amendments of this Bill are left to a time somewhat later, after we have had an opportunity of recuperation and therefore consideration. I cannot help thinking that it would be a very great mistake if in a measure of such importance as this, affecting as it does, not merely the welfare of the present generation, but I imagine the welfare of later generations also, we should settle this matter with anything approaching political or polemical heat. There are questions which surely might very well be lifted above the range of mere partisan controversy, and whether we differ from one another on points of religion or points of politics, yet upon this question of what is best for the uprising generation we ought, as far as possible, to seek a common policy and come to a unanimous agreement. I admit what has been said—who of us can deny it?—that when we approach the question we are immediately immersed in a religious controversy. There are some people who deprecate that, and who, like my noble friend opposite, desire to bring in such measures as would remove entirely from the sphere, as it were, of political action the religious question altogether. But, my Lords, I entirely differ from those who imagine that there is evil in the religious fervour which is expressed on such a matter as this. It is surely important that we at least remain earnest in this matter of religion, and I venture to say the day would be a very sad one if this question of religion were met in any degree with indifference and there was no earnestness kindled in the discussion of what was meant by religious education. Therefore I am not afraid to speak of the earnest spirit which has been displayed on all sides, and I speak with a greater ease and confidence this afternoon because I gather from the speeches delivered on both sides that it seems now to be an accepted fact that this Bill will be read a second time without a division. We are therefore in a calmer atmosphere and we can look at these questions with greater deliberation. We can separate ourselves from the domains of political party, and may I say also, from the control of any ecclesiastical or theological bias. If we can do that we may perhaps approach those principles which it seems to me are absolutely necessary for a just and permanent settlement of this great education question.

There are only three policies possible to us. Two of these I may describe as logical, and the third may be described by some as illogical. The first logical settlement is that of the secularist, who says: 'Let us abolish this difficulty by simply saying we will secularise all education.'

Now the amendment suggested by the noble Lord opposite was intended to do that, but I take it from what has been said on both sides to-night and the division elsewhere that we have abandoned altogether the idea of a secular settlement of this question. I think that is right. I think that the people of this country do not desire secularism, but that is a very different thing from saying that there are conceivable conditions in which you may be driven into it, and it is that fact which we need to keep in mind, because in the history of nations it has often happened that the very thing which the majority of the people have not desired has yet been brought to pass. I may illustrate it in this way. Two men are sitting on a see-saw, and if they are men of pretty well equal weight it is quite possible that a little man or child seated on the saddle of the see-saw may be able to determine the direction in which it may rise or fall, and it is precisely that position in which we find ourselves at the present moment. We find ourselves in the position in which parties are so evenly balanced, for although the majority may be mentioned as very high in another place, yet I think if you appeal you would find that public opinion is much more evenly balanced than we have any idea of. But the evil I point out is that there may be a danger in the future, and if we do not come to a reasonable settlement in this matter, it may be settled in a sense which neither side of this House nor the country at large in any way desires. Some people are inclined to minimise this danger on the ground that there has been such determined opposition to secularism; but I venture to express the possibility that it might be otherwise, and therefore as a grave deliberative assembly, into whose hands has been entrusted a great responsibility concerning the destinies of the people, I do earnestly implore your Lordships to take no step which may in any sense jeopardise the determination and the combination of all parties in this country to maintain Christian teaching throughout the length and breadth of the land.

I quite admit we may maintain that religious principle by the method described by the Lord President, by a concurrent endowment, and that would be a logical solution of this matter. It would be saying in effect that we are not discriminating between any of the religious bodies, but putting all upon the same platform; and although the objection would be raised that the rates would be used for religious purposes, personally I should have no objection on that score, because I do not share the intense conscientiousness of some people who are afraid to spend a penny of public money in doing that which the country at large desires should be done. That solution, I venture to say, is outside the range of practical politics at the present moment, and although I could quite imagine a number of people desirous and enamoured of it, I cannot help asking myself the question, is it possible? And if not possible, let us take a wise policy and not seek one which we cannot obtain. I was very happy to hear on all sides, and particularly from the Members of Government to-night, that this Bill protects religious teaching in the country, but I confess that when I examine the Bill I cannot find the justification of this Utopian idea. It does strike me as a very strange way of maintaining simple Christian teaching in this country when it is pointed out that you may have a county council that will not allow it, that you may have teachers who may have conscientious objections about giving it, and that you may have parents who will not allow their children to receive it. The Bill, therefore, does not, as I understand it, give the very thing for which it seems to me we should contend most earnestly. If we could only go to people and say this Bill gives simple Christian teaching of such a character that it does not lack definiteness, that it is real and genuine, and that it is taught by people who earnestly believe in it—if you can go to people and say that is the meaning of this measure, I believe it would find acceptance from seven-tenths of the people of the country; but I cannot find that in the Bill. What I would earnestly pray your Lordships to consider is, whatever Amendments you may introduce into the Bill, and there are some I am sure all agree should be there, let us make this one strong resolution, that the Bill shall not leave this House till the right of religious teaching is secured to every child in the country. Do not leave it to the option of local authorities. The reason I say that is very simple. There are those who take very various views concerning the qualifications of Parliament to deal with religious questions. I confess that it has always seemed to me to be a very far fetched and unreal idea that Parliament has no right and no duty and no obligation towards the religious condition of the people of the country. My view is the very opposite of that. So long as we believe that the people of this country desire religious teaching, and so long as it is our settled conviction that they ought to have it, so long I think it is the solemn and bounden duty of the Government to see that it is put within their reach. If that is not secured by this Bill the people of this country will have a right to feel they are disappointed.

What I plead for, therefore, is that the religious teaching which is contemplated in this Bill should not be left to the option of the local authority. We are told, of course, that the local authorities will be very good, and will do all that is right and just, but we have instances which show that they are not always disposed to give even simple religious teaching. But what troubles my mind far more than that, is this. What is the ground on which we are asked to trust the local authority? It is the general conscience, which is supposed to be working in the minds of these bodies; but why imagine that the local authority is likely to possess a conscience, and deny the right of that conscience to the legislature of this country? It seems to me, that if little Peddlington has a conscience, the Houses of Parliament must have one on this matter; and therefore I say this question should not be left to the chance of elections for the local authorities, but should be settled by the determination of Parliament itself. But I ask for something else. I ask that religious teaching should be made real. I was happy to hear, and I am sure many amongst us will be very much reassured by hearing, that this Bill is intended to cover a religious teaching in which the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostles' Creed shall find a place. If that is the case, many around us have misunderstood the Bill. I am very glad that it should be so, and I am thankful to see that there have been Nonconformists who have had both the courage and wisdom to declare that what they desire is, that the simple teaching shall be in harmony with the Apostles' Creed. That seems to me a very hopeful sign indeed. I am not amongst those who stand very strongly for what is called denominational teaching, because I understand by denominational teaching those points upon which one religious body differs from another, and which are, therefore, outside the range of these larger matters, upon which the greater number, I trust, of Christian bodies, are in accord. A denomination is that which is distinguished by its denominationalism. The denominationalism of the Baptist consists of the theory of Adult Baptism, but when you ask is there nothing in common, my plea is that there is, but I know there are those who say no, and that all that is left is nothing at all. Of course, if we are to say that the teaching is to be such that you are never to say anything in your teaching that anyone else can possibly object to, then I admit the residuum is very small indeed, and, as I think, it disappears into thin air. But I do not think that is the reason, and I do not think it would be wise or dignified to enter into a mere strategic discussion of this matter in order to prove that there is a nebulous result left. You have the clear definition given to us by respectable Nonconformists that they are desirous to maintain a reality of religious teaching. If I were speaking my own opinion only, I should listen with the greatest respect to those, and they are many, who differ from me, but I am not faithless to my own communion when I say that simple Christianity does mean something real, and when I remember that it is precisely the authorised declaration of my own Church.

Now, my Lords, I cannot help standing with a sense of what I would call deeper responsibility as I look into the meaning of this question as it is addressing itself to our minds to-day. I have the greatest reverence for those who are anxious that the faith which has done so much for them and for their ancestors should remain untouched and untampered with. I feel that the greatest respect and reverence should be paid to anyone who comes to us and says "These convictions are dear to me; you may not share them, but, believe me, they are dear to me and to thousands more." Whether we agree with that attitude or not, it is entitled to the deepest respect and reverence. For that reason I would earnestly plead that whatever can be done to meet the rights of parents, or, shall I say, the sanctity of the religious convictions of other people, should be done in this Bill by increasing or improving the conditions of the facilities which are provided. I do ask whether we have not reached a juncture in the religious history of the world in which it is important that we should realise that that common Christianity which now is beginning to find such happy expressions from Nonconformists and others is a real thing, and for which it is worth sacrificing a good deal in order that we may agree upon it? The history of religious controversy is this, that the value and significance of dogmas which were of such vast importance and loomed so large in the minds of our ancestors, are becoming less and less. These things we have largely outgrown and we are beginning to see a wider and nobler prospect before us. Who now is going to enter into controversy concerning Calvinism and Arminianism? Why, these things are going fast into the past, but, as I believe, we are not left unguided by One who directs the destinies of nations. It seems to me that in our very difficulties there is an appeal from Providence round us not to make too much of our differences in our hour, and that as the changes of human thought advance so will the very simplicity of these truths become more and more apparent to us. Yonder, in the great world men are famishing for the great Truth we have the power to give, and it is of the most earnest importance that we should, as far as possible, show by our action to-day that there is something in the platform of our common Christianity upon which we can unite, which is dearer to us than many other things which are dear also. Although it is true that I am as loyally attached to my communion as ever, yet when the hour of my country's danger is come, so do I feel it is now for us to come out and say while we are sincerely attached to our communion we do earnestly ask you to magnify those grounds on which we can agree to face a common danger.

I said that there is the fear of secularism. It is before our eyes. It is for that reason I spoke. The power which moves for secularism will be kept in abeyance if it can be shown that the Christian men of this country, while ever holding their personal convictions strong, clear and true, are yet ready to unite and resist a common foe, and to preserve the heritage of the children of this country. Let us surrender something, if necessary, for the maintenance of what is greater and more lasting still. There is much I should like to criticise in this Bill, but time is too short. My objection to the policy suggested by the noble Lord opposite is that it lowers religion beneath the place of acknowledged dignity which it ought to hold in this country. It betokens a policy which seems to say, "You can do as you please because the State has no responsible care in this matter." But the State has something to do with it, unless we have fallen low and lost faith in the Living God. Forgive me if I speak the language which befits my own profession, but it does seem to me that the Resolution of this House ought to be something on these lines: "We who represent the people of this country, believing in the Living God ourselves, and remembering that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, resolve that no child within the country shall be allowed to grow up without the opportunity of knowing these elementary Christian truths," and it is because I believe that that is the only way in which we can save ourselves from the possibility of that secularism which would be so disastrous and destructive to national life and character, that I plead, at any rate, that whatever our own convictions may be we stand firm and determined that the simple Christianity of which I have spoken be maintained as an integral and necessary part of the education of the children of this country.

LORD OVERTOUN: We all sympathise with the eloquent words that have fallen from the right rev. Prelate who has just spoken. He said that it might be well from a little distance to review the whole condition of this Bill. Now I think, hailing from Scotland, we can look from afar on the principles of this Bill. May I remind noble Lords that in 1872, when the Scottish education question was settled, we had then in Scotland schools belonging to all the Presbyterian churches, and though in the main the belief of all the Presbyterian churches is the same, still there is what has been often spoken of as a different atmosphere altogether in those Presbyterian churches When our national system of education in 1872 was launched, all the Presbyterian churches made up their minds to give up their own denominational schools. I was asked the other day by a friend in England how much they got for all the schools they gave up. They not only got nothing, but they asked nothing; they handed them over as they were to the new school boards which were started in that country. The next question was, "Do you mean to say that the different churches had sufficient confidence in the new school boards that a proper religious education would be given when those schools would be taken over, to enable them to give up all that property, which would be worth a very large sum of money and which had been paid almost entirely by the members of the churches?" The answer was "Certainly. We have confidence in our fellow citizens and our fellow countrymen," and the result is justified by the experience we have gained. I have often wished that the Church of England had followed a little more in the way of the Presbyterians in Scotland in order to obtain a national system of education. Those schools which are being handed over are generally known as voluntary schools, but I must confess that the word "voluntary" is very much of a misnomer, for they have not been entirely maintained or supported by the Church. And the support is of a very diminishing quantity, and therefore I think that the sacrifice, if they were to hand them over for general national education, would not be so great as is generally supposed.

I am glad that the noble Lord who put on the Notice Paper a Motion as to the secularising of education has seen his way to withdraw that Motion. I am well aware that those who sympathise with Lord Malmesbury fear a little to drag the religious question into the controversy and might be prepared to sweep it aside, but that is not the opinion of this country. If that question were an outside one, it might very well be laid aside, but I think no education is worth having in this country except it is based upon religious grounds. Doubtless there is a difficulty in satisfying all and finding a common ground on which to agree, but we are bound to face a difficulty of this kind when it involves such serious consequences. And I believe that if this crucial question were honestly faced we ought to be able to have it properly settled. Unless the children in our schools are taught about truth and their duty to God and man our educational system will stand entirely on a false basis. We call ourselves a Christian country and we speak of national education, but I strongly believe that except our education is founded on righteousness and the word of God it will not be of a satisfactory character at all. The fact that in another place the vote was as large as 477 against 63 shows how strongly and unanimously the people of this country feel on this great question.

But we come to a difficult question. The right rev. Prelate and others who spoke near him seemed to slide into the error that religious teaching means the teaching of the Church of England. Now it has been frequently said that religious teaching viewed in that light is not Bible teaching. If religious teaching according to the Church of England is not Bible teaching, then it is a bad look-out for the Church of England, because we understand the Bible to be the basis of teaching of that kind. I am glad to note what has been said to-night by the right rev. Prelate with regard to the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer. Let me remind you that they come out of the Bible. The Apostles' Creed is not accurately scriptural, but we accept it, and I believe the whole country accepts it as a statement of religious belief. In Scotland we have no religious difficulty, and I know that in some quarters where no religion was taught those in the neighbourhood, having put their heads together, managed to introduce a system that was satisfactory to everyone —a sound religious education, and I cannot help believing that if, say, half a dozen representatives of the Church of England and half a dozen representatives of the Nonconformists were to meet together and honestly try to find a common ground wherein those great truths we all believe in were clearly set forth without any sectarian teaching, it would not be difficult to arrive at a solid foundation of scripture teaching in the schools. The word "dogma" has been used to-night very frequently, but I strongly feel that we do teach dogma, and must teach it, because by dogma I understand those great vital doctrines on which we all rest our faith, and not denominationalism. I was somewhat surprised to hear the right rev. Prelate to-night speak of the great Act of the last century as being Mr. Forster's Eduction Act of 1870. I am old enough to remember the bitter and fierce controversy that raged round that question in those days, and it is very refreshing now to hear leaders in the Church of England speak of it as a very great Act. I believe that if the principles that are embodied in the Bill now before us were carried out, in later years it would be accepted as a great measure that had disentangled many of the complicated questions we have to face in this matter. The right reverend Prelate was speaking of one of the schools to which the President of the Council referred, but it seemed to me in the argument he used he entirely gave away his case with regard to the London school. He said the children went to it not because of its denominational teaching but because it was a superior class of school, and that the tone was better; but the whole argument was that the children wanted to go to it or the parents wanted to send them to it because of its denominational teaching. The superiority of the school is possibly the consequence of a large amount of money spent on it and the higher class of teacher obtained. The right reverend Prelate held up a lurid picture of a teacher who did not believe in miracles, and especially the Resurrection of our Lord, and spoke of the danger of having such a teacher for the young. I believe there are many even of the Church of England clergy who hold such views but in general they are not objected to on that ground. And I do not think one case of the kind is enough to make a difficulty.

May I say finally that the noble Marquess who spoke on the other side rather twitted the Liberal Party because of their differing on questions of detail, although they agreed on principles. I think that for a Party to agree in great principles is one of the signs of the solidarity of that Party, though they may and must differ in detail. But when the noble Marquess went on to speak of adherence to principle he laid down one great principle, that of the right of parents in regard to the teaching of their children, and I wondered what he and those who agreed with him, when they introduced the Bill of 1902, thought of the rights and wishes of Nonconformist parents. This Bill is an effort to right what has been a great wrong. There has been since the Act of 1902 a great sense of injustice among the Nonconformists of England, and it must be remembered that the Nonconformists in England constitute very nearly half the population of this great land. By that Act the education of the country was practically handed over to the Church of England. I have heard this Bill described as an attack upon the Church of England. It is no such thing. We do not seek to retaliate, but we seek to adjust equitably a great difficulty, and to restore a balance which was destroyed by the Act to which I have referred. We heard to-night that in 1870 an agreement was come to that there should be no denominational teaching in rate-aided schools. This Bill endeavours to set that right again. I do not deny, and none of us deny, that this Bill may be improved, but I believe it is a splendid effort to settle a very difficult controversy, and to put the education of the rising generation in England on a satisfactory and suitable basis.

Earl WALDEGRAVE: On behalf of the Duke of Devonshire I beg to move that the debate be adjourned.

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned."

On Question, Debate adjourned till to-morrow.

CROWN LANDS BILL.

On the order for going into Committee on the Crown Lands Bill,

Lord CASTLETOWN said: Before going into Committee I would like to ask the Lord Privy Seal a Question, of which I have given private notice, with reference to the purchase of lands and the expenditure of money which may be raised by the various departments. About a year ago a very vigorous attempt was made in Ireland to carry out some scheme of afforestation. Those who were interested in the matter saw the late Chief Secretary and the present Chief Secretary on the subject. We were pressed to try and bring forward a scheme, which we are trying to do at the present time, and we were also asked what funds would be required. We stated that the quit and Crown rents were being redeemed under the sale of land to the tenants, and that this fund would form a good basis under which afforestation could be carried out. We are very anxious to know whether Clause 10, which seems slightly ambiguous, could be construed as being a basis of such a fund. We are anxious, if possible, that this quit and Crown land as it is redeemed should not be swallowed up in the Treasury finances and be diverted entirely from what we consider is the purpose for which it ought to be utilised. They are practically rents which are received from lands which were confiscated a great many years ago, and which at that time were heavily afforested and of great value. We think we can fairly ask that some such scheme should be arranged and that these particular sums might possibly be devoted to this purpose. If possible, we would ask for some assurance that it might be utilised for the purpose of Crown lands or of land which might be turned into Crown land and then re-afforested by State aid, as is done on the Continent very profitably.

The LORD PRIVY SEAL (The Marquess of Ripon): I am afraid I cannot tell my noble friend that these particular sums are likely to be or could be disposed of in the manner proposed, and I say that not at all from any want of interest on the part of the Government in the question of re-afforestation, for nothing can be more important in many districts, but these sums are capital receipts; they are not annual receipts at all. The amounts received in a given year are exceedingly uncertain, and they are of a nature which ought to be disposed of as capital sums. Under these circumstances I fear it would be impossible to make any alteration in the clauses as they stand, But, if my noble friend is looking for the re-afforestation of Crown lands there is nothing to prevent a portion of the income of the Crown revenues being devoted to that purpose. It is proposed in the first clause of this Bill to add the Minister of Agriculture to the Office of Woods for the very purpose of dealing, among other things, with this question of afforestation.

LORD CASTLETOWN: I beg to thank the noble Marquess for his kind answer, which quite satisfies me.

House in Committee (according to order); Bill reported without Amendment: Standing Committee negatived: Then (Standing Order XXXIX. having been suspended) Bill read 3^a and passed.

MARRIAGE WITH FOREIGNERS BILL.

House in Committee (according to Order).

EARL BEAUCHAMP: The first of the Amendments I have to move was asked for by Sir Edward Carson and agreed to by both Parties. The other is merely to extend the scope of the clause in a useful direction.

Amendments moved—

"In Clause 1, page 1, line 7, after the word 'may' to insert the words 'if it is desired for the purpose of complying with the requirement of the law of that country to obtain the certificate hereinafter mentioned."

"In page 2, line 11, after the word 'of' to insert the words 'any notice of an intended marriage or.'"—(*Earl Beauchamp.*)

Amendments agreed to.

Standing Committee negatived. Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended): Amendments reported: Bill read 3^a, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

FATAL ACCIDENTS AND SUDDEN DEATHS INQUIRY (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Order of the Day for Second Reading read.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: This is merely a Bill in two clauses which I think are practically agreed to,

On Question, Bill read 2^a (according to order), and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow.*

STATUTE LAW REVISION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

House in Committee (according to Order).

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: It was promised in the House of Commons that this Bill should be carefully considered, and I have come to the conclusion, in which Lord Robertson, who is the greatest authority, concurs, that the suggested Amendment would be incompatible with the idea of statute law revision. There are certain other Amendments of a formal character, and if the Committee will allow me, I propose to move them *en bloc.*

Amendments made.

Standing Committee negatived. Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended): Amendments reported. Bill read 3^a, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

MUSICAL COPYRIGHT BILL.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

EARL BEAUCHAMP: In moving the Second Reading of this Bill, I may say it has only been able to reach your Lordships' House at this period of the session by agreement between both Parties.

Moved, That the Bill be now read 2^a.

*THE EARL OF PLYMOUTH: I should like to express satisfaction with His Majesty's Government for having taken up this Bill, and I trust that by the suspension of the Standing Order it may pass as quickly to-morrow as certain other Bills have passed to-day.

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) BILL.

Returned from the Commons, with several of the Amendments agreed to; one other agreed to, with an Amendment; one disagreed to on an Amendment made in lieu thereof; and certain others disagreed to, for which they assign a reason: the said Amendments and reason to be printed, and to be considered To-morrow. (No. 199.)

House adjourned at half-past Twelve o'clock a.m., till half-past Three o'clock p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 1st August 1906.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Buckhaven, Methil, and Innerleven Burgh Extension Bill [Lords]; Ordered, That, in the case of the Buckhaven, Methil, and Innerleven Burgh Extension Bill [Lords], Standing Orders 84, 214, 215, and 239 be suspended, and that the Bill be now taken into Consideration.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

Bill, as amended, accordingly considered:—

Ordered, That Standing Orders 223 and 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

Bill accordingly read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

London Squares and Enclosures Bill [Lords]; Ordered, That, in the case of the London Squares and Enclosures Bill [Lords], Standing Orders 84, 214, 215, and 239 be suspended, and that the Bill be now taken into Consideration.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

Bill, as amended, accordingly considered:—

Ordered, That Standing Orders 223 and 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time.—(King's Consent signified.)—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill; Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Rutherglen Burgh Order Confirmation Bill; Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

They have agreed to—Amendments to: Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords]; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [Lords]; Tramways Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]; County of Durham Electric Power Supply Bill [Lords]; Great Northern (Ireland) and Midland Railways Bill [Lords]; Nettlebed and District Commons (Preservation) Bill [Lords]; Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire Electric Power Bill [Lords]; without Amendment.

THE LONDON SQUARES AND ENCLOSURES BILL.

Order for Third Reading read.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. JOHN BURNS, Battersea): Mr. Speaker, May I be allowed to use this, the only public opportunity we have had of thanking the owners of London squares and gardens who have come within the terms of this Bill for their kindly, generous, public-spirited, and neighbourly attitude in connection with this matter. I wish to thank them for the generous manner in which they have agreed to permit their squares and gardens to be used in the way proposed by this Bill.

PETITIONS.

BETTING AND GAMBLING.

Petitions for legislation; from Barry; Chorley; and Middle Claydon; to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Petition from Sale, against; to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL (RELIGIOUS TEACHING).

Petitions against alteration of Law; from Latimer Road, London; and, Llanfabon; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT INSPECTORS (IRELAND).

Return [presented 30th July] to be printed. [No. 297.]

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Copy presented, of Draft Ballot Regulations [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

SHOP HOURS ACT, 1904.

Copy presented, of Order made by the Urban District Council of Portadown, and confirmed by the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, closing shops on certain days within the Urban District of Portadown [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

TREATY SERIES (No. 9, 1906.)

Copy presented, of Convention between the United Kingdom and China, respecting Tibet. Signed at Peking, 27th April, 1906 (to which is annexed the Convention between the United Kingdom and Tibet, signed at Lhasa, 7th September, 1904). Ratifications exchanged at London, 23rd July, 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

METEOROLOGICAL COMMITTEE.

Copy presented of first Report of the Meteorological Committee to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, for the year ending 31st March, 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

SHOP HOURS ACT, 1904.

Copy presented of Order made by the Council of the City of Bath, and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the hours of closing for Barbers' and Hairdressers' Shops within the city [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

TRAMWAY ORDERS.

Copy presented of Report of the Board of Trade of their Proceedings under the Tramways Act, 1870, during the session of 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.

Copy presented of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the parts of Lindsey, in the county of Lincoln, from Winteringham to Barton-upon-Humber and from Whitton to Alkborough, in extension of the North Lindsey Light Railways (North Lindsey Light Railways (Extensions) Order, 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.

Copy presented of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the Urban District Council of Barking Town to take lands for the purpose of widening a road on which a Light Railway, authorised by the Barking Light Railways (Extensions) Order, 1903, will be laid in the Urban District of Barking Town, in the county of Essex (Barking Light Railways (Lands) Order, 1906) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

BOARD OF TRADE (LABOUR DEPARTMENT) (FOREIGN LABOUR STATISTICS).

Copy presented of Third Abstract of Foreign Labour Statistics by the Labour Department of the Board of Trade [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRAMWAYS AND LIGHT RAILWAYS (STREET AND ROAD).

Return presented relative thereto [ordered 5th April; *Mr. Lloyd-George*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 298.]

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

Inquiry into Charities (County of Wilts.) Further Return relative thereto [ordered 9th August, 1901; *Mr. Griffith-Boscawen*]; to be printed. [No. 299.]

Inquiry into Charities (County of Berks). Further Return relative thereto [ordered 28th March, 1905; *Mr Griffith-Boscawen*]; to be printed. [No. 300.]

Inquiry into Charities (Administrative county of Devon). Further Return relative thereto [ordered 26th July, 1905; *Mr. Griffith-Boscawen*]; to be printed. [No. 301.]

INCLOSURES (COUNTY OF KENT).

Return ordered, "showing (1) the number of Inclosures of common land made under the Inclosure Acts from 1845 to 1899 in the county of Kent; (2) list of parishes within which such lands are wholly or partly situate; (3) total acreage of such Inclosures; (4) average acreage of such Inclosures."– (*Mr. Rowlands.*)

EAST INDIA.

Address for "Return for the five years 1898–1892, showing the number of Native States of India having an area of more than 100 square miles each, which were, during the above period, under the administrative control of political agents on account of the infancy or incapacity of their chiefs; and what has been the increase in their number during the five years covered by the Return."—(*Mr. Morton.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Gourock Town Council and the Ratepayers.

MR. TORRANCE (Glasgow, Central): To ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he is aware that in March last the town council of Gourock bought half an acre of ground at a cost of £6,750; that the resolution, under Section 99 of The Town Councils Act, 1900, authorising the purchase, and also the subsequent resolutions of the council approving the action of the committee, are headed in the minutes, sites for burgh purposes; that on March 22nd last an official statement was made by the council that the ground had been bought for the erection of a court hall, burgh offices, and a town hall; and will he say whether, before making the purchase, the town council complied with Sections 306 and 315 of The Burgh Police (Scotland) Act, 1892, and gave the ratepayers an opportunity of voting on the question of the purchase; and whether, seeing that expenditure on ground for a court hall, etc., falls to be borne by the general improvement assessment; that that assessment is in Gourock within ½d. per £ of the statutory maximum and is unable to bear the cost of the purchase; that the town council have paid the cost by borrowing under The Public Parks Act, 1878, the rate under that Act being unlimited; and that Section 44 of The Burgh Police Act, 1903, allows the erection in public parks of temporary buildings only, such as pavilions and shelters, he will say, in view of the statutory provisions in favour of ratepayers contained in Sections 306 and 315 of The Burgh Police Act, 1892, what steps he proposes to take to prevent a permanent stone building, such as a court hall and burgh offices, being erected on ground paid for with money borrowed under the Public Parks Act.

(*Answered by Mr. Sinclair.*) As advised, I understand there is recourse for any ratepayer who considers himself aggrieved provided by the 96th section of the Town Councils (Scotland) Act, 1900, and also at common law by way of interdict. As the matter may, therefore, come before the law courts, I am precluded from expressing an opinion in regard to the legality of the action taken by the town council.

Grievances of Belfast Post Office Clerical Staff.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.); To ask the Postmaster-General if he can say when a reply will be made to the communication sent to him from the clerical staff at Belfast; and if it has been definitely decided to remove the Belfast headquarters to Dublin.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) Before arriving at a final decision in regard to the proposed removal of the superintending engineer from Belfast to Dublin, I am considering the memorial from his clerical staff.

Refusal of Gun Licences for Mr. Edmond Power of Dungarvan.

MR. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Mr. Orr, R.M., Dungarvan, has refused to issue a gun licence to Mr. Edmond Power, who is farmer and manager of a co-operative creamery; whether the refusal is based on the fact that the applicant was convicted some time ago for trespass in pursuit of game; and whether, seeing that the duty of a resident magistrate, under the Peace Preservation Act, is confined to the consideration as to whether the applicant may or may not use the gun for offences which have no concern with the preservation of game, he will direct the attention of the Lord Chancellor to the several cases in which Mr. Orr has refused applications for gun licences on the ground that the applicants, in his view, would be likely to shoot game without having previously obtained a game licence.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I understand that it is the fact that Mr. Orr has declined to grant to Mr. Power a licence to carry firearms. The power of issuing such licences is vested in the resident magistrate of the district. It would be contrary to practice and undesirable to state grounds for refusal in a particular case. Mr. Orr, however, informs me that he has never refused an application upon the ground that the applicant would be likely to shoot game without having previously obtained a game licence. I am not aware of any reason for bringing the matter to the notice of the Lord Chancellor.

Parcels Post Arrangement for Adare and Rathkeale.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY (Limerick, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General if he can say when the regulations were made that parcels sent from Adare and Rathkeale by the afternoon train and reaching Limerick at 3.30 p.m. are to be despatched in a direct parcel mail to Dublin at 3.55 p.m. on Mondays and Wednesdays, and on other days at 11 p.m. on same day.

(*Auswered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The arrangements mentioned in reference to parcels sent from Rathkeale and Adare have, I understand, been in operation for a great number of years.

Case of Timothy Fitzgerald, Rural Postman at Athen, County Limerick.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY: To ask the Postmaster-General if he can say what has been the result of his inquiries into the case of Timothy Fitzgerald, rural postman in the district of Athen, county of Limerick, whose wages were reduced from 11s. per week to 6s. 6d. per week, and 1s. per week for cleaning bicycle, since the date of change from a walking to a cycling route; and whether he will allow him to use a bicycle of his own and fix his wages on a fair basis.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) My inquiries in this matter are not yet quite complete. I will communicate with the hon. Member on the subject at an early date.

Inspector of Sheep-Dipping for County Donegal.

MR. T. L. CORBETT (Down, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the attention of the Department of Agriculture has been called to the appointment, by the Diseases of Animals Committee of the Donegal County Council, of an inspector for the compulsory dipping of sheep in the rural district of Glenties; will he say how many suitable men, with long experience of sheep-dipping, applied for the position; has the person appointed any knowledge of sheep-dipping; what was his former occupation; whether he is aware that his brother is a county councillor and a member of the Diseases of Animals Committee which made the appointment; and will he say what action does the Department intend to take in this matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Department of Agriculture have approved of the temporary appointment by the local authority under the Diseases of Animals Acts for county Donegal of inspectors of sheep-dipping for the various rural districts in the county, Glenties included. In the case of Glenties district the information before the Department does not show that there was more than one candidate for the appointment. The Department have not felt called upon to inquire into the qualifications or connections of any of the persons appointed. They do not propose to interfere with the discretion of the Donegal local authority in regard to appointments of this kind.

Board of Education and Eden Grove School, Holloway.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): To ask the President of the Board of Education whether his attention has been called to the correspondence between the Education Committee of the London County Council and the Rev. T. Carey, of Eden Grove, Holloway; was the permission of the Board of Education sought before the letter, dated July 12th, 1906, was sent by the London County Council; can he explain how the removal of one of the partitions contributes to the efficient working of the school, and, if so, why would not the removal of a like partition in the other room also contribute to its efficient working; and whether, in view of the expense caused by the changes required to be made, he will say who is to indemnify the managers.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I have made inquiries as to the circumstances referred to, and I find that the apparent inconsistency of the local education authority was due to a misunderstanding. Their letter of July 12th was written to the managers in ignorance of the fact that the partition in question had already been erected, and with the object of relieving the managers of expenditure which it was not absolutely necessary for them to incur. I understand that in the circumstances the local education authority will not press for the removal of the partition.

MR. BOLAND: To ask the President of the Board of Education with reference to the correspondence between the London County Council and the Rev. T. Carey, of Eden Grove, Holloway, if he can say how it comes that sixty children on one floor divided into two classes of thirty each, separated by a partition, can be efficiently taught, whereas sixty children on the next floor cannot be effectively taught if they are so divided and accommodated; if the sixty children on one floor in one large undivided room were transferred to the next floor and divided into two classes, and if the other sixty children were transferred so as to take the place of these sixty children, how comes it that the teaching would be still effective; and can he say what steps he proposes to take so that managers of schools may not be subjected to harassing and contradictory requirements.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The somewhat abstruse problems to which the hon. Member asks for replies raise questions of educational administration into which the occasion of Question and Answer in this House does not appear to offer a suitable opportunity to enter. I think the essential purpose of the Question is met by the Answer I have given to the hon. Member's previous Question.

Provision for Survivors of the Balaclava Charge.

MR. DOBSON (Plymouth): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that appeals are being continually made in the Press for charitable assistance on behalf of twenty-nine needy survivors of the Balaclava light brigade charge; and whether he will consider the advisability of making sufficient provision from public funds for their maintenance in order that they may no longer be dependent upon any form of public charity.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) Provision is already made for the award from Army funds of special campaign pensions up to 1s. a day to all necessitous survivors of the Balaclava Charge. In addition, grants are made from a fund administered by the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation. Application should be made to the Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital in the case of any necessitous survivor who is not in receipt of any Army pension.

Cleansing of the Royal Canal.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Royal Canal requires to be cleansed, and that boat owners using the canal complain of its condition; and whether he will arrange with the responsible parties that the canal shall be cleansed at once.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I am informed by the Board of Works that the ordinary maintenance of this canal, including cleansing, is being carried on. The Board are prepared to consider and inquire into any specific complaints which may be made to them by boat owners.

Erection of Glass Houses in Phœnix Park, Dublin—Scottish Contractors.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state under what circumstances contracts for the erection of glass houses in the Phœnix Park, Dublin, were given to a Scottish firm; and whether Irish firms were invited to tender for the erection of these houses.

(*Answered by Mr. M'Kenna.*) The Board of Works have informed me that these houses were urgently required and that the work is of a special character, both as regards the design, the details of construction, and the arrangements for ventilation. In these circumstances the Board gave the contract, after being satisfied that the terms were reasonable, to a firm of well-known specialists in this kind of work, who had executed contracts in the past to the Board's entire satisfaction. There are considerable building works in connection with the erection of the glass houses, and these, I understand, have been carried out either by Dublin contractors after tender or by the Board's workmen.

Reinstatement of James and Geoffrey Ring of Lacka, County Cork.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): To ask the Chief Secretray to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in reference to the Hungerford and Clorahn estate, Lacka, County Cork; whether the Estates Commissioners will state why they cannot take any action in respect to the application of James and Geoffrey Ring, evicted tenants, for reinstatement in their holdings.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Estates Commissioners inform me that after careful inquiry and consideration of the cases of James and Geoffrey Ring, they came to the conclusion that these applicants were unsuitable for restoration as tenant purchasers, and accordingly decided not to take any steps towards their restoration.

Education of Blind Children in Ireland.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will consider the advisability of introducing a measure to afford the same facilities with regard to the education of the blind children in Ireland as exists in Great Britain.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) It appears to have escaped the hon. Member's notice that I have already introduced a measure upon this subject. I refer to the Irish Education (Afflicted Children) Bill, which has been read a second time. The Committee stage stands on the Paper for 23rd October.

Disappearance of Game from Ireland.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH (Fermanagh, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been directed to the injury likely to result to Ireland by the disappearance of game from a great part of the country; and whether, with a view to preventing the destruction of this national asset, he will consider the advisability of taking steps to ensure more careful attention to game licences, and game dealers' licences, and of compelling game dealers to obey the laws as to recording in their books the names of persons from whom they buy game.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The enforcement of the game laws is not a matter which falls within the province of the Irish Government. The police are directly prohibited by statute from enforcing the laws relating to the preservation of game. The matter of game licences concerns the Inland Revenue, and any question on the subject should be addressed to my hon. friend the Secretary to the Treasury, who answers for that Department.

Punishment of the Ghaffirs of Denshawi.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs why the Ghaffirs of Denshawi who protected the wounded British officers and took care of them until relief came have been punished.

(*Answered by Secretary Sir Edward Grey.*) I have no further information than that contained in the Papers already laid before Parliament.

The Denshawi Affair and the Ombashi of Egyptian Police.

MR. DILLON: To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Ombashi of Egyptian police, who accompanied the English officers on the day of the affray at Denshawi, gave evidence at the trial of the villagers of Denshawi; and, if so, by whom he was called on to give evidence; whether he has since been put on trial himself; and, if so, what are the charges against him; and before what tribunal is he to be tried.

(*Answered by Secretary Sir Edward Grey.*) The Ombashi was called upon by the prosecution to give evidence before the court. I am not aware that he has himself since been placed on trial.

The Anhui Mining Contract.

SIR EDWARD SASSOON (Hythe): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether in view of his statement that the Wai-wu-Pu are endeavouring to overcome the hostility of the local gentry in connection with the Anhui mining contract, he would consider the expediency of affording effectual assistance to the Central Government to enable them to carry out the concessions and obligations into which they have entered in the past; and, if not, by what other method does he expect to secure the legal rights of British subjects in China.

(*Answered by Secretary Sir Edward Grey.*) The Answer to the first Question is in the negative. I have nothing to add to the statement already made in regard to this concession to the effect that the efforts of His Majesty's Legation have been and are being directed to obtaining, by means of representations to the Central Government, permission for the promoters of the scheme to commence operations.

Compensation for Injuries by Railway Accident to Mr. Winskil—Letter Sorter.

MR. STEADMAN (Finsbury, Central): To ask the Postmaster-General if the Post Office paid any part of the £700 recently awarded by the Caledonian Railway Company to Mr. Winskil as compensation for injuries received in a railway accident while engaged as a travelling letter sorter; and, if so, how much.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The Answer is in the negative.

Postal Arrangements at Tollcross.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON (Lanarkshire, N.W.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he has received representations with regard to the inconvenience of the postal arrangements in parts of Tollcross; and whether he will endeavour to give such increased facilities that it may be possible to reply to English letters on the day of receipt.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) I have the question of the improvement of the postal arrangements at Tollcross now under consideration, and I will communicate further with the hon. Member when the inquiries are completed.

Publication of Report of Royal Commission on Tuberculosis.

MR. FIELD: To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he can state when the Report of the Royal Commission on Tuberculosis will be issued; and whether it is intended to make a definite statement regarding the communicability of bovine tuberculosis to man.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) The Royal Commission hoped that the Report which they propose to issue would have been published before the adjournment, but they now find that it will not be practicable to issue it before October. They think it necessary to include in the Appendix a larger amount of experimental detail than they anticipated, and to confirm certain important facts by additional experiments, which are still under observation. I understand that a definite statement on the communicability of bovine tuberculosis to man will be made in the Report.

Alcoholic Beverage to inmates of Lunatic Asylum.

MR. WILES (Islington, S.): To ask the President of the Local Government Board if he is aware that the Report of the joint Committee of the Three Counties Asylum, near Arlesey, shows that 32,800 gallons of beer were brewed in the institution last year for the use of the inmates and staff at a cost of £933; and whether, seeing that the experience of the London County Council Asylums Committee has proved the percentage of recoveries to be greater where no beer is given, he will consider the advisability of recommending the joint Committee to abandon the practice of giving alcoholic beverages to lunatics, except under direct medical orders.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) I beg to answer this Question on behalf of my right hon. friend. I am informed by the Lunacy Commissioners that the beer used at the Three Counties Asylum is given to the patients generally on Sundays only, when each patient has half a pint at dinner. On week days patients are encouraged to work by an allowance of beer to those who work. As, however, the use of beer has been discontinued in most asylums, I will make further inquiry into the matter.

London County Council Parliamentary Expenses.

MR. THORNTON (Clapham): To ask the President of the Local Government Board if he will grant a Return showing the expenses incurred by the London County Council in promoting and opposing Bills in Parliament during the last six years, stating in each case the title of the Bill and whether or not it became law.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) I would draw the hon. Member's attention to a Return made to an Order of the House of Lords in 1903 (No. 214), which gives particulars of the expenses incurred by the London County Council in promoting and opposing Bills in Parliament in each session up to and including that for the year 1902. This return will perhaps be sufficient for his purpose.

Holding of Fairs at Ballina.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH: To ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether any steps have been taken with reference to granting a new patent for the holding of fairs to the Ballina Urban District Council.

(*Answered by Mr. Cherry.*) The Urban District Council of Ballina, county Mayo, recently expressed a desire to obtain a patent to hold monthly fairs at Ballina. The Lord-Lieutenant caused them to be informed that this could be effected only on an application by the owners of the existing patent of which the district council are lessees, the council as lessees to join in the application. No such application has since been received.

The Kent Hop Industry and Foreign Competition.

MR. H. H. MARKS (Kent, Thanet): To ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether the Board has received representations from the Canterbury Farmers' Club and East Kent Chamber of Agriculture with reference to the position of the hop industry in East Kent; and whether it is proposed to take any steps in the matter.

(*Answered by Sir Edward Strachey.*) We have received a resolution from the body named calling attention to the serious position of the hop industry owing to the unfair competition from foreign countries, but they do not make any suggestions as to action which might be taken by the Government. If, however they refer to the proposal that foreign hops should be marked or that an import duty should be imposed, the Government cannot take action in either direction.

Commander of Portsmouth Naval Barracks and the Canteen Committee.

MR. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he can give an authoritative denial to the report that the newly appointed commander of Portsmouth naval barracks had intimated to the canteen committee his intention to override their considered and unanimous decision in regard to a matter intimately connected with the canteen funds; and whether this officer merely intimated to the canteen committee that he reserved to himself the right to submit a report to his superior officer on a decision of the Committee which appeared to him against the financial interests of the canteen.

(*Answered by Mr. Edmund Robertson.*) There is no foundation whatever for the report that any attempt has been made to override the decision of the Portsmouth Canteen Committee in any respect.

Clerks to Surveyors of Taxes.

MR. SLOAN: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, in view of the fact that the Board of Inland Revenue have frequently urged the establishment of the clerks to surveyors of taxes, and that the Treasury officials refuse all such schemes submitted to them, he will state his reasons for refusing to order an independent inquiry into the case of these clerks, especially in view of the fact that the surveyors recently petitioned the Board of Inland Revenue praying for their clerks establishment in the interests of the Revenue and the public.

(*Answered by Mr. M'Kenna.*) I have already stated, in answer to a Question on the 26th ultimo of the hon. Member for South Down, the reasons for this refusal. They are "that all the facts are fully known, that they have been carefully examined and considered both by the Treasury and by the Board on more than one occasion in recent years, and that there is no reason to suppose that further inquiry would affect the judgment of the Treasury or of the Board of Inland Revenue."

MR. SLOAN: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, in view of the fact that the Board of Inland Revenue consulted the chief inspector and his assistants, on the surveyor's memorial last year, praying for the establishment of clerks to surveyors of taxes, he will state how many inspectors are employed by such Board; whether he is aware that the majority of the inspectors strongly urge the establishment of these clerks; whether he will state how many of such inspectors are in favour of such establishment; and whether the Board of Inland Revenue acted upon the advice of such inspectors in refusing the surveyor's prayer; and, if not, will he explain upon what grounds the Board based their refusal, seeing that not one of the members of such Board ever worked in a surveyor's office.

(*Answered by Mr. M'Kenna.*) There are altogether six superintending inspectors and sixteen inspectors. I am not prepared to enter into any question as to the individual opinions of the several inspectors. The surveyors were informed of the grounds of refusal in a Minute of the Board of Inland Revenue, dated July 28th, 1905. As I stated in reply to an unstarred Question of the hon. Member for South Down on June 21st last, the present system is preferred, not only as being more economical, but also as more convenient for adaptation of the staff to the requirements of the localities.

Return of Intercepted Public Revenue.

MR. BOWLES: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he will grant, as an unopposed Return, a statement of the Intercepted Public Revenue for the years 1904–5, 1905–6, 1906–7, in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 223, of 1905; whether he will grant in the same way a continuation of Return No. 243, of 1905 (Gross Departmental Expenditure), for the years 1895–6, 1905-6, and 1906–7; and, if not, upon what grounds it is considered necessary now for the first time to withhold this information from the House.

(*Answered by Mr. M'Kenna.*) A Return of Public Revenue (Interception) will be given for the three years in question, if the hon. Member will move for it. The Return of Gross Departmental Expenditure has only once been furnished, namely, in 1905, when it was allowed experimentally. It is merely a recasting of the figures of expenditure, as ordinarily published, under a different classification. Such variations tend to confusion, and are to be deprecated unless they serve some really useful purpose. I do not think there is such justification in this instance, and I regret, therefore, that I do not see my way to incur the trouble and expense which its publication would entail.

Extension of the Avon and Stour Conservancies.

MR. W. D. WARD (Southampton): To ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, whether a Report has been received from the Board's inspector, who held an inquiry as to the extension of the Avon and Stour Conservancy to other Hampshire rivers; and whether such Report will be laid upon the Table.

(*Answered by Sir Edward Strachey.*) The Report to which my hon. friend refers has been received, but it is made solely for the guidance and information of the Board, and it would be contrary to practice for it to be laid on the Table.

Evicted Ryots in the Bombay Presidency.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Secretary of State for India if he will state how many ryots have been evicted in the Bombay Presidency in default of payment of land revenue in each of the last five years; and what sum has been realised in each year through the sale of land previously in the occupation of evicted ryots.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Morley.*) According to the annual land revenue reports of the Bombay Presidency the number of cases in which the occupancy right was forfeited to Government on account of arrears of land revenue, and the amount realised by sale of forfeited land to the public, were as follow in the last five years for which figures have been received:—

	Number of cases of forfeiture.	Amount realised by sale of forfeited land to the public.
		Rupees.
1899–1900	2,173	4,057 (£270)
1900–1901	6,386	4,425 (£295)
1901–1902 . . .	9,462	1,221 (£81)
1902–1903	4,210	1,746 (£116)
1903–1904	15,575	10,031 (£668)

In many cases the forfeited land is eventually returned to the ryot. Only a small portion of the forfeited land in any year is sold to the public.

Contract for Conveyance of Military Stores from Dublin to Kilbride—Fair Wages Clause.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether the Fair Wages Resolution clause has been inserted in the contract for the conveyance of military stores from Dublin to Kilbride; and if he is aware that the wages paid to the carters on this work is 2s. a week less than the wages paid by the contractor having the contract for conveyance of other military stores.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) The contract contains the current rate clause. Some of the carters receive more and some less than the carters employed by the other contractor referred to, but no evidence has been produced to show that the minimum wages paid by the contractor are less than the wages usually paid in the district to carters of the same skill and experience.

Lodging Allowance to Sergeants and Buglers on Permanent Staff of Militia.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will favourably consider the granting of the same fuel, light, and lodging allowance to sergeants and buglers serving on the permanent staff Militia on Militia engagement as is granted to the same ranks on Army engagement.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) This proposal has been considered on previous occasions and has been rejected. I am not aware of any reasons for departing from the decisions of my predecessors.

The War Office and Case of Mr. Bremner.

MR. CLAVELL SALTER (Hants, Basingstoke): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether the promised inquiries into Bremner's case have been made; and, if so, what course it is proposed to take in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) This Question is still under consideration.

Poor Law Commission—Irish Medical Representative.

MR. O'SHEE: To ask the Prime Minister, what are the reasons why he declines to recommend the appointment of an Irish medical man on the Royal Commission on the Poor Law to fill the vacancy created by the death of The O'Conor Don; and whether, as the Irish medical profession is vitally concerned in the investigations of the Royal Commission so far as regards Ireland, he will reconsider the matter.

(*Answered by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.*) I do not see my way to reconsider this matter in the sense desired by the hon. Member. The selection of members of Royal Commissions is governed by general considerations, and in any fresh appointment that may be made to the Royal Commission on the Poor Law the hon. Member may be sure that regard will be had to the Commissioner's qualifications for dealing with the Poor Law as it is administered in Ireland. It does not follow that, because Irish Poor Law medical officers are interested in the inquiry, the appointment of an Irish medical gentleman would necessarily be the most fitting to make.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

The "Renown."

MR. NIELD (Middlesex, Ealing): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the "Renown" is included in the number of first-class battleships appearing in the recently issued Return of Fleets; and whether the work of reconverting the vessel into a battleship has been commenced, and when it may be expected to be completed.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON Dundee): The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative. The work of restoring the "Renown" to her original condition has not yet been commenced, but it could, if necessary, be carried out in a very short space of time.

The Disbanded Scots Guards.

MR. AINSWORTH (Argyllshire): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will consider the advisability of allowing the non-commissioned officers and men in the 3rd Battalion of Scots Guards, and in other battalions to be disbanded the opportunity of re-engaging for extended terms of service, so as to enable them to qualify for subsequent employment with the auxiliary forces.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. HALDANE, Haddington): These non-commissioned officers and men will be granted the opportunity of re-engaging mentioned in the Question.

Zulu Rebellion.

MR. BYLES (Salford, N.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Zulu rebellion is now at an end, and whether the Militia and irregular troops will be immediately recalled; what will be done with the 3,000 prisoners; and what steps will be taken to remove the conditions which produced disaffection among the hitherto loyal native population of the Colony.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. CHURCHILL, Manchester, N.W.): The Governor does not anticipate further operations, and states that all districts are reported quiet. The Natal Government has given orders for the demobilisation of the active Militia, retaining about 600 men for further services, if required. The Secretary of State is not officially informed as to what will be done with the prisoners. The Natal Government proposes to appoint a Commission to investigate the question of native administration.

MR. BYLES: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to a speech made at a public banquet in Pretoria, by Brigadier-General Jeffreys, in which he defended the military policy of giving no quarter and accepting no surrender in the recent operations against the Zulus; will he say whether General Jeffreys holds his commission from His Majesty; and whether the Colonial Secretary will take any notice of the speech.

MR. CHURCHILL: From a newspaper report which I have seen it appears to be stated that Brigadier-General Jeffreys, who is an officer upon the staff in South Africa, said in the course of a speech largely devoted to historical references to bygone methods of warfare, that in the course of a "drive" through impenetrable bush it was impossible to accept surrenders. I do not know whether the report is correct; but even if it were, it does not seem to me to afford any grounds for the supposition that a British officer would defend the killing of unresisting men. I hope my hon. friend will endeavour to extend to the speeches of soldiers the benefits of that most favourable construction to which speeches in this House are in constitutional practice entitled, and of which they may sometimes stand in need. The Secretary of State does not consider that the matter calls for his interference.

MR. BYLES: I am not quite sure whether I understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that a "drive through impenetrable bush" was an historic reference; if that is so, I am only too glad to accept the Answer, but I take it to mean——

* MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member is not now asking a Question.

Repatriation of Coolies.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH (Fermanagh, N.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is yet in a position to state whether the republication of the Repatriation Ordinance has been any more successful than the original publication in inducing the Chinese coolies in the Transvaal to realise that they wish to be sent back to China; what was the date of the republication; and has the Government no information, by telegram or otherwise, as to the number of coolies who have since required to be repatriated.

MR. CHURCHILL: The new notice was posted in the compounds on July 18th. No information has yet been received as to the number of applications made.

Mining Operations in the Reserved Area of the Transvaal.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD (Leicester): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Bewaarplaatzen is still in the possession of the Transvaal State to the same extent as before the war; and whether any mining operations are now being carried on under these reserved areas.

MR. CHURCHILL: The Governor has not yet replied to an inquiry on the subject addressed to him. His attention is again being called to the matter.

Remission of Stamp Duties on Letters Patent.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, having regard to the fact that a sum of £150 12s. is placed on the Civil Service Supplementary Estimates, under Class VII., for repayment to the Civil Contingencies Fund, in respect of stamp duties payable on Letters Patent, creating Sir Thomas Sanderson, G.C.B, K.C.M.G., I.S.O., a baron of the United Kingdom, will he explain why the recipient of this honour is not required to pay the stamp duties.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. MCKENNA, Monmouthshire, N.): The long and distinguished career in the public service of the recipient of the honour was held, following precedent, to justify the remission of the charges.

MR. WEIR: Might I ask the hon. Gentleman whether those charges are remitted on account of long service, and whether Members of this House after serving here for many years will be entitled to anything?

Civil Service Estimates.

SIR ROBERT HOBART: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he can hold out hopes of substantial reductions and economies being carried out in the administration of the Civil Services Estimates for 1906–7, on somewhat similar lines to those effected on the Army and Navy Estimates.

MR. MCKENNA: The Civil expenditure of the State applies to a large number of services which are independent of one another and governed by entirely different considerations. It is not possible therefore by any general determination of policy to affect the Civil expenditure as the Naval or Military expenditure may be affected. It is, however, the hope and intention of His Majesty's Government to secure that the Civil Services shall be conducted with the strictest regard to economy.

King's Park, Stirling.

MR. MORTON (Sutherland): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether the town council of Stirling had the option of acquiring the ground adjoining the King's Park and King's Knot, part of the King's Park; if so, at what price; whether the said ground has been sold to private parties; and, if so, will he say why this has been done.

MR. YOUNGER (Ayr Burghs): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he is aware that Crown land contiguous to the King's Park at Stirling is being feued for building purposes; whether applications for feus on this land have hitherto been refused on the ground that buildings placed upon the site would destroy one of the finest views in Scotland; and whether, having regard to the interests of the town, and the public dissatisfaction caused by the present action, he will reconsider any decision that may have been taken.

MR. McKENNA: Perhaps I may be allowed to answer the Question addressed to me by the hon. Member for Ayr Burghs at the same time. I am informed that the land referred to is an arable field containing about four acres to which the public have never had the privilege of access. The Commissioner of Woods is not aware that previous applications for feus have been refused for the reason stated. I understand, moreover, that adjoining land on the same side of the Dumbarton Road belonging to the town council of Stirling has been built over. It has been arranged that the field shall be feued for the erection only of private residences of a style and character to be approved by the Commissioner, and the buildings are to be kept on the lower part of the field next the public road, where they will not be visible from the park or interfere with the amenities of it. The town council were given the first opportunity of acquiring the land, but did not desire to avail themselves of it, nor, when the proposals for feuing were submitted to them as a matter of courtesy, did they intimate any objection to the land being feued to others provided the restrictions mentioned were enforced. In these circumstances I see no sufficient reason for interfering with the decision which has been arrived at.

Insurance under the Workmen's Compensation Act.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the statement on page 57 of the Annual Report on Factories and Workshops that cases continue in which charges are made for insurance under the Workmen's Compensation Act and the amount deducted more than covers the premium; and whether the promise made by his predecessor on August 4th, 1903, is to be redeemed.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. GLADSTONE, Leeds, W.): I am aware of the statement to which my right hon. friend alludes. In accordance with the promise given in August, 1903, the question of these deductions was brought by the Home Office before the Departmental Committee on Workmen's Compensation who reported that "if the practice were shown to be other than very exceptional it might be a question worthy of consideration whether the provisions of the Truck Acts should not be extended to check the evil." I agree with the Committee in the view that the matter is one to be dealt with rather by an Amendment of the Truck Acts than of the Workmen's Compensation Act, and I am informed that the Truck Committee now sitting has it in mind and has already heard evidence with regard to it.

Additional Factory Inspectors.

MR. BYLES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he has received communications from workmen's organisations asking for an increase in the factory laws inspectorate, by the appointment of more working-class inspectors; and whether he can see his way to accede to this demand.

*MR. GLADSTONE: This Question was pressed on my notice by the deputation from the Trades Union Congress in February last. I shall have an opportunity of dealing with it in the Estimates this afternoon.

The Inter-Parliamentary Conference.

MR. MEYSEY-THOMPSON (Staffordshire, Handsworth): I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works if he will give the details composing the sum of £5,000 to be granted towards the expenses of receiving the Inter-Parliamentary Conference.

*THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. HARCOURT, Lancashire, Rossendale): I have not yet received the information in the form of vouchers and accounts, and therefore am unable to give particulars. They will be presented, however, in due course to Parliament and the balance-sheet will show how the money has generally been expended in fitting up the Royal Gallery for the conference, for the luncheon in Westminster Hall, the banquet at the Crystal Palace, for the striking of a medal, locomotion, postage, and stationery, and other matters. The expenses for the luncheon falling on the the public charge will only be the sum for our foreign guests, the cost of their own entertainment being paid by the British delegates. The total amount required will not be so much as has been voted by Parliament owing to the admirable management of the English committee here.

Dining Arrangements in the House of Commons.

MR. SUMMERBELL (Sunderland): I beg to ask the hon. Member for Mid-Derby, as Chairman of the Kitchen Committee of the House of Commons, in view of the late sittings of the House during the past few weeks, whether he will state how many staffs of waiters there are for the dining rooms, the number of hours they work, their starting time, and rate of pay; and whether any, and, if so, how many receive any payment when Parliament is not sitting.

MR. JACOBY (Derbyshire, Mid.): A similar Question was asked last Monday. I would refer the hon. Member to my written reply.†

Educational Grants.

MR. MEYSEY-THOMPSON: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education if he will give the items and particulars forming the sum of £200,000 to be allotted to certain local education authorities; and when these grants will be paid.

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Mr. BIRRELL, Bristol, N.): The sum named is an estimate of the maximum sum likely to be needed to carry out the Regulations recently issued for the Special Grant which is payable this year, and this year only. I can give no accurate list of individual authorities or amounts until the audited Financial Statements of the Local Education Authority concerned have reached theBoard of Education and been investigated there. The grants will, as a rule, be paid before the close of this year.

Foreign Trawling in the Moray Firth.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland, in view of the decision of the High Court at Edinburgh confirming the decision of Sheriff Guthrie in regard to foreign trawling in the Moray Firth, will he state whether the commanders of Scottish Fishery Board cruisers have been instructed as to the action to be taken in respect of foreign trawlers found fishing in the Firth; and, if not, will he state when instructions will be issued.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLALD (Mr. SINCLAIR, Forfarshire): I am not yet in a position to add to the reply which I gave to the hon. Member for Argyllshire on July 25th.†

MR. WEIR: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether I am to understand that the cruisers have captured one of these foreign trawlers not within the three-mile limit but in any part of the Moray Firth?

MR. SINCLAIR: No, the hon. Member is not to understand anything further than what I stated in my answer.

*MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD: Arising out of that Answer might I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he can tell us what the Government are inquiring into?

MR. SINCLAIR: That was not the Question put to me. The Question put to me was whether the Commanders of the Scottish Fishery Board had been instructed as to the action to be taken in respect of foreign trawlers found fishing in the Firth, and, if not, when instructions will be issued. That matter is now receiving the attention of the Government.

MR. MORTON: May the Members of this House go round with the cruisers to see how they are doing their duty.

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† See Col. 433.

† See (4), *Debates*, clxi., 1197.

Sutherland Main Roads.

MR. MORTON: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he will take means to get a grant of money for the improvement of the main roads in the county of Sutherland.

MR. SINCLAIR: The Answer is in the negative. I can add nothing now to previous answers to my hon. friend.

Small Holdings in Scotland.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON (Lanarkshire, N.W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of Scotland what is the number and total acreage of agricultural holdings in Scotland below £50 annual value.

MR. SINCLAIR: So far as I am aware, there are no precise figures available. In 1890–91, the latest year for which figures are available, the number of persons assessed for Poor Rate in respect of the occupation of farms and paying rental not exceeding £50 as per Valuation Roll, was 46,828. Table VI. of the Annual Returns of acreage in the Agricultural Statistics, 1905, gives the total number of Agricultural Holdings in Scotland above one acre and not exceeding fifty acres as 53,358.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON: I suppose we shall have accurate information before we deal with the Bill in the Autumn?

MR. SINCLAIR: I hope so, Sir, but accurate information is exceedingly difficult to obtain.

Cost of Land Commission in Scotland.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland what is the estimated cost of the new Scottish Land Commission, including the sums now devoted to the Crofters Commission and the Congested Districts Board.

MR. SINCLAIR: I must ask the hon. Member to await the issue of the Bill.

Beggars in Dunblane.

MR. MORTON: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether he proposes to take any action to enable the police in the town of Dunblane to deal with loiterers and beggars; whether Section 420 of the Act of 1892, as to retailers of coals, is in force in that town; and, if so, will he explain why offences of that nature are not reported to the borough prosecutor.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. THOMAS SHAW, Hawick Burghs): Dunblane is not excepted from the operation of the Burgh Police Act, 1892. If, under that Act, or in any other manner, there is a failure of duty upon the part of the police, or in the reporting of the offences, the proper course is for any persons or authorities aggrieved to report the matter to the sheriff of the county. In view, however, of the inquiries by my hon. friend, such as the present and that on the Paper for to-morrow, I have adopted the course of sending the whole correspondence and documents to the Crown Agent in Edinburgh for report.

Increased Value of Irish Land.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that the Congested Districts Board paid eighteen years' purchase of first-term rents for lands bought in 1906, compared with fifteen years' purchase in 1902, and twenty-one and a quarter years' purchase of second-term rents in 1906, compared with eighteen and three-quarter years' purchase in 1902, they can now explain what circumstances have arisen to justify the increase of three years' purchase and of two and a-half years' respectively.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. BRYCE, Aberdeen, S.): The Congested Districts Board purchased land in 1906, as in other years since the passing of the Irish Land Act of 1903, at the lowest price at which they could obtain it. The price of land has risen since 1903.

MR. FLYNN: Arising out of that, can the right hon. Gentleman say whether there is any increase in the agricultural value of the land to justify paying this enhanced price?

MR. BRYCE: The causes which affect the price of land are very numerous, and this increase I suggest is largely due to causes other than that suggested by the hon. Member.

Mr. O'Callaghan and the Newman Estate.

MR. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have yet arrived at any decision in regard to the case of Mr. Timothy C. O'Callaghan, Dromore, Mallow, who was excluded from the purchase arrangement on the Newman estate, though willing to purchase his holding on the same terms as the other tenants, and who has since been evicted from his holding; are the Commissioners aware that the landlord procured the exclusion of this tenant from the general scheme by a false representation, to the effect that he was entitled to the resumption of C. O'Callaghan's holding, on the ground of its being demesne land; and whether the Commissioners will take steps to procure his reinstatement.

MR. BRYCE: The Estates Commissioners inform me that they have not yet arrived at a decision in this case. The matter is still under consideration.

The Irish Butter Trade and the Agricultural Organisation Society.

MR. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the meeting of the council of the Irish Butter Trade Association at which the relationship of the Irish Department of Agriculture with the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society was discussed; will he say if the Department subsidised the society to the extent of £5,700 within the past two years; and whether, in view of the complaints of this trade society against the subsidising of an organisation which is in direct competition with private traders in the Irish butter trade, more especially in regard to the creameries industry, the Department will decline to subsidise the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society in future by withholding further financial assistance.

MR. BRYCE: I have seen a newspaper report of the recent proceedings of the council of the Irish Butter Trade Association. The purposes of organisation for which grants in aid of a sum of £2,000 for the year ended February 28th last, and of a sum not exceeding £3,700 for the year ending 28th February next, were made by the Department of Agriculture, with the concurrence of the Agricultural Board, have already been explained in my answers to the questions of the hon. Member for East Mayo on May 21st and 29th.† The question of the continuance of the existing provisional arrangement for any period subsequent to the twelve months ending February 28th next, was discussed at the meeting of the Council of Agriculture in May last, and was postponed for further consideration to their next meeting, which will be held in the autumn of the present year. The result of the further deliberations of the Council will be a guide to the Agricultural Board and the Department as regards future action in the matter.

MR. FLYNN: I ask the right hon. Gentleman is he himself aware that this Irish Agricultural Organisation Society is in direct competition with private traders in the Irish butter trade.

MR. BRYCE: I think if the hon. Member will refer to what I said to the hon. Member for East Mayo on May 21st and 29th he will find that I have answered that.

Cattle-Maiming in South Derry.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the police have been able to trace the perpetrators of the cattle-maiming outrage on Mr. Bailey, in South Derry.

MR. BRYCE: I am informed that the police have made every effort to discover the offender or offenders in this case, but up to the present have not succeeded in doing so. They are still pursuing their investigations.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman is he not aware that this is the third attack to which this gentleman has been subjected: that during the general election he was violently assaulted himself and that now his cattle are maimed; and whether the right hon. Gentleman does not think that is rather a high price to pay for his voting Liberal.

MR. BRYCE: I have no power in the matter. I can only say that every possible effort will be made to trace the perpetrators of this outrage, but hon. Members must remember that these outrages were committed at night and it is extremely difficult to trace a thing of that sort.

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† See (4) *Debates* clvii., 902; clviii., 257.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Could not the right hon. Gentleman supply North Derry with the same government which is supplied to South Tipperary in cases of the same kind?

MR. MACVEAGH: Would the right hon. Gentleman say whether the Member for the Division has denounced these cruel outrages, and, if not, whether he may be deemed to be in favour of them.

MR. BRYCE: That Question could hardly be answered by me.

The Board of Works and the Burtonport Railway.

MR. MCVEIGH (Donegal, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the inefficient working of and delay to the travelling public on the Burtonport Railway on the 19th and 21st instant; whether he is aware that whatever improvement has taken place in the working of the line is due to the Lough Swilly Company procuring at its own expense new engines to replace those supplied by the Board of Works; and whether, seeing that all the public bodies in the districts through which the line runs have passed Resolutions asking for something to be done, he will take steps to have an inquiry made by the Board of Trade as to the defects and safety of the line, and the inefficiency of its rolling stock.

MR. BRYCE: I am informed that the delay on the 19th ultimo to the traffic on the Burtonport line arose through an accident to an engine on the Lough Swilly Company's own line near Londonderry, the effect of which was felt throughout the Burtonport system. The delays on the 21st ultimo were due partly to causes which arose on the Lough Swilly Company's own line and partly to the failure of the injectors of one of that company's engines at Owenarrow viaduct on the Burtonport line The reply to the second part of the Question is in the negative. The engines referred to are not, it is understood, now working on the Burtonport line, the traffic on which is being worked by the original engines. I see no sufficient reason in the circumstances which I have described for altering the view which I expressed in answer to the hon. Member's Question of June 25th last.†

National Education Commissioners and School Managers of Munster.

MR. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state what action the Commissioners of National Education propose to take in view of the action of school managers in Munster and elsewhere in declining to appoint assistant mistresses in boys' schools; and whether, in view of the generally expressed opinions of the managers, the rule will be altered so as to enable the managers to appoint junior assistant masters in such schools.

MR. BRYCE: The Commissioners of National Education inform me that they have received a resolution urging the appointment of junior assistant masters instead of assistant mistresses in boys' schools under masters, but for the reasons which have already been fully stated the Commissioners do not propose to take any action on the Resolution. The Commissioners state that they continue to receive from clerical managers in all parts of Ireland, including Munster, applications for the appointment of junior assistant mistresses in boys' schools.

The Case of Patrick McGloin.

MR. DOLAN (Leitrim, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that in the case of the holding of Patrick McGloin (Gilbert), of Aghanlish, Largydonnell, county Leitrim, the Estates Commissioners have now appealed from the decision of the county court judge fixing the tenant's second-term fair rent at £5; that that appeal is solely on the question of the jurisdiction of the county court judge to fix the rent; that no appeal on the question of value has been taken; that that appeal is to the Land Commision, who are thus appellants and judges in the same case; and whether, seeing that the only effect of that appeal, if successful, would be to compel the tenant to buy at thirty-eight and a half years purchase of the rent fixed by the county court judge, and in view of the comments of the county court judge on the action of the Land Commission towards this tenant, and of the expense incurred by the tenant in defending proceedings brought against him by the Estates Commissioners, he will say what steps he intends to take to protect the tenant from having to purchase on the said terms.

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† See (4) Debate clix., 591.

MR. BRYCE: I am informed that the Estates Commissioners have appealed from the decision of the county court judge upon the question of his jurisdiction to fix a fair rent in the case. having regard to the fact that the Commissioners had already issued an order under Section 19 of the Act, declaring McGloin to be the purchaser of the holding. Until this question of law has been decided, the Commissioners are unable to say how they may eventually deal with the case, and in the meantime they do not think it desirable to enter into the facts alleged in the Question.

The Department of Agriculture and Experimental Farms.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the Veterinary Branch of the Department of Agriculture in Ireland has a laboratory and an experimental farm, as has the similar branch of the English Department of Agriculture, for the purposes of identifying disease and of research work, and, if not, if he will consider the desirability of furnishing the Irish Department with similar facilities as the English in this respect; if the Treasury has received a memorial from the staff of the Irish Veterinary Department asking to be placed on an equal footing regarding pay with their English confrères; and what was the reply to this request.

MR. BRYCE: The Answer to the first part of this Question is in the negative. The provision of a laboratory for the diagnosis of disease is engaging attention. There is no present intention of establishing an experimental farm in connection with the Department's Veterinary Branch. A memorial in the sense mentioned has been addressed to the Vice-President of the Department by a number of Veterinary Inspectors employed in the Veterinary Branch. The Treasury have not as yet been communicated with in the matter, which is under the consideration of the Department.

Castleblakeney Estate (Ballinasloe).

MR. MACVEAGH: On behalf of my hon. friend the Member for Galway, I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state if the grass lands of the Castleblakeney Estate, near Ballinasloe, will be divided amongst the tenantry before next November.

MR. BRYCE: The Estates Commissioners inform me that they are unable to identify the grass lands referred to from the information furnished in the Question. If the name of the owner should be furnished to them they will make further inquiries.

Harbour Works at Arklow.

MR. WALTER LONG (Dublin, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Harbour Board have now submitted plans and estimates for the proposed works at Arklow, provision for which was made in the Vote for the Ireland Development Grant of 1905–6.

MR. BRYCE: The Harbour Board have not yet submitted plans and estimates for the proposed works at Arklow. It is desirable that they should do so forthwith in order that the work may be begun. As to the general position, I would refer the right hon. Gentleman to my reply to the Question of the hon. Baronet the Member for North Wexford on Thursday last.†

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE: Arising out of that Answer, might I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he will use his influence to expedite matters?

MR. BRYCE: I will do all I can, as it is very desirable that the work should be done at the earliest possible moment.

Proposed Railway between Mullaranny and Belmullet.

MR. WALTER LONG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is now in a position to make any statement with respect to the intention of the Government as to the construction of a line of railway between Mullaranny and Belmullet; and, if not, whether he can undertake that the proposal will receive his personal consideration during the Parliamentary Recess.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxi., 1421.

MR. BRYCE: I have lately visited both Mullaranny and Belmullet, and have quite recently received a Report from the Board of Works on the subject of the proposed railway. Inasmuch as there are four competing schemes for lines of railway to Belmullet, even the cheapest of which will involve large expenditure, the subject requires much consideration, and I am not yet in a position to make any statement regarding it. It will, however, continue to engage the attention of the Irish Government.

Portovogie Harbour Works.

MR. WALTER LONG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been directed to a letter addressed, on July 3rd, to the Irish Government by the Down County Council respecting the construction of improvement works at Portavogie Harbour; and whether, with a view to the settlement of plans for carrying out these works, for which funds have been voted by Parliament, but as to the details of which there is a difference of opinion between the county council and the Commissioners of Public Works, he will arrange that the Commissioners shall send down their engineer to confer at Portavogie with the committee of the county council.

MR. BRYCE: I am aware of the correspondence which has taken place in this matter. The difference which has arisen can hardly be described as one respecting details, seeing that the scheme now proposed by the county council is entirely different from that originally put forward by them and accepted by the Government when the right hon. Gentleman was in office. It seems, therefore, to be doubtful whether the case is one for such a conference as is suggested. If the county council are prepared to abide by the arrangement agreed upon, there will be no difficulty in carrying out the works. I understand that the Board of Works do not approve of the change of plans now put forward.

MR. T. L. CORBETT (Down, N.): Arising out of that Answer, might I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the Board of Works would inform the local officials as to the local inquiry?

MR. BRYCE: I presume that either the county council or the Irish Government would, but I do not know that anything would be cleared up by bringing in the officials at this stage.

Wicklow Sea Defences.

MR. WALTER LONG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether work has yet commenced in the construction of sea defences at Wicklow, if not, what are the reasons for delay, and will he be good enough to undertake that every effort will be made to commence the work before further serious damage is caused by the depredations of the sea; and if he will also state what is the present condition of the negotiations with respect to the proposed harbour works at Wicklow.

MR. BRYCE: I understand that work has not yet begun on these sea defences. The commencement and prosecution of the works rest entirely with the Wicklow Harbour Board, at whose disposal a sum of £10,000 was placed by the Government for the purpose at the beginning of this year. The Government are disappointed that the works have not yet been commenced, and so far as the Government are concerned, there is no need for further negotiations. They have done all they can to enable the work to be begun forthwith. The Government conditions are well known to the Harbour Board and the other persons locally interested. The plans and estimates of the works have been submitted to the Government by the Harbour Board within the last few days, and are now with the consulting engineer for examination.

Future Tenants and Fair Rents.

MR. DOLAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that under existing conditions it is impossible for future tenants in Ireland to avail of the Land Courts to have a fair rent fixed; and whether, in view of the fact that many of them are paying rents 100 per cent. in excess of the values of their holdings, he will take steps to have the alleged grievances of future tenants remedied.

MR. BRYCE: I beg to refer to my reply to the Question of the hon. Member for South Leitrim on April 3rd, † in which I stated that I was not prepared, in reply to a Question, to discuss the possibility of legislation in regard to future tenants.

MR. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.): Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether in the recess he will inquire into these cases very closely and see for himself the justice of these claims?

Irish Fisheries.

MR. DOLAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that during the past six months the total take in sea fishing has gained by 218,000 cwt. in weight and £150,000 in England, whereas for Ireland the increase is only 2,600 cwt. and £6,000, including shellfish; and will he state whether he can ascertain the reason for the difference in the rates of increase for England and Ireland.

MR. BRYCE: From the returns at present available it appears that during the first six months of the present year the quantity of fish, excluding shellfish, brought to land in England and Wales has decreased in quantity by 386,796 cwts. or about 8½ per cent., as compared with the corresponding period of last year; while in Ireland the quantity has, during the same period, increased by 2,655 cwts., or ¾ per cent. Including shellfish, the value of the fish brought to land in England and Wales has increased by £149,694, or 4½ per cent.; while in Ireland the increase in value has been £5.947, or 4 per cent. The hon. Member will see, therefore, that, as regards fish properly so-called, there has been a decrease in England and Wales and a small increase in Ireland; while if shellfish is included, there has been an increase at practically the same rate in both countries.

Disturbances in Dungannon.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on the night of the declaration of the poll in the East Tyrone election serious disturbances were caused in Dungannon by crowds of Nationalists, who paraded the streets smashing the windows of many houses in Thomas Street and Market Square; that the police were finally compelled to charge the mob; and that many of the police were hit by stones and other missiles; and what arrests have been made in connection with the disturbance.

MR. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on Thursday night, July 26th, at Dungannon, a band of Nationalists attempted to invade a Protestant quarter, where they broke a number of windows and did serious damage to the property of Unionists; whether he is aware that the police were pelted with stones and shot at with revolvers, several officers being badly beaten; and what steps are being taken in the matter.

MR. BRYCE: I will answer these two Questions together. The facts stated in the first Question appear to be substantially correct. It is not the fact that the crowd attempted to invade a Protestant quarter, because that part was strongly guarded by the police; but volleys of stones were thrown and some windows broken. Some revolver shots appear to have been fired, but whether charged with bullets cannot be ascertained. No one appears to have been hit. Owing to the darkness—the lamps appear not to have been lit—it was found impossible to identify the offenders. The magistrates, in order to prevent any further disturbances, issued a proclamation forbidding band-playing and processions in Dungannon yesterday and to-day, these being occasions on which Party processions are usually in the town.

MR. MACVEAGH: Arising out of that, may I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the disturbance was not commenced by a shower of missiles being thrown at the Nationalists from a house owned by an Orangeman as they were returning to their own quarters?

MR. BRYCE: I have no information.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clv., 363.

Dublin Councillors and a Carting Contract.

Mr. LONSDALE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the proceedings of the Dublin Corporation at their meeting on June 11th, when they adopted the Report of a committee of the whole House, dated March 30th, which met to investigate the conduct of Councillor Anthony Madden, High Sheriff of the City of Dublin, and Councillor Thomas O'Reilly, in regard to a carting contract; whether he is aware that the Committee arrived unanimously at the conclusion that the circumstances disclosed were discreditable to the two councillors named; and whether any action is contemplated with a view to relieving them from their present responsibilities.

Mr. BRYCE: The Local Government Board have no information concerning the proceedings of the Corporation in this matter beyond that which has appeared in the Dublin newspaper. The Board have no power to intervene in the matter.

Superintendent Talbot and a Dublin Reporter.

Mr. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any complaint has reached his office in Dublin as to the action of Superintendent Talbot, of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, in interfering on the 25th June last with the discharge of his duties, in the Kingstown Police Court, by Mr. Hawe, a reporter on one of the Dublin daily newspapers, by ordering him out of a seat at the table in the Court in question; if so, has any action been taken, or is it intended to take any action on the complaint; and whether any policeman has any authority of his own to order any representative of the Press or any member of the public to sit or not to sit in any particular place in any Court.

Mr. BRYCE: A complaint to the effect stated has been received, and the matter has been inquired into by the Chief Commissioner of the Dublin Metropolitan Police. The Chief Commissioner is satisfied that Superintendent Talbot's action on the occasion in question was taken with the object of preserving the usual arrangements which prevail in the Kingstown Police Court. It appears that Mr. Hawe was sitting at the table reserved for solicitors, and the superintendent indicated to him the usual seat occupied by reporters. The general arrangements of the Court are made by the magistrates, and the police on duty carry them out. The Chief Commissioner is of opinion that it would have been wiser for the superintendent to have left the matter in the hands of the court sergeant, whose duty it is to see that the magistrate's arrangements are carried out. No incivility, however, appears to have been intended by the superintendent, who subsequently expressed to Mr. Hawe his regret that that gentleman had misunderstood his remarks.

Mr. CLANCY: I understand from the right hon. Gentleman's Answer that the superintendent admitted that he had acted wrongly on this occasion. Has the superintendent apologised to the gentleman whom he insulted?

Mr. BRYCE: I do not think it is a case of insult. It was mentioned to the superintendent and he expressed his regret. It is not an incident of very great moment, and I think it might now be regarded as closed.

Appointments to the Magistracy in County Antrim.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the recent appointments by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland to the magistracy in the county of Antrim were made with the concurrence of His Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, or if he had been consulted beforehand; whether they were made with the concurrence of His Majesty's Lieutenant of the county; if not, was the Lord Chancellor informed by him that there was no public need for any additional justices; on what considerations did the Lord Chancellor act in making the appointments; who is responsible for the *status* and respectability of the gentlemen so appointed by the Lord Chancellor where the Lieutenant of the county declines to concur; and what number of justices were available in the Ballymoney, Ballymena, and Larne districts respectively, before the recent appointments.

AN HON. MEMBER: Before the right hon. Gentleman answers that Question may I put to him a Question of which I had given him private notice, whether he is aware that the magisterial bench has been and is at present composed almost entirely of Tories and Orangemen, and that with one exception the Lieutenants of the counties are all Tories and Orangemen; whether he is aware that Catholics and Liberals are over 85 per cent. of the country, and whether he will appoint to the Commission of the Peace a number of Nationalists and Liberals in proportion to the population.

MR. BRYCE: The notice to which the hon. Gentleman has referred has not reached me. I did not know this Question would be put to me to-day, and I am not prepared to answer it. I may say the appointment of magistrates does not rest with me, but with the Lord Chancellor. As to the Question on the Paper, I have referred this Question to the Lord Chancellor, who has favoured me with the following observations:—The appointment of county magistrates rests with the Lord Chancellor, as Keeper of the Great Seal. The Lord-Lieutenant's concurrence in such appointments is not necessary, nor is His Excellency consulted in the matter. The recent appointments to the magistracy for county Antrim were made by the Lord Chancellor upon his own responsibility, and without the concurrence of His Majesty's Lieutenant of the county. The Lord Chancellor had carefully inquired into the suitability for the magistracy of the gentlemen in question, whose names he communicated to the Lieutenant of the county; but having waited for what he considered a sufficient time without receiving any reply from the Lieutenant, he considered it his duty, without further delay, to take upon himself the entire responsibility for the appointments. In so doing, he acted within his undoubted right. He considered the gentlemen whom he appointed to be fit and proper persons for the magistracy, and he deemed their appointment to be desirable. In considering the appointment of magistrates, the Lord Chancellor has always been desirous of securing the co-operation and assistance of His Majesty's Lieutenant in each county, and he has been fortunate enough to receive such co-operation in nearly every case. It has, however, never been obligatory on the Lord Chancellor to confine the scope of his inquiries to any one source, or to limit his information to that which the Lieutenant of a county may afford him; and the Lord Chancellor reserves to himself the liberty to determine whether additional appointments may be desirable in any particular place. In making the appointments for county Antrim, in what the Lord Chancellor considered to be the public interest, he had before him the number of magistrates and the composition of the Benches in the particular district referred to in the Question.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Is it not a fact that 90 per cent. belonged to one political and religious Party?

MR. BRYCE: I have no information as to that.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I know it.

AN HON. MEMBER: This Question appeared on the Paper for another day and I sent a letter to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary giving him private notice both to his house and to his office.

MR. BRYCE: I did not understand that the Question was going to be put as a supplementary Question to-day. I probably looked at it as a matter I should have to answer in due course, but not as a matter I should have to answer to-day.

Dr. Starkie and Kerry School Managers.

MR. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received a Resolution of the Kerry Catholic school managers asking for the removal of Dr. Starkie from connection with the administration of primary education in Ireland; whether he is aware that similar Resolutions have been passed by many other representative bodies in Ireland; and whether he intends to take any steps to comply with the wishes of a large number of the Irish people in this matter.

MR. BRYCE: I have seen the Resolution referred to. It is not within my knowledge that similar Resolutions have been passed by many other bodies, as stated in the Question. The Government do not propose to dispense with the services of an official whose capacity and energy they value so highly as they do those of the Resident Commissioner.

MR. MURPHY: Arising out of that Answer might I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he thinks it is conciliatory to Irish opinion that he should proceed by Answers in this House to load this Gentleman with excessive praise?

MR. BRYCE: I speak of what I know, and I believe Dr. Starkie to be a gentleman of very high integrity.

MR. MURPHY: Might I ask, having regard to the fact that every Catholic in Ireland is opposed to Dr. Starkie, whether the right hon. Gentleman will consider the advisability of transferring him elsewhere?

MR. BRYCE: It has never been brought to my knowledge that every Catholic in Ireland is opposed to him.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): Is it not a fact that Dr. Starkie is a Roman Catholic himself?

MR. BRYCE: I believe that is so.

Appointment of County Magistrates.

MR. HIGHAM (Yorkshire, W.R., Sowerby): I beg to ask the Prime Minister if the recent appointments by the Lord Chancellor to the magistracy in the counties were made on the suggestion of the Lords-Lieutenant; and how far the Chancellor is prepared to act on the Resolution of the House of Commons of May 5th, 1893.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Stirling Burghs): Some of the recent appointments in the counties were made on the suggestion of the Lords-Lieutenant in the usual way. Many were made on the suggestion of other persons after communication with the Lords-Lieutenant. I stated early in this session that the policy embodied in the Resolution referred to was approved by His Majesty's Government and it has been continuously acted on since the present Government came into power. If my hon. friend will explain what it is in particular that he wishes to see done and ask a Question, there will be no difficulty in telling him whether it will be done or not.

The Limited Partnerships Bill.

SIR WILLIAM HOLLAND (Yorkshire, W.R., Rotherham): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will allow the Limited Partnerships Bill to be starred, so that it may be considered in the autumn session, seeing that it has already passed through the House of Lords and has the undivided support of the banking and commercial interests of the country.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Government are very well disposed towards this Bill, but I cannot give any pledge of facilities at this stage.

THE AUTUMN SITTINGS.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): It would be convenient if the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister would now give us the terms of the Resolution that he will move on Saturday for the rising of the House, giving us first the date of the reassembling and telling us whether the Resolution will provide for the taking of the whole of the time of the House by the Government and what business the Government intend to put down on the first day the House reassembles.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The date of the reassembling of the House will be October 23rd. The Motion which I shall propose for suspending the sittings until that date will include the Resolution to give all the time of the autumn sittings to Government business. The business on the first day will be the Merchant Shipping Bill and the Trade Disputes Bill.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: I do not know whether the right hon. Gentleman will consider the desirability for leaving a part of the first day upon which we reassemble for private Members' Motions. The reason I ask the Question is that owing to a misunderstanding with reference to Irish Estimates we were prevented from raising most important questions with regard to Irish education which could under the circumstances be taken as a private Member's Motion.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I do not think I can make any exception for any individual case.

MR. WALTER LONG: On the reassembling of the House, will the eleven o'clock rule be suspended all through the sittings?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I do not know what we may come to, but we certainly shall not start with the suspension of the eleven o'clock rule. All that will be done will be to give precedence to and limit the sittings to Government business.

MR. MORTON: May I ask at what hour this House will meet on Saturday morning?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I think on such occasions it usually meets at ten o'clock.

*MR. MORTON: I beg to give notice that at an early date I intend to call attention to the appointment of magistrates in the counties of Scotland, and to move a Resolution thereon.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Revenue Bill; Post Office Sites Bill; Post Office (Literature for the Blind) Bill; Charitable Loan Societies (Ireland) Bill; Dean Forest Bill; Deanery of Manchester Bill, without Amendment.

Amendments to:—Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords]; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [Lords]; Tramways Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]; County of Durham Electric Power Supply Bill [Lords]; Great Northern (Ireland) and Midland Railways Bill [Lords]; Nettlebed and District Commons (Preservation) Bill [Lords]; Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire Electric Power Bill [Lords]; without Amendment.

GROUND GAME BILL.

Lords Amendments to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

OPEN SPACES BILL.

Lords Amendment to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

NEW MEMBER SWORN.

Thomas Michael Kettle, esquire, for the County of Tyrone (East Tyrone Division).

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (SUPPLY).

Ordered, That on this day, notwithstanding anything in Standing Order No. 15, Business other than Business of Supply may be taken before Eleven of the clock.—(*Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

SUPPLY [20TH ALLOTTED DAY] [31ST JULY]—REPORT.

Resolutions reported.

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1906–7.

CLASS II.

1. "That a sum, not exceeding £29,050, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, including a Grant in Aid of certain Expenses connected with Emigration."

CLASS I.

2. "That a sum, not exceeding £707,580, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure on the Services included in Class I. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz.:—

		£
5.	Miscellaneous Legal Buildings, Great Britain	34,800
6.	Art and Science Buildings, Great Britain	45,800
10.	Surveys of the United Kingdom	124,578
11.	Harbours under the Board of Trade	14,606
12.	Peterhead Harbour	22,000
13.	Rates on Government Property	340,656
14.	Public Works and Buildings, Ireland	96,477
15.	Railways, Ireland	28,663
		£707,580"

CLASS II.

3. "That a sum, not exceeding £1,203,002, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure in respect of the Services included in Class II. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
1. House of Lords Offices -	10,210
2. House of Commons Offices	17,900
3. Treasury and Subordinate Departments - -	59,911
4. Home Office - - -	124,085
8. Board of Trade - -	160,379
9. Mercantile Marine Services - - - -	69,873
10. Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade -	5
12. Charity Commission -	16,079
16. Local Government Board	147,470
17. Lunacy Commission, England - - - -	10,736
22. Registrar-General's Office, England - - -	25,412
23. Stationery and Printing -	401,480
24. Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, etc., Office	12,756
25. Works and Public Buildings Office - - -	45,278
26. Secret Service - -	10,000
SCOTLAND.	
27. Secretary for Scotland's Office - - - -	9,750
28. Fishery Board - -	13,691
29. Lunacy Commission -	3,731
30. Registrar-General's Office	3,241
31. Local Government Board for Scotland - -	10,470
IRELAND.	
32. Household of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland - -	2,672
35. Charitable Donations and Bequests Office - -	1,049
37. Public Record Office, Ireland - - - -	3,484
38. Public Works Office -	23,938
39. Registrar General's Office	7,132
40. Valuation and Boundary Survey (including a Supplementary sum of £1,000). - - -	12,276
	£1,203,002"

CLASS III.

4. "That a sum, not exceeding £2,077,936, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure in respect of the Services included in Class III. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
1. Law Charges - - -	31,954
2. Miscellaneous Legal Expenses - - -	1, 914
3. Supreme Court of Judicature - - - -	179,066
4. Land Registry - -	25,602
5. Country Courts - -	2
7. Prisons, England and the Colonies - - -	394,255
8. Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain - - -	113,977
9. Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum - -	27,121
SCOTLAND.	
10. Law Charges and Courts of Law - -	50,828
11. Register House, Edinburgh - - -	27,745
12. Crofters' Commission -	2,445
13. Prisons - - -	52,600
IRELAND.	
14. Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions -	32,652
15. Supreme Court of Judicature and other Legal Departments -	59,586
16. Irish Land Commission	124,215
17. County Court Officers, etc. - - -	66,088
18. Dublin Metropolitan Police - - -	35,721
19. Royal Irish Constabulary - - -	710,038
20. Prisons - - -	62,556
21. Reformatory and Industrial Schools -	55,995
22. Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum -	3,576
	£2,077,936"

CLASS IV.

5. "That a sum, not exceeding £8,387,882, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come

in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure in respect of the Services, included in Class IV. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
1. Board of Education (including a Supplementary Sum of £200,000) - -	6,339,600
2. British Museum - -	99,998
3. National Gallery - -	7,038
4. National Portrait Gallery - - - -	2,619
5. Wallace Collection -	3,821
6. Scientific Investigation, etc., United Kingdom - - -	33,650
7. Universities and Colleges, Great Britain, and Intermediate Education, Wales -	140,400
8. Public Education, Scotland - - - -	1,122,128
9. National Gallery etc., Scotland - - -	768
IRELAND.	
10. Public Education - -	633,223
11. Endowed Schools Commissioners - -	510
12. National Gallery - -	1,766
13. Queen's Colleges - -	2,361
	£8,387,882 "

Class V.

6. "That a sum, not exceeding £1,196,905, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure on the Services included in Class V. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
1. Diplomatic and Consular Services - - -	303,856
2. Colonial Services - -	827,952
3. Telegraph Subsidies and Pacific Cable - - -	49,497
4. Cyprus (Grant in Aid) - -	1,000
5. Treasury Chest Fund - -	14,600
	£1,196,905 "

Class VI.

7. "That a sum, not exceeding £582, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure in respect of the Services included in Class VI. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
3. Miscellaneous, Charitable, and other Allowances -	383
4. Hospitals and Charities, Ireland - - - - -	199
	£582 "

Class VII.

8. "That a sum, not exceeding £350,759, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure in respect of the Services included in Class VII. of the Estimates for Civil Services, viz. :—

	£
1. Temporary Commissions -	27,000
2. Miscellaneous Expenses -	10,743
3. Repayments to the Local Loans Fund - - -	58
4. Ireland Development Grant	85,000
5. Repayments to Civil Contingencies Fund - - -	22,958
6. Inter-Parliamentary Conference - - - - -	5,000
7. Expenses under the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905 - - - -	200,000
	£350,759 "

ARMY ESTIMATES 1906-7.

9. "That a sum, not exceeding £1,803,100, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for Expenditure on the Army Services, including Army (Ordnance Factories), viz. :—

	£
5. Volunteer Corps, Pay and Allowances - -	1,244,000
13. War Office and Army Accounts Department -	559,000
Ordnance Factories - -	100
	£1,803,100 "

Resolutions read a second time :—

First Two Resolutions postponed.

Third Resolution :—

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) said upon this Vote an opportunity was given for raising certain questions which were of greater importance than was generally recognised. But on this occasion, when one saw so many new Members of the House who had a personal acquaintance with them in a degree more marked than that which previously existed in the House, there would be an opportunity of dividing this question between a larger number than was usually the case. While in past years the miners had been well represented on this Vote, there had been a great absence of those concerned with other trades. There were now present in the House a much larger number of Members who had a personal and more detailed knowledge of the working of the great trades though less of those which were most helped by inspection by Government departments. The great organised trades were, to some extent, able to protect themselves, and the miners, working under special rules, were closely regulated by law, and did not have to depend on the Department. The great textile trades were now represented by three Members in whom they had full confidence, but nevertheless there was one class of workers, especially women workers, whose fate depended in a great degree on legislation and the enforcement of the law. Therefore there was one subject which always occupied the attention of the Committee on this Vote, namely, the efficiency of the law and inspection as regards those trades. It was only with the administration that the Committee could deal on this Vote, and year by year they had always called attention to the smallness of the number of women inspectors. On the woman inspectors especially fell the duty of enforcing the law in cases where inspection was most necessary. Early in the session questions were addressed to the Secretary of State as to the necessity of increasing the staff of women inspectors, and certain promises were made, and he understood there was to be an immediate increase of three. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman to tell the House what was the state of affairs with regard to the women inspectors. They were still, he understood, engaged in clerical duties and special inquires which took them off their regular work. The nominal staff, therefore, was much larger than the real staff. The increase in the number of working places was more rapid every year, and in the present year the increase of work-places under inspection was 28,000; and for all the work there were in all 154 inspectors, and inspectors' assistants, male and female, including all those detached for medical and other departments, etc. for special duty. The dangerous trades carried on under special regulations were increasing, and required more inspection. The result of the shortness of staff was seen in the Report. Miss Anderson, the principal lady inspector, reported "a representative case," involving a long series of visits. The underground departments of a "world-famed provision manufacturer" were concerned, and "the firm had opposed every suggestion of improvement." But the manager ultimately promised to persuade the firm to remedy the "glaring defects" which had been pointed out. Miss Anderson added in her Report—

> "It remains to note the results when a visit is possible."

That was the result of the smallness of the staff of women inspectors. Not only were the numbers of complaints increasing, but the arrears were increasing also, so that a large number of complaints had to be set aside because there was no one to deal with them. A subject closely connected with that of the increase of the inspectorate was the extension of the principle of "particulars" to all piecework trades. As to some trades where the necessity was admitted—such as the paper-bag and paper-box trades—the "particulars" order had hung fire for many years. Three new industries were reported on as long ago as 1902, and yet the order had not been made in respect of them. How many such cases had the Home Office now under consideration? If it was impossible to get the extension of "particulars" to all piecework trades, the orders should be granted at once where the inquiry was complete and the report had been received. In 1895 a Grand Committee considered a factory Bill, and some proposals were made to introduce a new system. In regard to the sweated industries, one of the proposals made in 1895 was the introduction of the New Zealand license system, but objection was taken to it on the ground that it would throw such work on the Department as would cause a breakdown of the whole system. A good deal of work under the Factory Act of 1901 was thrown on the local authorities, but the statement made by himself and others at that time that the duty would not be performed by some local authorities had been borne out. The Report now before the House stated that there was no provision by which the enforcement of the law by the local authorities in regard to "particulars" was possible. To his own knowledge there were within ten miles of this House medical officers of health of the local authorities, with all their staffs of sanitary inspectors behind them, who were absolutely unacquainted with the law on this subject, and who did not know what "particulars" were. On the other hand the Home Office inspectors, feeling that the local authorities were responsible for the enforcement of the other provisions of the law in those cases, had but rare opportunities of visiting the homes in which this work was carried on. The result was that the grant of "particulars" in those cases was illusory. He would suggest that something must be done to overcome this great difficulty by means of the issue of a circular to sanitary inspectors and medical officers calling attention to the fact that they might call in the inspectors of factories. As regarded the feebler trades, of which the greatest complaints had been made in the past, they were able to see some slight improvement, due partly to the Report laid annually before the House and the publicity which was given to that Report, and partly in some trades to the excellent results accomplished by social unions, and partly to the debates in this House. But the progress was not sufficient. The public had recently been startled by extracts from the factory inspectors' reports on the jam trade. It was bad enough now, but that trade was infinitely better than it was some years ago. The same thing might be said with regard to the fish-curing industry. During the discussions on the Bill of 1901 an optional clause was inserted by which the owners of jam factories were to make special provisions in regard to the standard weights carried by the employees. But still we were infinitely behind France in regard to the carrying of weights by women and children. On page 296 of the Report one of the women inspectors said—

> "The heavy weights carried by young persons—equally striking in textile factories—whenever there is a fairly abundant supply of young, cheap labour * * * The carrying, pushing or pulling of heavy weights was one of the duties of the apprentice in almost every trade."

She went on to describe having found a child carrying a bundle which was proved to weigh 44 lbs, and that it was "pitiful to see the twisted little figures of the children doing their best to accomplish more than they were physically fit for." Miss Martindale, another lady inspector, said that she was "unable to give as much attention as formerly to the carrying of heavy weights by women and children." But in visiting one factory she had seen a boy "carrying a piece of clay weighing 69 lbs., his own weight being 77 lbs." She re-visited that factory two years afterwards and found that the boy was hardly grown, and only weighed "81 lbs., an increase of only 4 lbs." in two years. She added that the "undersized condition of many of the pottery workers was owing to the excessive physical strain to which they had been subjected in their early years." There were many other trades on which that remark could be made. All these matters brought them back to the point as to the necessity for increasing the number of competent skilled inspectors. Just as there had been an improvement in the fruit-preserving industry, and in the fish-curing industry, so there had been an improvement in the lead industry compared with three or four years ago; but still there was immense room for progress. At page 291 of the Report, the inspector made this significant comment—

> "It is disappointing to find that the number of cases of plumbism amongst the women workers in the potteries has not decidedly decreased."

And then she went on to say on page 292 that—

> "A great deal of the ill-health and low vitality among the pottery workers."

would not be decreased until the Special Rules were more strictly enforced.

The words were—

"Until the standard of carrying out the Special Rules has been raised throughout the potteries the amount of ill-health amongst the workers will not be lessened to any considerable extent. There was a lack of interest in taking any further precautions than those required by the exact text of the Special Rules, and this was illustrated in one factory where during two and a half years eleven cases of plumbism amongst women had been reported, and nine cases of other ill-health, probably due to the employment. On investigation it was found that although there was fair compliance with the Special Rules, the workers had been engaged in processes which, although not prohibited, were still highly undesirable employment for women and girls, owing to the quantity of lead with which they came in contact."

Another inspector reported that—

"Although some manufacturers were doubtless doing their utmost to comply with the regulations, the most striking feature to be observed in the inspection of the potteries was the absolute failure of the occupiers and managers to realise their responsibility with reference to the carrying out of the Special Rules."

This was another case of insufficiency of inspection, because these Special Rules were highly technical and required highly trained and competent inspectors. Under this Vote they could not deal with legislation; but two or three Departmental Committees had been appointed to make suggestions in regard to future legislation. His right hon. friend the Lord Advocate was Chairman of the Committee on Truck, and he was sure that they would all be anxious to receive the full Report of that Committee with a view to legislation as soon as possible. There was another Committee as to which he wished to make some inquiry, and that was the Committee to deal with the pressing matter of insurance under the Workmen's Compensation Act. The House would remember that when the Bill was discussed he had put forward an Amendment raising this question of insurance in a general form. In the debate which followed his right hon. friend made a promise for the appointment of a Committee, and, being satisfied with that promise, he withdrew his Amendment. That promise was somewhat toned down on the following day by the Under-Secretary, but it was afterwards renewed in the same terms in which it was originally made. He would like the Home Secretary to State clearly the nature of the promise, because the subject was becoming more and more pressing. He begged to move the reduction of the Vote by £100.

*MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD (Leicester), in seconding the Motion, said that the difficulty which Members experienced in taking part in a discussion on the Home Office Vote was the enormous width of the subjects which lay before them. For instance, there were the many problems which had been raised by the Sweating Exhibition in the Queen's Hall. There was also the question to which his right hon. friend had referred, of the relations between the Home Office and the local sanitary authorities. Personally he considered that to be one of the most important questions which the Home Office would have to face. A Return which had been presented upon his Motion showing how certain sections of the Factories and Workshops Act were supposed to be administered, was really appalling in the facts which it disclosed, and the evidence which it afforded of that working. He never believed that these sections were being well administered, but he never thought that they were so badly administered as that Return disclosed. He refrained, however, from entering into that question, because there was one important matter which he wished to refer to, which was, he thought, fundamental to everything, and that was not so much the increase as the organisation of the staff of factory inspectors. He did not wish to dissociate himself from the proposals which were being made for a substantial increase of the inspectorate, and he himself desired an increase of that body. But they wanted not only numbers, but quality, and it was a question not only of increasing the staff, but of increasing their efficiency. Some months ago he drew the attention of the House to the syllabus which had been issued in regard to the appointment of factory inspectors. All he could then do was to draw the attention of the House to the character of the preparation required, and he pointed out that the practical part of the examination had been dropped, that the examinations had become theoretical, and that its theory was of such a character that nobody who had not been to a University could hope to pass. He was now in a position to put before the House one or two questions which had been set at the recent examination under this syllabus. It must be remembered that these questions were put to the men who were to inspect machinery and see if it was properly guarded and whether there was any danger in the manner in which factories were carried on. The first question in English history was—

"How did William the Conqueror deal with the lands of the conquered? Is he correctly described as introducing the 'feudal system' into England?"

Another question was—

"Give an account of the relations between England and Scotland from the time of William I. to the death of Edward I."

Question number 7 was—

"Describe the process of confiscation of Church lands under Henry VIII. and Edward VI."

Another question was—

"Describe briefly the relations between Elizabeth and her Parliament. Do you consider that she was more or less despotic than Henry VIII.?"

Question 10 ran—

"Describe the treatment of the Roman Catholics throughout the 17th century."

And Question 15 was as follows:

"Compare the extent of the British Empire in the 16th century with its extent in the 19th, and show the difference between the old Colonial policy or system of the 18th century and that of to-day."

Finally, and he supposed the reason for this question was that the Labour Party had sailed into the political horizon, candidates were asked—:

"Show historically how the participation of the democracy in the Government of the country in the 19th century has broadened the power and humanized the policy of England both at home and abroad."

That was the sort of questions in regard to history which were set to gentlemen who had to administer the Factory Laws and protect the lives and limbs of our people and see that the industrial law was properly administered. Taking the syllabus in regard to Economics it also contained extraordinary questions to be answered by this class of men. One was—

"Enumerate the essential points in the economic conception of a perfect market. To what extent are these conditions realised in the special conditions of the retail and wholesale markets, the money market, and the Stock Exchange? What conditions limit the development of the markets."

Another question was—

"What is meant by the mobility of labour? How far is labour mobile to-day? Is its mobility implied in the theory of wages?"

A further question ran—

"The Ricardian theory of rent is true, perhaps, of a particular time and place; it does not, however, apply in general to India," or in places in which the system of 'Metayage' prevails. Examine this view."

The candidate also had this put before him—

"Unless we are prepared to say that machinery is an evil, we cannot on economic grounds condemn as an evil the importation of cheap labour; whether it should be condemned on social grounds is another question. Examine and discuss."

These were the nonsensical questions addressed to a candidate in order to establish his competence as a factory inspector. There was absolutely nothing on the practical side except that which was contained in Question 3. He gave this as an illustration on the other side, lest he should be unfair. That question was—

"Examine critically the arguments that are commonly used in support of Factory Legislation. What were the most important features of the Act of 1884?"

The point he wanted to emphasise was that so far as men of practical experience were concerned that syllabus was a clear and decisive notice that they were not wanted by the Home Office at all. Twenty-one nominations were made for seven vacancies, but not one of the assistant inspectors were nominated for examination. There was one nomination given to a clerk at the Home Office who had been a clerk in the Inspector's office, and that was the nearest approach to the nomination of a practical man. Mr. Daly, the organising secretary of the Amalgamated Tailors, wrote an article in which he discussed factory inspection from his point of view, in which he condemned the present system. A public inquiry, he declared, would disclose at the Home Office the same absence of administrative ability, the same power of social influence in the matter of promotion, and the same incompetence generally as was revealed as the result of the War Office Commission. His point was made still stronger by the sort of playing at inspection that took place. Two iron founders were appointed assistant inspectors because of their special ability, but they were employed not to inspect iron foundries but to look after dressmakers' assistants. The chairman of the Building Trades Federation was so disgusted to find that the duty assigned to him was to walk about certain districts at 11 o'clock at night to see whether the law was being observed in milliners' establishments that he threw up his post of assistant inspector. Two engineers and a cotton spinner had for thirteen years been looking after the dressmakers of South London. These men were appointed to do practical work, but were compelled to waste their time and the public money in this pettifogging tomfoolery. In a case of lead poisoning reported recently in the newspapers the case was discovered by the assistant inspector, but no sooner did he discover it than he had to drop it and report to a superior. He had to drop the whole thing although he had been reporting that the washing apparatus was inadequate and likely to result in disease. That was the rule of the department. No assistant inspector was allowed to deal with these dangerous poisoning cases. In the case of anthrax, too, these assistant inspectors went into the places where it is bred, but could do nothing when the disease appeared. Then in regard to the particulars clause. The moment an assistant inspector discovered in a work-room that the particulars had been imperfectly supplied and that the work came from a factory they could go no further, but had to report to a higher official, who had himself to go and make up his mind as to whether it was a case for a prosecution. He understood that the hon. Member for Bolton was going to raise the question of overtime cribbing, and he would say nothing about that except that he understood they were going to ask the police to assist in putting a stop to that, but they had not asked the assistance of the assistant inspector. The Truck Act also it was almost impossible to administer owing to the difficulty of tracing goods back. As showing the way the assistant inspectors were treated, he would point out that a monthly circular was issued from the Home Office giving information of everything that had happened during the month in the administration of the work of the Office, the legal decisions, changes in the law, changes in the responsible heads and so on. Although on the average half the circular dealt with things which assistant inspectors were concerned with, not a single copy was sent to any one of them, and when on one occasion by accident a copy was addressed to all the assistant inspectors, within twenty-four hours they were requested by letter to return it, as it had been sent by mistake. Was not the whole system of inspection absolute tomfoolery? Plain speaking was necessary in this matter. Those outside who had been watching carefully the inspection work of the Home Office had felt for a long time that matters instead of improving had been going from bad to worse. It was high time that this system which had grown up piecemeal, and which had never been adapted to the new conditions, should be made the subject of careful inquiry. The Home Office should make up its mind whether the assistant inspectors were worth keeping on. The time had come for the Home Office to consider what the organisation of the Factory Inspection Department was going to be. He challenged the Department to lay itself open to an inquiry. He challenged it to come before the public and give evidence to justify itself in drawing this clearly marked line between the full and the assistant inspectors, to justify the tendency that has gone so far towards divorcing the inspectors from the class with which they had to deal. This was a question of reorganising the staff, of increasing the efficiency. If he had to put it strongly and say they were not going to rest content with the present state of things it was because he was speaking for the wage-earning people of this country.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out '£1,203,002,' and insert '£1,202,902.'"—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

Question proposed, "That '£1,203,002' stand part of the said Resolution."

MR. TENNANT (Berwickshire) said the most salient feature in connection with the issue of the new Blue-book was the interest almost amounting to excitement at the sudden discovery that all our food manufactories were not all that they ought to be. Why this new interest! There was certainly no new fact. The British public were a truly apathetic body. It seemed to require at least two members of one family to be boiled alive at Chicago before interest could be aroused. Any time these last ten years past cases had been brought before this House of intense dirtiness of jam factories, fish-curing places, chocolate manufactories and others, and the public had been not perturbed. And yet, as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean had said, these places had been improved. Take any of the old reports. He took that for 1898 at random, and he found that both Miss Deane and Miss Paterson spoke of indescribable dirt, dilapidation and disorder.

> "The impression sometimes carried away from inspection of one of these places was that a building too insanitary for any other purpose was considered fit for the manufacture of jam and pickles."

In another Report, that for 1902, Miss Paterson had said:—

> "In a new fruit preserving factory where considerable use was made of the exception which permits unlimited hours of work in order that fruit may be preserved in as fresh a condition as possible, I found the cleansing of the fruit being done in the hot and steamy boiling room. Built into the same room and ventilating directly into it was the sanitary accommodation. This had been primarily intended for a cloakroom, but its possibilities as a place to store fruit had been realised, and I found it in use for that purpose. Even the lavatory basin was piled high with fresh fruit."

These cases had been brought forward year after year, and no one had paid any attention. Only a handful of interested and informed Gentlemen, such as he saw present now, and two bewildered and embarrassed Members of the late Administration were there to listen. It was only when they heard at their backs the grunting of the hogs of Chicago that they were able to get any attention given to the subject. Perhaps now they might hope for better things. Closely allied with the jam trade was the preserving of fish. Anybody who studied this Report, especially the very interesting Report from Miss Paterson as to the conditions prevailing in the North of Scotland, particularly Shetland, would feel how instinct that Report was with the anxiety and desire to improve the lot of those fisher-girls, an anxiety and desire it seemed very difficult to put into effect. The conditions of the fish-curing industry were very bad, and there was a very high death-rate. Miss Paterson spoke of a great lack of sanitary accommodation, and she particularly dwelt on the shy and sensitive feelings of these Highland girls, to whom the common obligations of decency seemed to be denied. This absence of sanitary accommodation not only produced grave risks to the girls, but to the public health as well. A very common excuse made by employers in this industry was that these girls were only there between three and five weeks at the outside and, therefore, it was not worth while spending money on sanitary conveniences and effecting other desirable improvements. It was, one curer expressed it, in the nature of a summer outing. But with the exception of the Shetlanders, practically all the women in the industry worked at it for six months in the year. Kipperers worked the whole year round. The irregular hours of work made it all the more necessary that the conditions of work should be satisfactory. Another extraordinary fact was that drinking water was almost impossible to be obtained in many cases, and one of the lairds charged 1s. a barrel for it. What was the right hon. Gentleman prepared to do with regard to the appalling conditions of employment of girls who worked in foreign ships at British ports? The Report said —

> "We found the complaint fully justified and the conditions so bad that it was amazing to us that women could be found to accept work under them. . . . It is difficult to write moderately about the living and the sleeping quarters provided for these women. Down in the hold of the ship boards were laid on the top of the herring barrels, and on these, with some tarpaulin laid on them, the women slept, and not only slept but cooked their food; the hatch above the hold, if open, would admit some light, and would also of course, admit the rain. There was no attempt at either cleanliness or comfort; indeed we had

felt some indignation when we saw, on our way north, some Shetland cattle lowered for one night into similar quarters to those in which these women live for long periods."

It was a disgraceful state of things, and he hoped his right hon. friend would communicate with the proper authorities to see if they could not have improvement in these conditions. He came to an old subject of his, namely, that of means of escape in case of fire. The Report showed numerous instances in which narrow wooden and, in many cases, steep staircases were the only outlets. His right. hon. friend might say that this was the business of the local authority, and that they ought to have put their powers in force. That was quite true, but where less than forty persons were employed the Home Office had no compulsory powers over the local authority as it ought to have. There again he trusted his right hon. friend was fully impressed with the urgency of the question. The Report showed that even in new factories the means of escape in the event of fire were very inadequate. For example, in one factory visited by Miss Martindale, which had been built as recently as eighteen months ago, she found 160 workers employed on the top floor from which there was no exit except one staircase. Miss Squire reported that a chief officer of a Fire Brigade told her he had himself in vain reported to the corporation that a factory was very unsafe years ago. She had written to the local authority and had received a reply that the Committee were of opinion that no additional means of escape could be provided at a "reasonable expense." Were they going to wait to provide real means of escape from fire until it could be provided at a reasonable expense? The whole of this subject required investigation, and he trusted the right hon. Gentleman would re-appoint the Select Committee on Fire, appointed last session, at the earliest opportunity, and that it would go thoroughly into the matter and report what ought to be done. He now came to such questions as precaution for life and limb in electrical generating works. It was an extremely dangerous trade, the workers being struck down without anything in the nature of a warning. There was in the inspector's Report in all eighteen deaths from this cause in the year. He did not say they were all electrical deaths, but they were all due to shocks or falls or other accidents on account of shocks. Five of the eighteen were on railways, four in mines, three in consumers' premises, and six under the Factory Act. Of course there were in addition a large number of injuries. Special regulations were recommended for this trade seven years ago, but none existed at the present day. The Home Office had pursued a policy of reliance upon voluntaryism. He objected to voluntaryism for two reasons; one was that they might get one employer to fall in with their ideas and not the other, in which case unfair competition arose; and, in the second place, the management of a place might change, and with it the methods. There was no power of compulsion. There were two new trades reported upon in the Chief Inspector's report, both of extraordinary interest. One was the aniline dyeing trade and the other the trade of making shuttles of West African wood. In the aniline dyeing trade illness had been so rife that out of sixty persons employed in seven factories examined by the medical inspector twenty-eight persons, or 47 per cent., showed pale grey or blue colour of the lips; thirty-four persons, or 57 per cent., characteristic pallor, and five scars, the result of previous work in chrome or of injury to the skin, showing that the whole of these persons had suffered in one manner or another and seven of them had suffered doubly. Again, among eighty-two persons employed in the chroming, washing, drying and other processes, twenty-eight (34 per cent.) showed the same conditions of the lips, sixteen (20 per cent.) the pallor, and eleven (14 per cent.) present or past effects of chrome. He would give one illustration in the shuttle-making trade in which West African wood was used. There was a case reported of a man working in that trade who had not been previously ill; very soon after commencing work he began to run at the eyes and nose, and his breathing rapidly became so difficult that he could neither speak nor swallow. After one severe attack he was three weeks at home, and then three weeks at a convalescent home, after which he felt better, but the day he resumed his work he was as bad as ever. He used a respirator, and this case was a good example of the danger of placing reliance upon respirators. What was the Home Secretary going to do? In this trade manufacturers in conference recommended the use of exhaust ventilation, and he should like to know what the Home Office was going to do, because this West African wood was very dangerous indeed. He trusted he would not rely upon his powers of "peaceful persuasion." With regard to the regulation of the wall-paper trade, the Home Office appeared to be relying upon those powers. They were also relying upon peaceful persuasion in regard to the iron and steel trade for the protection of workers upon Bessemer steel, and also in regard to lithographic processes in which bronze was used. With regard to Institution laundries, the voluntary system had failed, and the Reports of the lady inspectors showed that in the cases he quoted no improvements had been achieved in regard to the fencing of machinery or the ventilation of wash-houses. Their Reports also showed a lamentable want of care in regard to children employed in such laundries. The inspectors were very emphatic in their reports as to the unreliability of the statements furnished to them by those who were in authority. They report—

> "In only a few places do we feel that we have been met with complete frankness, even where the courtesy with which we have been received has also been the most marked." . . . "We have no means whatever of checking these statements, as we had no opportunity of speaking to the workers or visiting at unusual hours." . . . "We were constantly assured that no accident could occur in a wash-house crowded with machinery and in which numbers of persons are employed because a man was in the room! We feel strongly that the information received with regard to accidents was entirely unreliable, and whenever we had the means of checking it we found that it was not upheld."

He thought the Home Secretary would see that this system of voluntary inspection had entirely broken down, and he appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to put an end to it. He wished to remind the House of the enormous importance of the subject with which they were dealing. As the hon. Member for Leicester had said, that the great difficulty of dealing with this question was the enormous amount of ground one had to traverse and the difficulty of choosing any particular part of the subject. On a previous occasion the right hon. Gentleman rebuked him for urging the Home Office to do more, because he said they had a number of very important matters in hand, such as the Workmen's Compensation Bill, the Truck Acts Committee, and the Committee dealing with the police, not to speak of the preparation of a Licensing Bill for next year. He should be the last person in the world to minimise the great responsibility which attached to the right hon. Gentleman's high office. But although he had great responsibilities he had also stupendous opportunities. He had behind him at the Home Office an able body of energetic, active, and sagacious members of the Civil Service. He had also in that House a large number of hon. Members keen and eager, almost spoiling for reform, and in these circumstances he appealed to him, and he did not think his appeal would fall upon deaf ears: he appealed to him to use in the best possible manner all those great powers which the wisdom of Parliament had entrusted to him in order to bring an increased measure of happiness, of light, and of hope, into the lives of thousands of our workers.

MR. GILL (Bolton) said the subject he wished to bring before the attention of the House was time-cribbing. The number of hours worked in cotton mills per week was fixed at fifty-five and a-half hours. The operatives commenced work at 6 o'clock in the morning and stopped at 8 for half-an-hour for meals. They then worked on from 8.30 to 12.30, and from 1.30 to 5.30. At the end of the week the machinery was stopped at 11.30 and work ceased altogether at 12 o'clock. A large number of the workpeople were paid day wages in the texile factories which were calculated on the basis of fifty-five and a-half hours per week. The time-cribbing of which he complained was done at the stopping and the starting of the work. It was a common thing for many of the workpeople to go to work five or ten minutes before the proper time, and they found the engines running, and frequently at noon on Saturdays during the period which had been set aside for cleaning, they found the time encroached upon by the manufacturing process being carried on at twenty minutes or a quarter to 12, whereas it ought to cease at 11.30. He had been furnished with the returns in some instances of the amount of time which had been worked over the proper number of hours. He had in his possession a letter from one of the branch secretaries of the Employees Association which gave the figures for five different mills upon which observations had been kept for a week. In the first mill three hours thirty-five minutes were worked over the proper time, in the second mill two hours sixteen minutes, in the third three hours forty-five minutes, in the fourth three hours forty-one minutes, and in the last case two hours forty-nine minutes. In each of those cases the workpeople had not been paid one penny extra. The House would realise the extent of this practice when he stated that in Lancashire there were close upon 50,000,000 spindles. There were a considerable number of employers who did not carry out the requirements of the Act in a satisfactory way. He believed he understated the fact when he said that the owners of 30,000,000 spindles were getting their employees to work overtime in the way he had described to the extent of fully two hours per week. If this was worked out it would be found that each employer of 120 persons, taking the wages at 4d. per hour, was putting into his pocket £4 per week to which he was not entitled. This meant that £60,000 per year represented labour given by the operatives for which they were not paid. This was unfair not only to the operatives themselves, but also to the good employers. Many of the employers would scorn to take a penny which the operatives had earned, but the fact that others did as he had described meant that the good employers who observed the law were subjected to unfair competition with the bad employers in whose case the cost of production was so much cheaper. There was another aspect of the question. The President of the Local Government Board was anxious to find a remedy for unemployment. A reduction in the hours of labour was a remedy which was favoured by many people. In this particular case he had made a calculation which showed that, taking two hours per week on 30.000,000 spindles, if the law was kept as the good employers kept it, there would be employment found for 2,500 additional workpeople if the same amount of work was turned out. That was in connection with the spinning department; but there was also the weaving section, where things had gone on the same lines. This system had been going on for a long series of years, and it did not seem to mend. He did not blame the inspectors. There was not a sufficient number of them. They were trying to do their duty manfully, but it was utterly impossible for them to see that all employers carried out the law. The Home Office desired the law to be carried out, but the staff at its disposal was unequal to the work. He found that the last Reports of the Inspectors of Factories and Workshops were generally to the effect that the practice of time-cribbing showed no sign of diminution. The deputation which waited upon the Home Secretary suggested that the police should be called upon to assist in this matter. The Home Secretary consulted nineteen Watch Committees, and of these sixteen reported unfavourably and three favourably. They never expected any favourable replies at all. He had obtained the constitution of these Committees in twelve towns, and his information showed that of 136 members no less than ninety-three were employers, and fifty-one were engaged in the cotton trade. Two of the towns which reported favourably were Hyde and Blackburn. In Hyde there were no cotton employers on the Committee and in Blackburn there were four labour members on the Committee. That seemed to prove that in the bulk of the cases the employers were looking after their own interests. The fact that most of the Watch Committees had reported unfavourably should not, he thought, deter the Home Secretary from taking action in the matter. He held that the police should be employed to give information to the inspector, who would bring the cases before the Court. The police were used for administering the Shop Hours Act and they prevented time-cribbing in public houses, and why should they not be employed in doing the same thing in factories? He asked too that all the inspectors and inspectors' assistants at the Home Secretary's disposal in textile districts should be employed in combating this evil. If this were done there would be a sensible improvement in the present condition of affairs. The penalties should be increased so that it would not pay an employer to break the law. A determined attempt should be made to stop this growing evil, to see that the women and children were protected, and to prevent honest employers being handicapped in competition with dishonest employers. It was for the Home Secretary to see that the Factory Acts were administered in such a way that there would be no cause for complaint.

*MR. JOWETT (Bradford, W.) said he desired to acknowledge the trouble which the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean had always taken in regard to questions affecting labour. The hon. Member for Berwickshire had referred to aniline and chrome poisoning. He would ask the Home Secretary to give special attention to this matter, not so much because of the number of fatal cases, but on account of the large number of cases where the sufferers lingered on, were rendered unhappy and uncomfortable by reason of its effects, and who still had to go on struggling in order to get their living. It seemed to him that it was not right or fair that a section of the population like the workers amongst wool should be put in the conditions in which they now had to labour. Therefore, he asked the Home Secretary to consider very carefully the representations that had been made to him, and to see whether nothing could be done to arrest the ravages of anthrax. He made no imputation against the Home Office as to the way in which the officials were performing their duties. He quite agreed that the rules which they tried to carry into effect were good, so far as they went, and perhaps effected all that they were expected to do; but he respectfully submitted that the line of action taken by the Home Office Department in regard to this disease of anthrax started at the wrong end. It started when the disease entered the factory, instead of preventing it entering the factory. He asked the Home Secretary, in conjunction with the President of the Local Government Board, to take action under the Public Health Act to deal with his disease. Last year there were not fewer than twenty cases of anthrax recorded in the town with which he was immediately connected, and of these ten were fatal. There were no signs of any permanent diminution in the disease in that area from the fact that there was no diminution in the quantity of infected material which the men had to handle. Most of that material was dirty, low grade wool which came from Persia and other Eastern countries. A large amount of it was worked up into what was called "oil-backing" in which cotton-seed and linseed oil was pressed to extract the oil from the seed. Most of the low-grade wools from which the mischief had arisen during the last few years was made into that kind of fabric. He asked the attention of the Secretary for Home Affairs particularly to the fact that there was one firm which had for the last fifty years made this fabric without having a single case of anthrax in their factory, although they were in competition with all the other great manufacturers in Yorkshire. Therefore, he maintained that no harm could be done to the wool and cloth industry of Yorkshire if this matter of dealing with the prevention of anthrax was undertaken seriously and effectively. He suggested that the Home Secretary should make careful inquiry as to what kinds of wool were infected, and having got that information he should not allow that wool to come into the country except under conditions in which it would be safe for the workers to deal with it. Dr. Bell, of Bradford, who was perhaps the greatest authority in this country on the disease of anthrax, had said that in nearly all cases the disease was derived in men from the handling of wool or hair from animals which had been diseased. The countries from which the wool and hair from these diseased animals came were well known.

It was all very well to issue regulations from the Home Office that the men who were handling these wools should wash their hands and so forth; but if the disease was in the material there was the potential risk of contracting the disease offered to all who handled it or inhaled the dust which came from it. The downward draft imposed by the regulations when the men were handling the wool did not remove, it only diminished, the risk of infection. He, therefore, asked the Home Secretary to get into communication with the Local Government Board with a view to action being taken under the Public Health Acts to prevent these disease-engendering wools from entering the country.

*MR. BYLES (Salford, N.) said that the House of Commons might be congratulated on the fact that there were men in this Parliament who had expert knowledge derived from their own experience of the conditions of labour which they wished to see ameliorated. A large amount of the legislation passed by Parliament was not operative. That often might be the fault of the local authorities who administered these Acts of Parliament; or it might be largely due to the want of anxiety on the part of officials to insist upon the provisions of the Acts of Parliament being enforced. It should be the business of Parliament to see that the public got the full benefit of every Act of Parliament passed for public advantage and safety. In 1895 it was agreed that there was a great improvement in the administration of the Home Office when the present Chancellor of the Exchequer held the portfolio of Home Secretary. He hoped that the present occupant of the Home Office would show equal energy and give a momentum to the administration of his department. Only that day he had had an interview with a deputation who desired that the working classes should have representation on the inspectorate. That only confirmed what had been said by the hon. Member for Leicester, that great improvements might be made in regard to the work of inspection. The matter which had been referred to by the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean in asking for an extension of the "Particulars" Clause to all piece-workers deserved the attention of the Home Office. In the borough which he represented he had been astonished to find the number of piece-workers —many of them ignorant and uninstructed—who were unable to ascertain the proper amount which they earned. When one went to an hotel one got a bill of what was due, and he thought in the same way that the worker who went into a factory and did piece-work ought to be entitled to a note showing what work he had done and what money he was entitled to, so that he might go away satisfied that he was not underpaid, as well as the employers being satisfied that he was not overpaid. Upon the subject of "time-cribbing," he had been amazed at the figures given by the hon. Member for Bolton. If it was going on to the extent stated it must be characterised as robbery—robbery of the poor by the rich, some of whom were thus fattening on the earnings stolen from their workpeople. The suggestion had been made that the police might be employed to carry out a system of detection of these frauds upon workers. He did not see what objection there could be to a proposal of that kind [MR. JOWETT: There is only one objection to it; it would be successful.]. Quite so, and he really did not see why such a course should not be followed. Last night they were engaged in passing a Musical Copyright Bill for the protection of another class of property under which the police had power to intervene, and when an employer deliberately and persistently robbed his workpeople he did not see why the police should not step in and protect the persons who were being robbed. He commended that idea to the Home Secretary, and he thought that until the inspectorate had been largely reinforced the police should look after the thieves. That was their business.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. GLADSTONE, Leeds, W.) said the Home Office had no statutory power in the matter.

*MR. BYLES said the House ought to give the Home Office statutory power. In regard to anthrax, having lived in Bradford for years he knew the prevalence of the disease amongst those who worked in wool and also the terrible nature of the disorder. It was a terrible disease, and if a man contracted it two days sufficed to kill him. A man went to work perfectly well and came home with a headache and in forty-eight hours he was dead, although previously he was a strong, healthy man. He had seen that happen time after time. Efforts were made thirteen years ago and orders issued in regard to certain precautions, but they had that evening heard upon the high authority of his hon. friend, who was the highest authority obtainable, that there was no improvement or reduction in the number of cases. He therefore appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to do what was necessary to prevent the spread of this terrible scourge which afflicted his own town, and pass more legislation if it was necessary. It had been argued that the wool should be excluded at the port of entry, and he might point out that, with a view to precluding the importation of disease, we already excluded foreign and even Canadian cattle. If steps of that sort were taken in regard to cattle why not in the case of wool? Another subject he wished to call attention to was the conditions under which girls worked in factories. In Salford where he had resided for many years he had been shocked at the conditions under which girls worked. There, as in many large towns, the growth and physical development of the young women suffered, and this must involve injury to the race when they become mothers. Many of these girls worked under most unhealthy and insanitary conditions. The factories and workshops were not properly inspected by the inspectors. He had promised his constituents that he would raise his voice upon this question, and he now did so. Their best hope was in the Home Office and in the earnest and vigorous administration of the factory and workshop legislation which this House had passed. He believed that the men who now formed His Majesty's Government were in full sympathy with the workers of this country, and were determined to do justice as between rich and poor; to relieve those who were helpless and cast down and those who were ill able to help themselves, and to give them all the advantages which Parliament had placed at their disposal. He hoped His Majesty's Government would see that the great and beneficent Acts which had been passed from time to time would not be allowed to remain inoperative, but would be allowed to fructify for the benefit of the poor.

*MR. O'GRADY (Leeds, E.) said he wished to call attention to the general question of factory inspection, and to remind the Home Office that those interested in labour were still clamouring for more factory inspection. At the present moment there were in London thousands of small factories and workshops in the East End that had never been seen by an inspector, and in these places men were being done to death for want of ventilation and sanitation. When a factory inspector put in an appearance the most beneficent results followed, and usually his requirements were so costly that it was found impossible to carry on a sweated industry under which men were done to death. He would like to take hon. Members to some of these premises, and he was sure that if he did so they would come back and make a considerable noise in this House over what they had seen. Then with regard to the dock labourers. Those who knew anything about shipping knew that the dock labourer was subjected to all kinds of risks every moment he was working. But most of the accidents occurred from defective gear. In regard to the dock labourers there should be special inspectors, acquainted, not only with all the rules of factory inspectorship, but having a special knowledge of the gear used in unloading vessels. As regards the cabinet makers he might point out that recently in cabinet making certain peculiar woods had come into use from the Congo and South Africa, and he asserted that 27 per cent. of the deaths of the members of the Society of Cabinet Makers were due to the poisonous substances exuded from these woods and absorbed through the skin of the workers. They had even to go to the length of striking as a protest against the employment of these kinds of timber in the trade. The shuttle makers had protested in this way time after time against the same thing, The wood was not essential for making shuttles and was only used because it was cheaper than the ordinary boxwood that ought to be used. The Report stated at page 382 that the remedy for this evil was the use of exhaust ventilation. It might minimise, but it would in no sense remedy it. Quite apart from the dust, the men absorbed the poison through their skin, and the only remedy was to prohibit the use of the wood. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to consider this matter. It was felt that many of these disasters could be minimised if not altogether remedied if the right hon. Gentleman would give broader and more definite instructions to the factory inspectors. £20,000 a year expended in additional inspectors would mean the saving of hundreds of lives and the prevention of many of the accidents that desolated the homes of the people engaged in workshops and factories. In this new Parliament was a new spirit which recognised that the most valuable thing on God's earth was the life of the workers, and its safety and well-being should have primary consideration; he therefore hoped the right hon. Gentleman would put the effective machine which he had in his hand into operation towads that end.

Mr. BRACE (Glamorganshire, S.) said he almost sympathised with the right hon. Gentleman who had been asked to do so much. He rose to ask him not to do one thing which he had commenced to do. Yesterday a Committee was appointed to inquire into the economic results which would follow an eight hour day if put into operation in the mines of the country. He objected to the Committee. The Miners' Federation of Great Britain, which represented every coalfield in the country except those of Durham, and Northumberland, felt they had not been treated as they ought to have been. For twenty years they had agitated for an eight hour day from bank to bank by Act of Parliament. They had spent thousands of pounds to advance their cause, and when in this Parliament they saw a large number of Members pledged to give this reform that the miners had sought for twenty years they were given a Departmental Committee and they were expected to be satisfied. There was upon the records of this House all the information that Parliament needed in order to determine whether there ought to be an eight hour day or not. In face of the fact that there had been twenty years of agitation and that the majority of the Members of this House were pledged to the people it was not treating them as they had a right to expect, to create this Departmental Committee, How could it assist them ? So strongly did they feel upon this point that he was authorised to say that they would be no parties to this Committee. They felt so strongly that they would carry this Vote to a division; they would not recognise the Departmental Committee. and they would not prejudice the cause of this great reform for which they had agitated for twenty years and for which they had spent thousands of pounds.

***Mr. GLADSTONE** said he very much regretted that his hon. friend should have committed himself to a view which was so much at variance with the facts. The Departmental Committee was appointed to help the Government in legislating for the purpose of carrying out the unanimous decision which the House arrived at a few months ago on the Second Reading of the Eight Hours Bill. He wished to remind hon. Members that no Government had ever brought in a Bill dealing with a question great enough to affect the whole country, dealing with difficult relations between employers and employed, and also suggesting many points of economic doubt and difficulty, without fortifying themselves for the task with full, careful, and impartial information. His hon. friend said they would not accept this Committee; they would not give evidence. Would his hon. friend allow him to point out what a Departmental Committee really was ? It was a Committee appointed by the head of a department to help him in a particular task. It was not to help the House of Commons, or to retard the House of Commons or to deal with any political movement in the country. It was appointed for a certain purpose which the head of a department might have in view in order to assist him to deal with whatever task might be put upon him. They had no authoritative, skilled, authentic, information. He could imagine himself bringing in a Bill and hon. Gentlemen opposite putting questions to him as to the effects of this Bill with regard to economic questions of output, foreign competition, and so forth, and all he would be able to say would be, "These are matters of mere speculation. Some say one thing and some another." If the hon. Member for South Glamorgan had sat in this House for twenty-six years, as he himself had, he would not so misconceive the nature of a Departmental Committee. He had on a previous occasion stated that he would be guided in the nature of the inquiry by the opinion of those most concerned. To begin with, this Committee was suggested to him by his hon. friend representing the mines of Durham and Northumberland. The hon. Gentleman said that Northumberland had changed its opinion on the question. That had nothing to do with this Committee, and, if he might say so, the objection of his hon. friend was very irrelevant to the purpose. They asked for the Committee, and it was clear to him that his hon. friends honestly wished to find some way of getting general assent with regard to the eight hours. It was not only in their interests, but in the interests of all concerned in the rapid and future progress of the question that this inquiry should be held, and that the Government should be armed with the information necessary to its task. He was not depending on that altogether. He had had a frank talk with his hon. friends about it and expessed the hope that they would not come to any Resolution. He explained to them that the Committee was appointed in a spirit of friendliness, and in no sense in a spirit of hostility to the eight hours question, and that it would accelerate progress and not retard it.

MR. BRACE said he made his speech after consultation with his hon. friend the Member for Hanley, and he ventured to think he had fairly put his views as well as his own before the House.

*MR. GLADSTONE said that in that case his hon. friend the Member for Hanley was under as great a misapprehension as his hon. friend the Member for South Glamorgan. His hon. friend had said they wanted to hurry the matter up. France, he said, had gone ahead of this country, and we stood where we were. He agreed that France had shown progressiveness on this question, but when his hon. friend said that France did not need an inquiry, he would ask, Was that true? What was the nature of the Bill adopted by the French Government? He was not aware that this debate was coming on, and so he did not arm himself with exact information, but, speaking from recollection, in the first place it was not what was called a bank to bank Bill at all. It was an Act by which hours from nine or nine and a half came down in half hour stages to eight, but the time was not reckoned from bank to bank, and the Act only affected the hewers of coal; further, if it was found that the Act worked harshly upon a poor man or a poor mineral district, that it really did reduce employment, restrict output, or play into the hands of the foreigner, then there were powers under that Act to suspend its operation. That might be one effective method of action, but was that the method his hon. friend would throw upon this country? Was that the method which the hon. Gentleman and his friends were ready to adopt? His hon. friend had said "follow France."

MR. BRACE: Follow France in the principle of progress.

*MR. GLADSTONE said they should follow everyone in the principle of progress. He really did appeal to his hon. friend not to act hastily in this matter. He could assure him, as one who had voted on every occasion in favour of the Eight Hours Bill, that they had taken up and committed themselves to the principle. His hon. friend and his colleagues were so conscious of the difficulties he had indicated to the House that they themselves had had reluctantly to take the Bill based partly on the French system. What was the nature of the difficulties? He did not know, nor did his hon. friends know. They existed in the air. The hon. Gentleman and his friends proposed a plan, but he did not know that this plan was necessary at all. The result of a skilled and impartial Committee might be that they could have an

Eight Hours Bill forthwith over the whole country. If that were so and his hon. friend took up the position the had indicated to the House what would then be his position? He would have done his best to impose a less perfect Bill upon the House, the country, and those he represented. He did appeal to his hon. friend to hold his hand. He was sure he had spoken under a misconception, and he begged him to, confer again with his hon. friend the Member for Hanley, and, at any rate, not to commit those for whom he acted to any action which was absolutely hostile to this inquiry. The inquiry was quite removed from the principle of eight hours. They wanted to find out exactly, as far as they could, the true economic value of the question as between one district and another and one class and another, and in the interests of the miners themselves he hoped his hon. friend would hold his hand. He passed on to the questions which had been brought to his notice this afternoon. His right hon. friend the Member for the Forest of Dean had surveyed the general question with all his great knowledge, and he confessed that on the whole he felt reassured from the character of the speech and the nature of the criticisms which the right hon. Gentleman made. He would answer one or two of his points at once. The right hon. Gentleman asked about the non-textile industries. He was afraid he could not give the right hon. Gentleman the details, but he would try to ascertain them and send them to him. Certain trades, namely, brush-making, net-making, indiarubber balloon making, boot and shoe manufacture, umbrella making, fustian cutting, certain branches of food manufacture, paper box making, and others were being considered and, he hoped, would be included in a comprehensive order. With regard to home-work the recent sweating exhibition, for which the *Daily News* deserved great credit, had made a great impression on the public mind. It was of great importance that this question of sweating should be kept in full view of the public, and it ought to be pulled out continually from the holes and corners where it existed and shown in the quarters of the well-to-do and well-fed, who little knew under what conditions these people worked. His right hon. friend had dwelt upon the importance of the fusion of the duties of sanitary and factory inspectors That was a matter to which he would give his attention. In 1894, when they first dealt with the question of outworkers, they found very great difficulty in bringing about any fusion of duties between the two classes of inspectors, but he would certainly consider the matter and see if anything could be done. He was sure that in this matter he could rely upon the co-operation of the President of the Local Government Board. The Member for Berwick had dealt with various important matters, including factories in which food was made, jam factories and the fish curing trade. So far as the protection of the general public was concerned that was a matter more for other authorities than the factory inspectors. Of course cleanliness bore upon that question, and he had called the attention of the Chief Inspector to the reports upon this subject, and special inquiries were being made during the busy season with a view to a special report upon the whole subject. As to accidents arising from the use of electricity, electricity was a comparatively new power applied to industrial life, and one of the difficulties of the Home Office naturally arose from the fact that the present staff were not electricians, and a knowledge of electricity was not required in the original equipment of the present staff of inspectors. But an electrical expert had recently been appointed an inspector to pay attention to this subject. With regard to what had been said about aniline dyes, he would give the subject special consideration, and he would call the attention of the Chief Inspector to the matter. The question of the use of poisonous wood in the making of shuttles and cabinet-making had been referred to by his hon. friend the member for East Leeds, and he agreed that that was a matter which ought to be closely examined. Some safeguards had recently been adopted and the Home Office had asked for a report on the subject. He would undertake to have a special report made in regard to any woods used for industrial purposes which endangered life. The hon. Member for East Leeds said there were thousands of workshops which were never visited by an inspector, but because they were not visited in one particular year it should not be assumed hat they were never visited at all. There were places inspected which were found so satisfactory that they were often written off for a time in order that other places might be visited. The Hon. Member had referred to the dangers of dock labour. He would take note of what had been said, particularly in reference to defective gear. He was proposing a special increase of the staff for this work by appointing four inspectors' assistants for London, Newcastle, Liverpool, and Glasgow, whose duty it would be to look after the safety of those employed in the docks. The hon Member for West Bradford had made an interesting speech on the subject of anthrax. The hon. Member for Salford had also referred to the great outbreak of this deadly disease. The figures showed that in 1899 the fatalities were fifty-five; in 1900, they were thirty-seven; 1901, thirty-nine; 1902, thirty-eight; 1903, forty-seven; 1904, fifty; and 1905, fifty-nine. That progressive rise in the statistics necessitated a very close and careful inquiry, and it was obviously a matter for very grave consideration. He agreed with everything that had been said as to the unfortunate extent of this disease. It had been suggested that the imported wool which was supposed to harbour the germs of this disease should be dealt with at the port of entry. That sounded a very good suggestion if it could be carried out. It was, however, somewhat difficult, because the wool was imported in large quantities, made up in bales, and to have it unpacked on landing would mean the placing of a very heavy tax on the trade. If no other way of dealing with the matter could be found, and if this way could be made effectual, he granted that it ought to be done. The question at the present moment was whether it would be possible. It was a complicated question, and there were great difficulties when they came to differentiate in matters of this kind in connection with imports. The question was whether the material could be subjected to any process which would really effect a cure for the evil. The difficulty was to find something which would sterilise these spores without injuring the material. That was the problem, and it had been engaging the serious attention of the Home Office for some time past. A Committee had been appointed in Bradford, with a Government subsidy, for the special purpose of experimenting in regard to the disease. He was informed by a friend of his of much experience in the Bradford trade that there were real hopes of a remedy being found by means of some process involving the submersion of the wool, or whatever the material might be, in a vessel containing chemical ingredients. He would not say more about that at the present time. There was no use of being oversanguine about remedies, but in this matter he had good reason for believing that there might be something done at no distant date.

MR. JOWETT said his suggestion was that wools which were actually dangerous might be excluded, though he did believe that steam pressure at 230 degrees Fahrenheit would prevent the danger.

*MR. GLADSTONE said that if the wool, or whatever the material might be which contained these spores in dangerous quantity did not yield to treatment, the only remedy would be to exclude the wool altogether. No doubt that could be done, but though they might get rid of the worst part of the evil by excluding wool which came from certain parts of the world the anthrax evil would always be with them, as wool was necessary in our textile industries. He would do everything in his power to further the investigation which was now going on. Information and instruction on the subject would be issued by his Department to those engaged in the industries concerned, so that when the disease was found to exist prompt action might be taken, in which case probably no harm would arise. On the subject of laundry inspection he had expressed his views over and over again. It was one of the questions with which they would be obliged to deal, and he would only say that he hoped to bring in a Bill next year. With regard to time-cribbing, he was perfectly ready to co-operate with his hon. friends or anyone in order to put down this evil. The time had come when employers should be formally warned that this infringement of the law for their personal gain was wrong, and that they had better put their house in order lest some drastic reforms might be found to be necessary. He hoped employers would be wise in time. It was fair, however, to say that some responsibility attached to the workpeople who gained [An HON. MEMBER: No], or thought they gained by the working of overtime, and he claimed their co-operation in putting a stop to a practice which was thoroughly bad. He had omitted to deal with one question of his right hon. friend the Member for the Forest of Dean. As soon as they got clear of the Workmen's Compensation Bill the subject of insurance should be taken up, and the Government would consider the best form of inquiry into the whole matter. Turning to the question of factory inspection, he said that with the manifold duties of his Department it had been wholly out of their power this session to devote themselves entirely to any one line of inquiry and investigation. He doubted whether the Home Office had ever been more severely pressed. In addition to the Workmen's Compensation Bill, the Department had been responsible for no less than ten small Bills. There had been heavy work on the criminal side, which had put a heavy strain upon the Department; they had had to deal with special difficulties in the administration of the London police, of the Aliens Act, of the Licensing Act of 1904, and of the Employment of Children Act and the bye-laws made under it. Then they had had heavy work in connection with lunacy and vagrancy; vaccination had been hurled at his head almost every Parliamentary day; and there was also vivisection, on which he had been tormented perhaps more in private than in public. They had had to deal with the question of criminal appeal and the big question of London traffic; and further, they had had to consider arrangements for the International Conference at Berne, at which this country for the first time would be officially represented. The hon. Member for Leicester had brought a somewhat menacing charge against the administration of the Factory Department. What he maintained was that the efficiency of the Factory Department of the Home Office had increased, was increasing, and would increase. He did not claim that it was perfect or that it had not its weak spots. All that he claimed was that as a Department it contained a large number of extremely competent and self-sacrificing men who were keen in the public interest to do their duty. He wished, in passing, to pay a tribute to the work of Sir Hamilton P. Freer-Smith, to whom on his retirement a word of public acknowledgment was due for his great and meritorious services in connection with the work of the Factory Department. He admitted that the Department might be open to attack in regard to the number of miles travelled by the officers when engaged in inspection duties. Comparing the number of miles travelled last year with the number of miles travelled in 1895, which he believed amounted to 94,400 miles as against 32,700 miles, he found that there had been an increase out of all proportion to the number of additional factory inspectors appointed. Obviously, when a man was travelling he could not be inspecting, and it would be his endeavour to see whether the high figure of miles travelled could not be reduced by a better system of organisation so as to concentrate the staff more directly on the factories and workshops under their charge. As to the attack made on the new examination syllabus, there was nothing sinister behind the scheme. The idea underlying the system introduced by the right hon. Gentleman opposite during his last year of office was to have an examination on a fairly wide range of subjects of general knowledge, and then, after a probationary period of two years, a qualifying examination in the special subjects of Factory Law and Sanitary Science, which were really better learnt during a period of actual work in the Factory Department than they could be from books alone. The object was to throw open the door as widely as possible to the best candidates from all quarters. As the syllabus stood, however, it was possible for a candidate to qualify by simply confining himself to history, French, German, or Italian. But the idea was not to stop there. There was the period of probation to consider, and after that there was the qualifying examination, so that the inspector would have time and opportunity to acquire the technical and practical knowledge necessary for the discharge of his duty and to show his aptitude for that work, such as appearing in Court and conducting a case, as well as in the practical and technical work he had to undertake. He did not object to the hon. Gentleman's criticisms as to examinations, but he did to the suggestion that there was undue predominance given to what was called social influence.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD said he did not know he had gone so far as that.

*MR. GLADSTONE said he wanted to get quite clear from his hon. friend what he really meant. He was therefore glad to hear that the hon. Gentleman had made no such charge. As to inspectors' assistants, he admitted that the system was open to his hon. friend's criticisms, and he had prepared a scheme which would go before the Treasury. At present the average age of these assistants was about thirty-eight, and a large number of them had arrived at the maximum salary of £150. They had therefore in prospect 27 years of public service without any advance in pay or in duty. He agreed that assistant inspectors had but a shadowy chance of getting into the inspectorate. But both as to their *status* and as to their duties he hoped to make a change which he trusted would be viewed by hon. Gentlemen as satisfactory. In many parts of the country and especially in Lancashire, workshops were being turned into factories owing to the application of electrical power. There were nearly 600 new factories in Lancashire alone, and under these circumstances the anomaly of the assistant inspectors' position could not be maintained. The system must be overhauled and expanded, and he hoped that more responsible duties would be given to the assistant inspectors under the new classification which would be set up, but he could not say more at present. He wished to say a word about the nominations of the full inspectors. The question was not quite so easy a one as it appeared at first sight. The only alternative to the present system of selection and nomination before examination was to accept all applications and cause the Civil Service Commissioners to hold an open competitive examination for the whole mass of candidates. There were hundreds of candidates, some well qualified to show up in an examination, but who were not necessarily fitted to make the best inspectors. That was the alternative to the present system. What happened under the system which had hitherto prevailed? The practice which had grown up in the department was at the least based on the honest wish to get the best men available, and it included personal interviews with the candidates, a very necessary precaution, in order to see whether certain personal qualities were possessed by them which one could only judge of by conversation with the men themselves. He did not make any charge against that practice or throw any blame upon anyone, but it seemed to him that they wanted something more. He had therefore set on foot a small Committee, with the Under-Secretary as chairman, to go through the papers of those who applied for the position of inspector, inspector's assistant, or lady inspector, and that Committee reported to him on the whole case and, having been so assisted, his final selection for nomination was made. Recently they gave twenty-one nominations for seven places, and he would request the House to listen to the qualifications of those who were nominated. Here was the fifth of the successful candidates, a Cambridge man who took honours in the history school and was placed in this competition in consequence of his general knowledge on the subject. Here was another of the successful men, who was trained at the Manchester Technical School, was a Whitworth scholar, had been apprenticed to an engineering firm, had been employed for some five years by a Birmingham firm of mechanical engineers, was with Armstrong, Whitworth & Co. engaged in special work from 1897 to 1899, when he became foreman fitter. He was the manager of another firm in 1901. That he thought was a pretty good qualification for the post of factory inspector. Here was another, who gained an open studentship at Liverpool University, was a Bachelor of Science of the first class of the Liverpool University, and had passed an examination in electrical engineering. From 1898 to 1901 he was pupil teacher at a grammar school. In 1904 he was science master at another school, and although he did not know what he would turn out to be in after life, it did not seem necessary for his hon. friend to use his imagination in conjuring up in the case of such a man the defects of those who might come under this scheme of nomination. Another was educated at Bromley Board School and made himself. He had obtained a scholarship at University College, had obtained exhibitions and a County Council scholarship at the South London Technical College. He had matriculated at the London University, and had passed the intermediate examination. A man who had raised himself like that and was qualifying himself still further was surely a man who was suitable to be a factory inspector. Another was educated at the Manchester School of Technology, and had obtained various scholarships and held various certificates from the Board of Education in regard to his attainments on various technical subjects, including steam, heat, light, and sound. He held many qualifications, and that was the sort of man that his hon. friend wished to exclude from the inspectorate. He would have romped in in any examination, and was equipped in every point, the alleged absence of which formed the staple criticism of his hon. friend. Another again won an exhibition at the Royal College of Science, London, a Whitworth Scholarship, and was at present taking an advanced course in electrical science at the Technical College, South Kensington. The remaining one of the seven successful candidates held a certificate as a sanitary inspector and a first class certificate in hygiene. He was employed by a firm of sanitary engineers from 1894 to 1901, employed by similar firms in 1902, in which year he was appointed sanitary inspector for the Hampstead Borough Council. It seemed to him that these were the right class of men to nominate and the very men that were wanted. He could not agree that an amalgamation of the inspectors and assistant inspectors would be desirable. The demands on the inspectors were such as to require men to devote themselves for years to preparing for the satisfactory discharge of the duties of inspection. Whatever was done, however, the factory inspectors' assistants ought to have the opportunity of advancement. Possibly places among the inspectorate should be reserved for them, and they ought to rise in grades to positions for which their powers and capacities fitted them. The hon. Member for Leicester had made out no case which would justify an open public inquiry, but he would promise to give careful consideration to the question of the organisation of the factory department. If he had thought that public confidence in that department had been shaken or that anything was to be gained from a departmental inquiry he would be the first to seek it. But he did not think there were any dark places in the Home Office. There should not be so long as he had anything to do with it, and there was no subject connected with the Home Office which interested him more than that side of it which dealt with factories and workshops. With regard to recent appointments of inspectors, he had nominated three lady inspectors, and the total number, if those three passed the examination, would be fifteen. They had also appointed four additional factory inspectors' assistants and four junior assistants. As to the reorganisation of the inspectors' assistants department, his wish and hope was not only to improve the condition of the assistants financially, but to add to the duties in amount and in importance.

MR. T. RICHARDS (Monmouthshire, W.) said that after there had been so much criticism of the Home Secretary he thought it was only right that he should give his tribute of praise and commendation to the right hon. Gentleman for the promptness with which on his taking over the duties of his office he had considered the interests of the mining population. Labour Members had for years been urging upon the late Government the necessity of doing something by way of research and investigation into the means of preventing a great number of the accidents which occurred in mines. The mining population generally of the country were much gratified at the appointment of the Commission, at its composition, and at the terms of its reference. There was only one point in connection with the terms of reference to which he wished to call attention. He was not quite sure that the reference permitted the Commission to inquire into the efficiency or adequacy of the mining inspectors. The present system of mine inspection was totally inadequate. In one case he could cite there was only one chief inspector with two assistants to supervise 100,000 workmen. Inspection under such conditions was of course a sham. The last coal mine disaster in South Wales in which number of men lost their lives was in consequence of the inundation of water. It was said that the manager omitted to take the proper precautions. But, as a matter of fact, a short time before the water broke in, the mine inspector had himself been to examine the colliery and its plans, and if the precautions had not been taken he ought to have known. They congratulated the right hon. Gentleman on appointing the Commission. The chief thing he desired to say was that he was himself surprised that the right hon. Gentleman should have expressed surprise at the passionate speech of the hon. Member for South Glamorganshire in regard to the Departmental Committee appointed to consider the eight hours day, having regard to the history of the question, and to the fact that the Prime Minister and nearly every Member of the House had repeatedly voted in favour of an eight hours day. Nearly every Liberal had repeatedly given pledges at their election in favour of an eight hours day for miners. The miners of Wales had a stronger case than those in other parts of the country, because the Welsh Party as a whole, notwithstanding any difference there might be between them on other matters, were unanimous upon this subject. Had he spoken before his hon. friend he would have been quite as passionate as he on the question of the appointment of this Committee. His hon. friend at all events was to be congratulated in having drawn an equally passionate speech from the right hon. Gentleman. It was absolutely ludicrous to say that the reduction of the hours of a few thousand boys from ten to eight was going to upset the conditions of this country. He did not wish to labour this point, and after the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, as far as he was personally concerned, he did not wish to force the House to a division on the question. He hoped the Committee referred to would get to work, and he trusted that next session the Government would be able to take up an Eight Hours Bill for miners.

MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck) said he was glad that his hon. friends opposite did not intend to take up the extreme attitude suggested by the hon. Member for South Glamorgan. Throughout this controversy for over twenty years the Northumberland and Durham representatives had been quite as anxious as anyone else to see a satisfactory solution of the eight hours question. The reason why they suggested that an inquiry should be instituted was in order that the Committee might have an opportunity of guiding them along right and proper lines. Some of the promoters of this measure had declared that they had a perfect solution of the question which would not impose any additional injury upon the districts of Durham and Northumberland. As far as he was concerned he had been calling for that solution for the last twenty years, and it had never yet been forthcoming. With regard to the ballot upon this question which had been mentioned, 18,000 out of 22,000 voting papers were returned, and yet that only gave a majority of 465 in favour of the proposal. What he would like to see was a similar vote taken throughout the whole of the Federation area. There was scarcely a case where a ballot had been taken in the Federation area in the same way as it had been taken in the county of Northumberland.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE asked leave to withdraw his Motion for reduction.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

*MR. STUART (Sunderland) said he desired to refer to the question of the qualification of factory inspectors. He had listened with much interest to the series of qualifications of the seven successful candidates who had been nominated, but it was rather remarkable that there was only one of those inspectors who had had direct personal acquaintance with practical work in any factory. They required on the inspectorate men who had a great amount of such experience, which could only be gained by those who had themselves worked in the actual processes in the factories. No doubt the men appointed would develop excellent qualities and most of them had had an excellent training, but the one element that was wanting was their actual experience of practical daily life and work in the factory, and he thought that that element could be easily introduced without any diminution of value and character of the inspectors. The object was of course the safety and the security of the workers, and personally he believed there was no one so capable of finding out what was dangerous to workpeople as the man who had been through the mill himself. He hoped that in future a certain amount of extra consideration would be given to those candidates who had had actual practical experience, and if this suggestion was adopted it would tend not only to the benefit of the workmen, but also to the benefit of employers, who liked nothing worse than interference in their businesses by persons who did not understand the thing practically.

Mr. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked what had been done to strengthen the staff of the Home Office on its criminal side.

***Mr. GLADSTONE** said it had been strengthened by the appointment of an additional assistant Under-Secretary.

Mr. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, N.E., Clitheroe) said that vigorous measures should be taken to put down time-cribbing in textile factories, which was not only injurious to the workers, but competitively unfair to honest manufacturers. More summonses should be issued and heavier fines imposed. He cordially agreed with the action of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean in withdrawing this Amendment. The answer they had received from the Home Secretary was fairly satisfactory and gave them encouragement to hope that before another year came round the right hon. Gentleman would have achieved something in the direction which he honestly desired to go. With regard to the use of dangerous wood, some of his constituents were anxious to know whether there was any bad effect upon the weavers who had to use the shuttles made from that particular kind of wood. The weavers frequently had to put these shuttles to their mouth and suck them in order to get the thread to go through. He did not know whether there was any danger attending that, and perhaps the Home Secretary would include that in the promised inquiry. With regard to time-cribbing he thought the right hon. Gentleman was mixing up two questions, time-cribbing and meal hour work. They had encouraged the people not to persist in meal-hour work, but in regard to time-cribbing the operatives had no choice, because if the engines were running they were bound to be there. They could not leave until the engines were stopped, because they would have to run the risk of having a sudden stopping of machinery which might result in a breakdown in the mill. He believed the right hon. Gentleman had two remedies which he might apply. In the first place there was the question of the police, which required legislation, but he believed that so far as administration was concerned the Home Office had power to take more cases. There was very little danger of getting wrong in regard to the evidence if they found the mill running and persons under eighteen years of age were working them, because that was illegal. If the police went into a weaving shed and found 600 persons working. an action in every one of those cases could be taken against the employer. An inspector recently took proceedings in thirty-nine cases against an habitual offender, and he was fined nearly £30. Those men who competed so unfairly with other employers ought to be made to pay very heavily. After all, it was merely a question of money, and a fine of 5s. and costs was a mere bagatelle to the employers. If the Home Office meant to put the practice down they must issue a summons in every case, and the only way to deal effectively with it was to make the fines amount to a few hundreds of pounds. Let the Home Office issue instructions to the inspectors to take up more cases. With regard to the qualifications for inspectors he was not in a position to judge whether the various questions put before the candidates were necessary or not from an educational point of view, but he had no hesitation in saying that they were not required from a practical point of view.

*DR. COOPER (Southwark, Bermondsey) urged that the number of paid Lunacy Commissioners should be increased. They were required by the Lunacy Act to see every lunatic detained in an asylum at least once a year. The Board as at present constituted was unable properly to discharge its duties. There were six Commissioners, three barristers and three doctors. On the work of inspecting lunatic asylums they went in pairs, a legal member always accompanying a medical member. If all the lunatics in the asylums were examined each pair of Commissioners would have to examine 39,943 in the year. It was physically impossible that they could do so and determine whether anyone was wrongly detained in an asylum. He had been associated with the administration of the Asylums Committee of the London County Council, and he found that instead of the Lunacy Commissioners taking three days to visit an asylum containing 2,000 inmates, it was a very rare thing to find that they took longer than two days, and he had known them visit the whole of the people in a large asylum in one day. He did not think anyone could say that that was efficient inspection. As a rule these Commissioners took round with them the Medical Superintendent of the Asylum, who explained the cases. He did not think this method was contemplated when the Commissioners were first appointed, and it was intended the Commissioners should be absolutely free to go round the asylum without the superintendent. He thought this was necessary for the safety of the people who ought to have the privilege once a year of being seen by an independent person who was not interested in their detention. He believed that the legal Commissioner was a valuable man in the Committee room, but he could not conceive of what use he was in going round an asylum. An important point to which he wished to call attention was the practice of the Commissioners in regard to the examination and passing of plans for new asylums and for alterations on existing buildings.

And, it being a quarter past Eight of the clock, and there being Private Business set down by direction of the Chairman of Ways and Means under Standing Order No. 8, further Proceeding was postponed without Question put.

LANCASHIRE ELECTRIC POWER BILL
(BY ORDER).

Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

SUPPLY [31ST JULY] REPORT.

Postponed Proceeding on Consideration of Third Resolution resumed.

Question again proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

*DR. COOPER, resuming his speech, said the Commissioners had placed upon them the duty of inspecting the plans for new asylums and for alterations of existing buildings. In connection with that work they had an architectural adviser. He had not the slightest personal knowledge of that gentleman, and it was the system which had grown up in connection with plans to which he objected. The architectural adviser of the Commissioners was a gentleman whose own professional work was very largely, almost exclusively, confined to the erection of asylums. The general complaint had been that unless the asylums committees of county councils engaged either the architectural adviser of the Commissioners, or an architect whose name appeared on a small list kept by them, great delay took place in the passing of the plans, and that the plans were unduly criticised. Not only was that the case, but if an asylums committee engaged the architect who was adviser to the Commissioners, or an architect whose name appeared on the Commissioners' list, he invariably tried to select the contractor. County councils all over England complained that they were in this way deprived of competition in obtaining both architects and contractors. In support of this statement he read an extract from speeches delivered at the annual meeting of the County Councils Association in May last year. This was a very serious matter, and he thought the Home Secretary should consider whether the time had not arrived when the architectural adviser of the Commissioners should be an architect who would devote his whole time to the duties of the office. His own experience as a Member of the Special Committee of the London County Council appointed to prepare plans for its new asylums brought him into close connection with the Lunacy Commissioners, and he could testify that a great deal of what he regarded as unnecessary delay was caused through plans being sent back time after time with inquiries and suggestions as to trifling details. The County Council had just finished the asylum at Epsom, when the Commissioners all of a sudden said that if they did not at once build another asylum, the replica of an asylum recently built by the Commissioners' architect, the Council would be reported for default to the Home Secretary. They had a rather weak-kneed chairman at the time, and unfortunately he gave way to the demands of the Commissioners, and this put several thousand pounds into the pocket of the architectural adviser of the Commissioners. He had known the Commissioners' architect have three or four asylums on his hands at the same time. He complained of the growing tendency to send aged people into asylums. The figures in regard to this were extremely startling. In 1903–4 there were 1,445 people over seventy years of age sent into asylums as lunatics, though suffering from senile degeneration and nothing more. There were 18 per cent. of the men and 24 per cent. of the women over eighty. He thought this was one of the things confined to the poor. The whole of these people ought to have been kept in workhouses. There was one woman on the verge of 100 years of age included in the number to which he had referred, and it was a scandal that she should have been sent to die in an asylum. There ought to be some inquiry into the increase of lunacy, and also into the way in which old people were treated. He was dining recently with an eminent lunacy expert who, in an after-dinner speech, said that if rich men were treated in exactly the same way as many of the poor people a third of the Members of another House would die in lunatic asylums. The percentage of discharges of recoveries was entirely in favour of the wealthy. It was, therefore, his desire to press upon the Home Secretary the appointment of a Commission to investigate into the condition of things. During the last fifty years great advances had been made in the science of medicine and of surgery which had been to the great advantage of mankind; but no improvement had been made in the treatment of lunacy; and until an inquiry into the present treatment of lunatics and the whole conditions under which these poor people were maintained at the cost of £3,000,000 per annum had been instituted there would be no improvement in the treatment of lunacy. He admitted that under the Asylums Committees of the County Councils matters had been much improved; the treatment was better, and the attendants were of a better type. But still, the percentage of cures had gone down, and the knowledge of the essential nature of insanity and its causes or its prevention was no better to-day than it was a hundred years ago. Until a more scientific investigation was made into the cause of brain disease there would be no better means of cure forthcoming. The London County Council had asked for Parliamentary powers to establish receiving houses from which they removed patients after observation to the asylums and Parliament had rejected their Bill. He invited the Home Secretary to place England more on the level with the Scottish system of Lunacy Commissioners which was infinitely better than that in this country. Another thing which he desired was that provision should be made for a visiting staff from the outside. Wherever that had been recognised it had been found to be of the greatest value; and, as a matter of fact, the principle of a visiting staff from the outside had received the support of the Local Government Board, of the Lunacy Commission, and even of the late Lord Chancellor—which was something extraordinary! When the New York Board of Lunacy heard of the scheme for receiving houses they had sent over to this country a Commission to make inquiry as to the methods suggested here, and they were so impressed with the scheme of the London County Council that they had adopted it in New York with great success. Glasgow also sent their medical officer, who has adopted it there successfully. While London after spending years to develop a scheme which met with the approval of the most eminent members of the medical profession was yet without its municipal mental hospital. What he pressed for was inquiry by a Commission or Committee—an inquiry which had not been made for fifty years. The lunatic asylums statistics were valueless in many respects, because they were not uniform. Every asylum sent in its figures in a different shape and form; and it was impossible to arrive at a consideration of the reasons for the very serious increase of lunatics in the country.

*MR. REMNANT (Finsbury, Holborn) said that the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had been very unfair to the Home Secretary when he accused him of wanting interest in the matter which he was discussing. He did not think that anyone who had listened to the excellent speech of the Home Secretary could accuse him of any lack of interest in any of the subjects which had been touched upon. There was, however, one point which had been omitted by the right hon. Gentleman in his review. It was a matter in regard to which every Member in the House would, he believed, be in agreement with him, and that was the desirability of giving the members of the Metropolitan Police Force one day's rest in seven, instead of only one in a fortnight. Several questions had been asked upon the point, and the right hon. Gentleman had given sympathetic answers. Sympathy was all very well, but unless it was followed up by action it was not of much value in this case. What was the present position of affairs in regard to the Metropolitan Police Force? New demands were made upon them every day, but these had been accompanied by no increase in pay. It was true that some house allowance had been made, but it was very partial in its application. For instance, one policeman living on one side of the street might get a house allowance while another policeman living on the other side of the street did not get it. It had been said that the concession of one day's rest in seven would involve a cost of £150,000, equal to the extra employment of 2,000 members of the force; but, in the opinion of competent advisers whom he had consulted one quarter of that number would meet the demand. Nobody in the House would deny that the members of the Metropolitan Police Force were deserving of every consideration. They were a body of men with difficult duties to discharge, which they performed with great ability and with every consideration for those with whom they were brought in contact. He did not believe that the cost of granting one day's rest in seven to the force would be anything like £150,000; he thought that £50,000 would more than cover the additional expense incurred, and no one would grudge that expenditure owing to the benefits that would be conferred on the force. If the right hon. Gentleman was uncertain about the cost he asked him to appoint a Committee which would investigate the matter thoroughly, and find out what the exact amount would be. If the right hon. Gentleman took this step it would be one which he was sure he would never regret.

*MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs) said that the electors in the district which he represented were very much interested in the question of the appointment of factory inspectors, because many of them had houses in the Montgomery boroughs, and worked in South Wales, and he urged the absolute necessity of the appointment of such factory inspectors in Welsh mines as possessed a thorough knowledge of the Welsh language. There was a solidarity of sentiment on this subject between South, North and Central Wales. His constituents, though they seldom approached the Home Secretary, were all worthy of his attention, and he was very sure he was representing their opinion when he said that every Government Inspector in Wales should speak the Welsh language. Indeed, his constituents made it a condition of his own election that he should learn it himself, and he was doing his best to carry out their wishes. He hoped that when the right hon. Gentleman replied to the speech of the hon. Member for Bermondsey, he would realise that some notice should be taken of the great expense of maintaining lunatics, as he thought that the pockets of the ratepayers ought to be considered quite as much as the comfort of the lunatics, though the latter subject only had been brought under his notice. In the county of Montgomeryshire, which was conspicuously well administered, he was aware that the heavy charges under this head gave the county council no little occasion for thought, though it was anxious that everything in reason should be done to alleviate the lot of the unfortunate.

MR. T. F. RICHARDS (Wolverhampton, W.) said the failure of the factory inspector was often due to the fact that he had not been a practical man. In the boot and shoe industry, in which he was engaged, he had known instances in which large deductions were made from the wages of those employed owing to the fact that the factory inspector was not acquainted with the life of those employed in the district, and especially he did not know anything about the lives of the outworkers. He ought to visit the outworker and see the conditions of his employment. He was glad that some improvement was being made in this respect, but it seemed rather a peculiar thing so far as he was concerned that some gentleman who had held the position of the manager of a particular kind of works should take a berth at £150 a year to inspect factories. It reminded him of the time when they were inspected by Army officers. Men who received less than they considered they were entitled to did not take that interest in their work that the workers ought to do, and it was important that the workers should be protected against these exactions. In regard to those who worked in the forge, the mill and the mine, he did not think that sufficient attention was given by the inspectors to the dangerous side of their work, and therefore the men did not get the protection which the law provided. He thought upon all these grounds that an inspector should have some experience as a worker. He should like to add a word with respect to female inspectors. He noticed that we had nine for the whole of the country.

*MR. GLADSTONE: It will be fifteen this year.

MR. T. F. RICHARDS said no doubt that was a better condition of things than had prevailed hitherto, but he still thought that the number was insufficient. Fifteen lady inspectors could not perform the work and cover the whole country. He came from the town of Leicester, in which he had spent his whole life, and they had only one female inspector for 220,000 people. Very insanitary conditions prevailed in the factories, and he was satisfied that in that town alone they could find work for half-a-dozen lady inspectors.

*MR. GLADSTONE said he echoed what the last speaker had said and agreed that the number of lady inspectors was very small indeed. He also appreciated the friendly criticism of his hon. friend who had insisted upon the fact that inspectors should be able to speak the Welsh language. He was aware that it was desirable that they should do so, and he spoke from an experience both of North and Central Wales. As a matter of fact the Home Office had paid and was paying special attention to the qualifications of factory inspectors for the work which they had to do. Extraordinary chaos now prevailed in regard to the responsibility for the management and control of lunatic asylums. In regard to them he had a mere shred of responsibility. He passed the plans and sanctioned the estimates. The county councils built the asylums, the Local Government Board sanctioned the loans, and the Lord

Chancellor appointed the Lunacy Commissioners. At one time the Home Secretary appointed the Commissioners, but some seventy or eighty years ago a change was made and a Bill was brought into the House of Commons and sent up to another place and became law under which the Home Secretary was deprived of the charge of the Lunacy Commissioners and the Lord Chancellor was substituted for the Home Office. Consequently the responsible functions of the Home Secretary were taken away and vested in the Lord Chancellor, and he had been left with this shred of authority. He was not in the least satisfied with the position. He was not responsible for the management of the asylums and all he had to do was to pass plans which had been pretty well settled before they came up to him. He was all in favour of an examination into the whole system of inspection and the organisation of inspection. Under the present system they had six paid Commissioners, three legal and three lay, and they had to go all over the country in pairs inspecting the lunatic asylums. It seemed to him that that system was both antiquated and absurd. The Government appointed half a dozen highly qualified gentlemen at high salaries and then they said that they were to go over the country in pairs and inspect lunatic asylums. What was the result? The result was that there was a totally insufficient inspection and the Department had not got the handy man who was ready at their beck and call to go and inspect a particular asylum when inspection was necessary. Instead of a system of that sort they had to arrange that two of these stately Commissioners should go down and inspect. No doubt the system was instituted when the demands on the attention of the Commissioners were not what they were now, and the knowledge on the subject was not what it was now. It seemed to him that they ought to have a qualified staff of inspectors who could be told off to do their duty at any time that was required. The Commission on the Feeble-minded was on the point of reporting, and its Report would deal largely with lunatic asylums. When that Report had been received the Government would consider what action was desirable. He had already been in communication with the Lord Chancellor on the subject. As to the cost of giving the police one day's rest in seven, he had no reason to believe that the estimate of £150,000 was inaccurate, but he would go into the matter further. He was entirely in sympathy with the proposal, but he might point out that it involved expenditure and would lead to a corresponding increase of expenditure throughout all the provincial areas. Comparing Scotland, he found that they got one Sunday off in three in Glasgow and Edinburgh. He believed there were differences in practice among the Scottish County forces, but that usually on Sunday they gave the police time off in order to attend divine service and in some cases they made it compulsory for the men to attend. If the ball was started rolling in London it would have to run all over the country, and that meant a very serious question. He had drawn the attention of the police authorities to this matter. There was a strong desire on the part of the House that progress should be made towards realising what was in the minds of hon. Members with regard to this question.

MR. T. L. CORBETT (Down, N.) said he would like to refer to the sympathetic terms in which the right hon. Gentleman referred to the question of inspection of women workers. The returns made during the last Parliament showed that no fewer than 144,000 women and girls were left entirely outside the protection of the Factory Acts, while 88,000 only were protected by the Acts. That in itself ought to be a sufficient appeal even to anybody less sympathetic than the right. hon. Gentleman, and should make them realise that the present situation was extremely unsatisfactory. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to promise some legislation during the coming autumn in order to bring in these 144,000 women and children who were working outside the protection of the Factory Acts.

Question put, and agreed to.

Subsequent Resolutions agreed to

Postponed Resolutions agreed to.

SUPPLY [5TH JULY] REPORT.

Resolution reported.

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1906-7.

CLASS II.

"That a sum, not exceeding £40,396, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1907, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs."

MR. GOOCH (Bath) referred to the question of Macedonia, and said he thought all agreed that this was the most troublesome and perhaps the most difficult question confronting this country at the present time. He hoped very much that the Government and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs would not give the consent of England, which was the country principally interested, to the Customs increase unless they got in return conditions very much more far-reaching and satisfactory than anything they had up to the present obtained. To allow the Sultan to claim an extra half million a year without some such conditions as those laid down by Lord Lansdowne last year would only enable him to maintain his already swollen Army and perpetuate a state of things of which we all complained. He wished also to know from the Foreign Secretary whether he had received any reply from the Sultan with reference to the demands put forward by all the Powers in connection with the increased powers of the *gendarmerie*. Those demands were so reasonable and so moderate that it was exceedingly weak and undignified on the part of the great Powers to allow month after month to pass—the demands were made in April—without receiving a reply. He hoped, therefore, the Foreign Secretary would ask once again and in a more determined manner than hitherto. He should like to know also whether the report of the English representative on the Financial Commission had been received or was likely to arrive in the immediate future. From the accounts of several correspondents it appeared that the condition of affairs in regard to the Financial Board was exceedingly unsatisfactory. The scheme had the making of an excellent scheme as put forward last autumn, but it was very much whittled down before being accepted by the Sultan, and since then he was afraid the amount of work which the Commission had been able to do had been very small. Would the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs ascertain whether it was making any real progress? If it were not, would he take whatever steps were necessary to give that Commission more power and to bring it more into conformity with the plan originally designed when Lord Lansdowne made the suggestion last year? There were two main reasons for imploring the Foreign Secretary to take a more active line in connection with this question. The first was the internal condition of Macedonia. He understood that there were something like 200 murders a month. Neither the *gendarmerie*, nor the Commission, nor the civil assessors have been able to render life and property safe. The second reason was the international situation. Lord Lansdowne said in the House of Lords a few weeks ago that Macedonia was a constant menace to the peace of Europe, and since then additional proof of that statement had been received. War had almost been brought about between Greece and Roumania. So long as the Bulgarians in Macedonia were at the mercy of raiding Greek bands or Turkish irregulars so long would there exist a feeling of tension between Turkey and Bulgaria which might involve other countries in Europe. He hoped he would get a satisfactory reply from his right hon. friend in regard to these matters.

*__MR. LYNCH__ (Yorkshire, W.R., Ripon) said that it had been decided to take this Vote because of the recognised importance of foreign affairs. But if foreign affairs had the importance with which he knew his right hon. friend invested them, and with which many hon. Members would be inclined to agree in investing them, then surely they ought not to be brought up for debate in forty minutes—between Lunacy and 10 o'clock —if the object was to enable Members to express their views. The question he wished to raise to-night was that of the

3 per cent. increase in the Customs duties on British goods entering Turkey—an increase which was not leviable without our consent. In itself this increase might not appear to be very important; but, as he hoped to show this evening, it brought with it most important commercial and political results. They on the Ministerial side were a Party committed to the principles of Free Trade, and, that being the case, he submitted that they should do their very best to develop those great neutral markets in which hitherto, if there were any Customs duties at all, they were only for revenue purposes. The great markets of China, Manchuria, Persia, and Turkey were the markets which a Free Trade country like ours should above all things endeavour to cultivate and to develop. This question of the 3 per cent. increase vitally affected one of these great neutral markets. The question had been already debated in another place, the discussion having been remarkable for a speech by Lord Lansdowne in which two things became clear; first, that the policy of the late Government in the matter had been the policy of the British Ambassador in Constantinople, and secondly, that the late Secretary of State strongly counselled his successor, the right hon. Baronet, to stiffen his conditions considerably before reopening negotiations with the Porte. His right hon. friend was well aware of his views and those of his friends, as well as of the Balkan Committee and of the great chambers of commerce of this country. His right hon. friend had received strong protests from these bodies against the proposed increase. In view of all these remonstrances he would personally have been content to leave the matter to the judgment of his right hon. friend. But his right hon. friend was, after all, not an autocrat. He was in fact the only representative organ of a powerful bureaucracy, whose transactions were screened from the representatives of the people by an impenetrable veil of secrecy. He could wish that the conduct of foreign affairs might be scrutinised by a Committee of this House, framed somewhat on the model of similar Committees in other Parliaments. It would inspire greater confidence and bring to the consideration of foreign questions new points of view. Above all, it would impress into the service of the country the ripe experience of many hon. Gentlemen who had particular knowledge of these questons, and would prevent such experience from going to seed in this House. But, without labouring that point, it was sufficient for him to dwell upon the fact that, outside official circles, the opinions of those who had studied the question were on one ground or another unanimously, or almost unanimously against the proposed increase of the Customs. Now where did they stand? In May last proposals were presented by the Powers to the Porte attaching certain conditions to their consent to the increase. These proposals were rejected by the Porte. The Government had informed the House that they were now engaged in reconsidering the whole question. Two courses were open to them: either to refuse to negotiate further or to make more stringent conditions. The latter course he understood was suggested by Lord Lansdowne in another place. What were the facts? He would ask: By whom would the duties be paid? What were the Powers who asked us to make this concession, and what was the consideration offered? Under the scheme 60 per cent. of the duties were to be levied upon British trade. It was not for him to argue whether the duties were paid by British manufacturers or whether, as he believed, by the Turkish consumer; for the effect must in either case be injuriously to affect British trade, because the Turkish consumer, who was an extremely poor man and becoming daily poorer, would be unable to purchase the same amount of commodities owing to the increase of price. The Powers which were urging us to give our consent to the increased duties were the protectionist Powers of Europe—the very Powers which were taxing the imports from Turkey into their countries at very high rates. It made very little difference to these Powers whether Turkey put on a tax of 11 per cent., or of 8 per cent., because, being protected nations, they clapped on far higher taxes on the imports that Turkey sent to them, whereas we took all the imports Turkey sent us entirely free from duty. Therefore we occupied a privileged position, and we had a right to say to the Powers that in

virtue of our free market and also of the fact that we supplied 60 per cent. of this trade we, above all other Powers, ought to be considered in this matter. We had, further, a right to say to Turkey that she ought to consider us most, as we let in all her goods free of duty. Giving, as we did, all this to Turkey, what was the consideration we got in return ? He understood we were going to get an improvement of the Customs Houses, a new Mining Law, and possibly collection of the Customs by the Public Debt. As regarded the last-mentioned, it was already provided for by the Decree of Muharram of 1903. As regarded the new Mining Law, he had been in communication with some mining authorities, and he had received a letter, unsolicited, from a leading mining authority in which the writer said that a point which struck him forcibly about these transactions with the Turkish Government was the ignorance of this country as to the supposed benefits which we were to receive by the improvement of the Mining Law. He hoped his right hon. friend would not think that collection by the Public Debt was entirely in the interests of this country. It was of course an admirable administration; but at the same time collection of Customs by a European administration was always an assistance to the Power desirous of lending money to Turkey. That Power was not Great Britain. The bringing in of European Customs administration into Persia had been the means by which Russia had gained her great commercial supremacy in that country. Then for what purpose were these revenues to be applied ? They were to be devoted to supply the Macedonian deficit. But what on earth had our traders to do with the Budget of Macedonia ? Surely if it was the desire of the Powers to come to the assistance of Turkey in Macedonia, why did they not issue a joint loan to Turkey in connection with Macedonia, and leave the Customs free ? But was there any need for such a loan ? The deficit in the Macedonian Budget for the year ending March 13th, 1906, was £687,855, caused entirely by the enormous military expenditure which during the year was £1,303,161, as against civil expenditure of £678,223. The revenues which would accrue from the increased duties had been estimated at £750,000; and, deducting 25 per cent. for the reduction of debt, there would be £560,000 left. If the proposal were adopted to have the Customs collected by the Public Debt authorities, there was no doubt that the revenues would more than balance the deficit in the Macedonian Budget. The deficit was now supplied by drafts on the Department of Indirect Taxation according to the arrangement of December, 1905. At present, therefore, the deficit in Macedonia was supplied by Turkey out of existing Customs duties ; and what we were asked to do was to supplement those revenues to the extent of at least £600,000 a year. The result would inevitably be that a corresponding sum at present drawn from Imperial taxation would be applicable to any other purposes which Turkey might have in view. Everything pointed to the fact that these sums would be used by Turkey to provide a guarantee for the Baghdad railway. He was not in the least opposed to that railway, but they must insist that this country obtained proper terms in the settlement connected with it. If our Government consented to an increase in the Customs before we had obtained proper terms from Germany in the Baghdad railway, we should be throwing away one of the strongest cards in our hands. He therefore entered his protest. We supplied at present three-fifths of the trade with Turkey, and he was sure if we were only left alone we might increase it to a greater proportion. If the Foreign Office came in with an arrangement of this nature, all he could say was that the same result would follow in Turkey as had come about in Persia.

The SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir EDWARD GREY, Northumberland, Berwick) : My hon. friends have raised a very important question. The increase in the Customs dues and the reform of Macedonia have been, by the policy of the late Government and continued by the present Government, undoubtedly linked together. My hon. friend truly said that this question of the increase of Customs duties in Turkey was not initiated by the present Government. We took it up where we found it. Lord Lansdowne had been approached with regard to it; he did not meet it with a negative. He had, on the contrary, indicated the conditions on which his Government would be prepared to agree to a 3 per cent. increase of the Customs dues in Turkey as far as this country was concerned. When a Foreign Minister, on behalf of his Government, indicates to another Government that he is prepared to agree to a certain increase in their Customs dues on certain conditions, it is not open to us without a considerable breach of continuity of policy—however we may regard it from a Party point of view here—and without ts being regarded abroad in a commercial transaction of this kind as a breach of faith, to abandon at once the condition laid down by your predecessors and to say that you should start afresh. I thought it necessary to take up this question where Lord Lansdowne left it, and I found that certain expectations had been created, not only in the mind of Turkey but in the minds of the other Powers with whom Lord Lansdowne had been working closely with regard to Macedonian reforms, that the consent of this country should not be withheld from the increase of the 3 per cent. duties on Customs after the financial provisions had been granted by the Sultan and accepted by the Powers in Macedonia. I do not think that the expectation in the simple form in which I have stated it was warranted bv what Lord Lansdowne said. He did not commit this country in quite such a simple form as that, and I went closely into the conditions which it seemed to me Lord Lansdowne had laid down. Broadly speaking, I interpreted them as being that Lord Lansdowne would have been prepared to agree to the 3 per cent. increase of duties provided he could have been satisfied that the money raised by the increase would have been applied to the reform scheme in Macedonia in such a wav as to be a benefit to Macedonia and to develop that scheme. I developed that condition a little further. It was not merely necessary to satisfy us that the money would be applied to reform in Macedonia. We must also be satisfied that the whole of the 3 per cent. Customs was properly collected and applied. Unless you are sure that the whole was properly collected, it is impossible to be sure that it would be properly applied to the reforms in Macedonia. We developed that condition, and the proposal which we indicated would be acceptable to us was that the Commission of the Debt, a well-known body, trustworthy in finance, should have the supervision of the collection of these Customs dues, and that the dues so collected should be paid in in such a manner that they should be applied to the scheme of reforms in Macedonia. We were fortunate enough to secure what was very important—the co-operation of the other Powers—in pressing that condition upon the Sultan. After all, on this matter of the increase of the Customs, I have felt it important to maintain another condition which Lord Lansdowne bequeathed to us as part of his policy—namely, to preserve the concert of the Powers. We have stipulated in regard to the increase of the Customs that we should carry with us the other Powers, because I consider that most important both from the point of view of Macedonia and of securing adequate conditions for the increase. Why is the concert of the Powers so important? It is everything to the progress of reform in Macedonia. This country is not prepared to undertake responsibility alone, beyond its power to fulfil it, for preserving order in Macedonia. All we can do in regard to Macedonia we must do by diplomatic influence at Constantinople. Dissension among the Powers would undoubtedly bring into the whole question not order, which is so much wanted, but confusion. And the influence of diplomacy at Constantinople must be infinitely weakened by the withdrawal even of one of the Powers from the concert which Lord Lansdowne succeeded in maintaining. I do not agree with my hon. friend who spoke first with regard to the work that the Financial Commission has done. Some progress has been made in Macedonia—improvements have been made with regard to the levy of the tithe and the collection of the taxes, both of which were felt to be oppressive in many parts of the Turkish Empire. The situation has been very much improved in Macedonia, and it would compare favourably to-day with some other parts of the Turkish

Empire. The thing which has stopped progress in Macedonia has not been that the Financial Commission has been a failure, it has been the constant activity of the bands of rival nationalities that has continued throughout this year. When my hon. friend quotes, and rightly, with regret and sadness the number of murders which have taken place in Macedonia, those are due to the activity of the irresponsible bands of rival nationalities. The mere presence of the European officers of the *gendarmerie* in Macedonia has done a great deal to ameliorate the conduct of the Turkish troops, and the worst difficulty in Macedonia to-day is not oppression with regard to the collection of the tithes or taxes, not the conduct of the Turkish troops, but the constant activity of bands, sometimes of one nationality, sometimes of another. That makes it very difficult to insist upon the reduction of the military force which the Turks maintain in Macedonia. I do not see how you can insist upon a reduction of the force there unless you are prepared to guaranteee the frontiers from attack. But I see great force in the point that if the Turkish Government is allowed indefinitely to increase the amount of military expenditure charged to the Macedonian Budget it may result in the scheme of reforms, which must depend on civil expenditure, being starved; and the increase in the Customs may result in an increase not of the civil but of the military expenditure. Therefore I think it is important that though it may be impossible to reduce the amount of military expenditure on the Macedonian Budget, yet, if we agree to the increase of the Customs with the object of effecting civil reforms, we should have some undertaking that the military budget will not be increased.

Mr. LYNCH: Is not a reduction of the 80,000 men now in Macedonia possible?

Sir EDWARD GREY: As I found the question, a considerable reduction of military expenditure had taken place; but the Powers had agreed to the present military expenditure being charged on the Budget. I am sure that, with the proper administration of the Macedonian finance which will be secured in due time under the Financial Commission, an increase in the Customs duties would in a few years provide a sum of money for civil reforms, providing that the military expenditure was not increased. After all that has passed you cannot get the Powers to consent to a reduction of the existing expenditure; but if you secure that it shall not be increased, you will get the product of the increase of the Customs for ameliorating the state of affairs in Macedonia. I think that the increase in the Customs should not be permitted until we have satisfactory guarantees that the money will not be wasted, but will be properly applied. If we do not succeed in securing those conditions and if the 3 per cent. increase is not granted, then I am afraid the outlook in Macedonia is a very bad one, and, in spite of what my hon. friend has said with regard to the use we are prepared to make of the money, I am convinced from all the information I have that the present condition of Turkish finance is such that unless some relief of this kind is given to the Porte on satisfactory conditions there is a danger that the whole scheme of financial reform as it exists to-day will fall to the ground. That is why I regard this question as so serious, and, though we are not prepared to give way, except on satisfactory and adequate conditions, I cannot for a moment hold out any prospect that we are prepared to meet this demand with an unconditional refusal.

Resolution agreed to.

And, it being Ten of the clock, Mr. Speaker proceeded to put forthwith the Questions, That this House doth agree with the Committee in the outstanding Resolutions reported in respect of Class II. of the Civil Services Estimates, and the Navy Estimates.

Question, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the outstanding Resolutions reported in respect of Class II. of the Civil Services Estimates,"

Put, and agreed to.

NAVY ESTIMATES, 1906–7.

Question, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the outstanding Resolutions reported in respect of the Navy Estimates," put, and agreed to

WAYS AND MEANS [31st July].
REPORT.

Resolution reported.

"That, towards making good the Supply granted to His Majesty for the Service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1907, the sum of £68,528,828 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom."

Resolution agreed to.

Bill ordered to be brought in by the Chairman of Ways and Means, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. McKenna, and Mr. Whiteley.

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS [REPAYMENT].

Resolution reported.

"That it is expedient to authorise the extension of time for the repayment of a loan made by the Public Works Loan Commissioners to the South Staffordshire Mines Drainage Commissioners, in pursuance of any Act of the present Session, to grant money for the purpose of certain Local Loans out of the Local Loans Fund, and for other purposes relating to Local Loans."

Resolution agreed to.

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL.

Considered in Committee, and reported, without Amendment; Bill read the third time and passed.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) ACT (1898) AMENDMENT BILL.

Considered in Committee, and reported, without Amendment; Bill read the third time and passed.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

"To apply a sum out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March, one thousand nine hundred and seven, and to appropriate the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be read a second time To-morrow.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) BILL.

Lords Amendments considered.

Mr. BRYCE said it might be convenient to the House to state, before the adjournment, that he proposed to accept some of the Amendments on this Bill made in another place. Some of them he did not altogether approve of, but they were not of much importance.

Lords' Amendment—

"In page 1, line 23, to leave out 'can' and insert 'will.'"

Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."

Mr. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.) said he wished to shorten discussion and promote general harmony, and therefore he would be brief in his remarks. All the same he wished to say that in accepting some of the Amendments on the Bill he and those for whom he was authorised to speak felt that the House of Lords had acted in their characteristic manner in dealing with this Bill. It seemed to him that they had been willing to wound and yet afraid to strike. They had gone through the whole of the Bill and amended it here and there. They had shown their teeth but had been afraid to bite. They had made many Amendments, which he was authorised to say for the Irish National Party were vital, except one; but all of the Amendments had been made in the direction of cutting down the benefit of the provisions and rendering the Act, when passed, as unworkable as possible. The principal Amendment on the Paper was that referring to the right of appeal. The Government now proposed to have an alternative appeal and the Irish Members were willing to accept that. But there was one Amendment on the Paper which he hoped the Government would not accept, and that was in regard to advances made to labourers and the sons of labourers. It might be argued that the sons of labourers were labourers themselves and therefore it was not necessary to include them amongst those to whom advances were to be made.

Question put, and agreed to.

Lords' Amendment—

"In page 2, line 7, leave out clause 4."

MR. BRYCE said he desired to move that this House do not agree with the Lords' Amendment, and suggested that whilst they should restore Clause 4, they should insert in place of a month, which had been suggested, three weeks as the time for entering an appeal. He hoped it would generally be accepted as a reasonable compromise.

SIR E. CARSON said he would point out the great inconvenience of discussing these Amendments without having them on the Paper, and suggested that on future occasions those who had charge of Bills should see that that was done.

MR. BRYCE said the Amendments were printed but they were in the Vote Office. They had been there since four o'clock to-day.

SIR E. CARSON said it was impossible for hon. Members to know when they were ready. They could not be expected to be constantly going to the Vote Office.

Lords' Amendment disagreed to.

Amendment proposed—

"Clause 4, line 7, leave out '14' in order to insert '21.'"—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Subsequent Lords' Amendments down to the Lords' Amendment in page 6, line 41, agreed to.

Lords' Amendment—

"In page 6, line 41, after 'sub-section,' insert as a new sub-section:—'A copy of the receipt shall, on the request of any person entitled to any estate or interest in the land in respect of which the purchase money or compensation was paid, be furnished by the council to that person."

MR. BRYCE said he thought this Amendment was an improvement. It would be more effective if the additional words "at their expense" were inserted. They had been suggested in another place, but they could not be inserted there as it would raise a question of privilege. He proposed that they should accept the Lords' Amendment and add the words "at their expense."

Lords' Amendment agreed to.

Question, "That the words 'at their expense' be inserted after the word 'council,'" put, and agreed to.

Lords' Amendment—

"In page 7, line 30, to leave out Sub-section (9) of Clause 11."

*MR. SPEAKER said that in his opinion this Amendment was an infringement of the privileges of the Commons. It would enable an arbitrator to add an additional sum for compulsory purchase which would involve an increase of rates. This was not within the competence of the Houes of Lords.

MR. BRYCE moved that the House disagree with the said Amendment.

Lords' Amendment disagreed to.

Lords Amendment—

"In page 7, line, 41, after 'pounds,' insert 'unless the court shall otherwise order.'"

*MR. SPEAKER said he had to make the same observation with regard to this Amendment which also would involve an additional charge on the rates, and therefore was not within the competence of the Lords.

Lords' Amendment disageed to.

Lords' Amendment—

"In page 10, line 35, to leave out 'or by the son of any such labourer.'"

MR. BRYCE said he sympathised with what had been said by the hon. Member for North Dublin. He thought this was an unfortunate Amendment and regretted it had been made. But he did not think it was of much practical consequence. Owing to the shortness of the time it would be a pity to delay the Bill, which was wanted by everybody in Ireland, and therefore he would suggest the hon. Member should not insist in his motion.

MR. FLYNN said the feeling in Ireland was that these words were unfair to the agricultural labourers of Ireland, and therefore he hoped the Government would stand firm and not allow the Lords' Amendment to stand.

MR. SHEEHAN (Cork County, Mid.) said it was an Amendment carried on the motion of the hon. Member for Cork City. It was valuable from their point of view because it was thought it would induce young labourers to stop on the land.

MR. HAYDEN (Roscommon, S.) pointed out that there were several instances where labourers had been refused a cottage on the ground that they were not married. He urged the right hon. Gentleman to accept the views that had been put forward from the Irish benches.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. Cherry, Liverpool, Exchange) said that if this Amendment of the Lords had the effect of excluding a large number of people from the benefit of the Bill he would at once agree with what had been said, but that was not his view. If a cottage was refused to a labourer on the ground that he was not married it would be quite illegal.

MR. SHEEHAN said they were not referring to cottages, but to advances for untenanted land.

MR. CHERRY said they naturally did not wish to give it to a boy, but a man of twenty-one, though he lived with his father, was an agricultural labourer within the meaning of the definition of the Bill. So far as he could see, having regard to the fact that very few if any would be affected by the Amendment, it was not desirable to persist in this Motion.

SIR E. CARSON said he understood that this was a Bill for the benefit of the labourers, and if that was so every labourer would be entitled to benefit from it.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.) said that the hon. and learned Gentleman as an expert, had expressed his opinion upon this Amendment, and upon his statement he hoped the Chief Secretary would so direct the Local Government Board in the administration of this Bill. Under the circumstances he did not think they would be justified in detaining the Bill on this point.

Lords' Amendment agreed to.

Remaining Lords' Amendments agreed to.

MR. BRYCE moved that a Committee should be appointed to draw up reasons to be assigned to the Lords for differing from them in regard to certain Amendments which their Lordships had made in the Labourers' (Ireland) Bill. He also moved that the Committee should consist of himself, the Attorney-General for Ireland, Mr. Clancy, Mr. Sheehan, and Mr. C. Craig.

Committee appointed to draw up Reasons to be assigned to the Lords for disagreeing to certain of their Amendments to the Bill.

Committee nominated of—Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland, Mr. James Bryce, Mr. Clancy, Mr. Charles Craig, and Mr. Sheehan.

To withdraw immediately.

Three to be the quorum.—(*Mr. James Bryce.*)

COLONIAL MARRIAGES BILL [LORDS].

Considered in Committee.

[MR. EMMOTT (Oldham) in the Chair.]

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1:—

*THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. CHURCHILL, Manchester, N.W.) said there was a technical Amendment to the clause which it was his duty to submit to the Committee. This Bill was one to enable persons married under laws which had received the assent of the Crown in the Colonies, to inherit real estate in this country, and otherwise to receive the privileges of those who had entered into lawful marriages in this country. There was a proviso to Clause 1 which was designed to prevent this Act having any retrospective effect. The Amendment he had to ask the Committee to accept was to leave out the words

> "Nor any claim by the Crown for any duty due at the passing of this Act,"

in order to insert a new proviso prepared on the advice of the Board of Inland Revenue to make sure that duties paid in respect of deaths before the passing of the Bill were not to be returned and that duties commuted or compounded for in the anticipation of death until after the passing of the Bill were not to be returned.

Amendment proposed—

> "To leave out the words, 'Nor any claim by the Crown for any duty due at the passing of this Act.'"

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Sir E. CARSON (Dublin University) said he must enter a protest against the pressing of an Amendment of this kind without any notice having been given. He did not suppose there was any Member of the House who understood what the meaning of the Amendment was. He certainly did not, and he was doubtful whether the hon. Member who moved it understood it himself. Of course, the hon. Member had the power of passing the Amendment, and he seemed to think that that was sufficient, and he did not think it necessary to display the courtesy of putting his proposals upon the Paper so that they could be understood. It was almost a farce in regard to business of this kind if long and complicated Amendments were put before the House without notice.

*__Mr. CHURCHILL__ said he was sorry that the right hon. and learned Gentleman did not understand the Amendment, because it was couched in the legal rigmarole of which he was so great a master. It was not his desire to show any discourtesy to the Committee and least of all to the right hon. Gentleman who had just addressed it. The Amendment was of a purely formal and technical character and did not alter the original sense or intention of the measure. He regretted that it had drawn from the right hon. Gentleman such very severe and wounding comments as he had thought it his duty to make.

Sir E. CARSON: I do not understand a word of it.

*__Mr. CHURCHILL__ was sorry that his right hon. friend did not understand the Amendment, because it was, as he had said, drawn in that legal rigmarole of which he was such a master. The only object of it was to provide that the provisions of the Bill should not be retrospective.

Sir E. CARSON inquired if the Lords would be able to make an Amendment on the matter now before the Committee.

*__Mr. CHURCHILL__ said that was a matter of procedure upon which he could not be expected to give any opinion.

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause," put and negatived.

New proviso inserted.

Bill reported; as amended, to be considered To-morrow, and to be printed. [No. 339.]

STREET BETTING BILL
[Lords].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1:—

Mr. GLADSTONE moved an Amendment providing that any person frequenting "or loitering in streets or public places" for the purpose of betting shall be liable to the specified penalties.

*MR. CLAUDE HAY wished to know whether they could have some clear definition of the word "loiter," and he reminded the Secretary of State that he had already this year appointed a Royal Commission to ascertain the meaning of the word "loitering" as understood and used by the police in London.

*MR. GLADSTONE: It is a well-known word in the English language.

LORD BALCARRES asked if a telegraph office was a public place. Would this Act prevent a man standing about a telegraph office and making bets by telegram?

*MR. GLADSTONE said he had a great deal of sympathy with the noble Earl's object and he believed that as a matter of law a Post Office was a public place. The difficulty of deciding whether a man who was sent to bet by telegram really came within the scope of the Act was so great that it was impossible to draft an Amendment to cover it.

SIR E. CARSON said he was sorry that the Home Secretary had come to that conclusion. The Government had not given much time for Members to put down Amendments, because it was past 2 o'clock, after midnight, when the Bill was passed. The right hon. Gentleman last night made a very able and powerful and useful speech upon this question of betting in streets and public places, but would the public believe he was in earnest if a man was permitted to be arrested outside a telegraph office for betting whilst the Government were receiving hundreds of thousands of pounds inside the telegraph office for the purpose of transmitting bets to bookmakers? He did not see what the practical difficulties were. If the right hon. Gentleman issued an instruction that no telegraph clerks should receive a bet, that might meet the case. If it was enacted that it was punishable by fine to send a bet by telegraph, there would not be much difficulty in the matter. The great difficulty was that the Government, while they pretended to wish to do something to put down an admitted evil of a very great character, desired themselves to countenance this system of betting for the sake of revenue. It was purely and solely a question of revenue which prevented the Government dealing with it. If in this Act they had a section really preventing and legislating against the transmission of bets by telegraph, it would smash up the whole bookmaking system throughout this country. There was nothing more pitiable than to go into a country post office, close to some small local races, and see the men there who were hardly able to buy their own dinners waiting to telegraph 5s. or 2s. 6d. to have a bet on some of those races. So long as that practice existed the public would consider the Government *particeps criminis* in this matter; if the right hon. Gentleman had given them a little more time to put down Amendments to make it perfectly clear that the Government were determined to alleviate the evils, they would have done much to put an end to this disastrous system which went on throughout the whole country.

*MR. GLADSTONE reminded the right hon. Gentleman that there was still a Report stage upon which he could exercise his legal ingenuity to draft an Amendment which it would be possible to accept. If he would do that the Government would be extremely glad to consider it. He did not know whether this Amendment would cover that. He did not know whether a telegraph office was a public place. He was not a lawyer, but he should have thought it was outside the scope of this Bill, which was one for "the suppression of betting in streets and other public places." He would remind the hon. and learned Gentleman, who was a distinguished Member of the late Government, that this Bill was sent down from the Lords in the past two sessions, and that it never advanced to the present stage in this House [AN HON. MEMBER: It was blocked.]. He did not know who blocked it, but what the Government were doing now the late Government could easily have done. It was a Bill which at any rate provided a partial solution. He did not claim anything more for it. If they could pass this Bill, however, he would suggest to the

Postmaster-General and his colleagues that perhaps a Bill might be brought in next year aimed at betting by telegraph.

MR. PAUL (Northampton) said this was not a question of legal ingenuity. It was a very serious matter. Betting by telegraph was more injurious than betting at street corners. He did not understand why the right hon. Gentleman could not accept the Amendment. If a telegraph office was not a public place it was not a private place. The Government did not allow messages of an improper or immoral character to be sent by telegraph, and he wished they did not allow messages to be sent in regard to betting transactions. He hoped words would be introduced at this stage, or on the Report stage, to stop this system of betting, which caused untold misery to the public.

SIR E. CARSON said that if betting by telegraph were not within the scope of the Bill the Bill was not worth anything. He did not think the right hon. Gentleman would find the least difficulty in legislating to prevent the transmission of betting messages by telegraph. He admitted that the law might sometimes be evaded, but let them put on the face of the Bill that this House disapproved of the system.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.) said it seemed to him that this Bill was framed for a certain specific object, and that was to put a stop to the system of street betting which enabled the poorer classes to put small bets on horse races. What was now proposed was that they should graft an entirely different principle on the Bill at the last moment. Were they to understand, for instance, that if Lord Rosebery, who was an excellent type of sportsman, went to a post office and put on a bet he was to be liable to a fine? [AN HON. MEMBER: Why not?] He would tell the hon. Member. He was endeavouring to explain that this Bill was not framed to deal with a case of that kind. The Bill was intended to deal with the case of the poor man. [AN HON. MEMBER: Why?] He thought that the acceptance of the Amendment would do what the framers of the Bill did not really intend, and he hoped that the Home Secretary would make the point perfectly clear.

*MR. GLADSTONE said that he quite agreed with the hon. Member that there were great difficulties which had not been met by the Bill. Besides betting by telegraph, there was the difficult case of betting by telephone.

SIR E. CARSON said that most people now bet by telephone because there was no record of it.

*MR. GLADSTONE said that they had also to consider the legitimate secrecy of the telegraph. The Government would put this Bill when passed on trial, and would consider whether afterwards any Amendment could be made upon it.

MR. BOTTOMLEY (Hackney, S.) said that this was a very important question. A post office had been held by competent Courts of Law to be a public place. Was it to be distinctly understood that the Government in passing this measure would render liable to arrest Lord Rosebery or the Duke of Devonshire who entered a post office in order to put a bet by telegraph on a horse they fancied, or even to make a bet on the life of the present Government?

Amendment agreed to:

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 7, to leave out the words 'or wagering.'"—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

MR. CLAUDE HAY asked why these words "or wagering" should be left out? Was it designed to cover any transaction now conducted in the streets which was connected with matters of business in different parts in the United Kingdom? He understood that the Lord Chancellor and Lord Davey had thought it necessary to put these two words into the Bill.

SIR E. CARSON said he was very sorry that the right hon. Gentleman proposed to leave these words out of the Bill.

*MR. GLADSTONE said he would ask leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. BOTTOMLEY said that the first amendment standing in his name was to reduce the fine from £10 to £5, which he submitted was quite sufficient.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 11, to leave out the word 'ten' and insert the word 'five.'"—(*Mr. Bottomley.*)

Question, "That the word 'ten' stand part of the Clause," put, and agreed to.

MR. BOTTOMLEY said that after the decision just arrived at he would not proceed with his other Amendments.

MR. LUPTON moved an Amendment with a view to omitting the provision that in the case of a third or subsequent offence or in the case of a person committing the offence of having a betting transaction with a person under the age of sixteen years he should be liable to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for six months, without the option of a fine. He thought the punishment was monstrous.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 20, to leave out from the word 'pounds' to the word 'fine' in line 22. —(*Mr. Lupton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. CHARLES CRAIG supported the Amendment, and said the penalty was an extremely heavy one for a person who perhaps only bet half-a-crown three times. Such a provision was unworthy of any assembly which called itself an assembly of reasonable men.

MR. J. W. WILSON (Worcestershire, N.), thought this was a very serious question, and pointed out that bookmakers employed men and paid them well to bet with youths, women, and children. If the penalty was made severe they would not be able to get men to do this dirty work.

SIR E. CARSON said his hon. friend who moved the Amendment seemed to have overlooked the fact that the imprisonment only followed upon a third offence having been committed. Therefore a person convicted must have determined to defy the law. The penalty for a person willing to enter into such transactions with a boy of sixteen was not one whit too large.

*MR. GLADSTONE said the Government could not accept the Amendment, because if they did so the Bill would become useless.

Amendment negatived.

MR. BOTTOMLEY moved the omission of Sub-section 2, which provided that any constable might take into custody without warrant any person found committing an offence under the Act, and might seize and detain any article liable to be forfeited under the Act. He submitted that in view of the fact that the telegraph and telephone offices might be places within the meaning of the Act, to give a policeman liberty to loiter round those places in the hope of making an arrest was not desirable. He asked the Government if they would not accept his Amendment or find words to limit the power of arrest to cases where there was a complaint. He moved to omit the sub-section.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out Sub-section 2".—(*Mr. Bottomley.*)

*MR. GLADSTONE said he could not accept the Amendment. The custom at present was to arrest without warrant, and in this case it seemed to be necessary.

MR. LUPTON supported the Amendment. It was, he said, a monstrous thing that if two men happened to meet in the street and had a bet a constable should come up and run them in. There was something more important even than putting betting down, and that was upholding justice. This was a prostitution of law and justice. Under this Bill it would be legal for a lord or a rich man to make a bet on the racecourse, but if a poor man made a bet in the street he was to be run in. Was this great Liberal Government going to begin its work by filling the gaols of this country with innocent men?

Mr. J. W. WILSON said he merely wished to confirm what he had said on the previous evening, that powers of this kind had already been conferred on three towns.

Mr. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe) said this Bill was aimed at the professional bookmaker, who was far better engaged serving his time in prison than in demoralising working men. In this case these people were well known, and to give a man a chance of running away every time a policeman saw him was absurd.

Mr. BOTTOMLEY said it was not only the wicked bookmaker but the poor innocent working-man who put his 6d. on who was liable to arrest.

Mr. CULLINAN asked whether the Bill was designed to punish the bookmaker?

*Mr. GLADSTONE said the Bill was designed against the men who made a profession of betting, and frequenting places for that purpose. They were the bookmakers.

Mr. MITCHELL-THOMSON (Lanarkshire, N.W.) asked for an interpretation of the words "articles relating to betting." He pointed out that those words were sufficiently wide to comprehend money passed to the bookmaker, which he was sure the right hon. Gentleman did not intend. If the right hon. Gentleman agreed with him he hoped he would consider the matter and make it clear before the Report stage.

*Mr. GLADSTONE agreed that there was something in the point of the hon. Gentleman, and said he would look into it very carefully. If it was as the hon. Gentleman said, he would take care to alter it on Report.

Mr. CLAUDE HAY asked whether the Bill was designed to punish bookmakers plying their trade, and not those who made occasional bets.

*Mr. GLADSTONE said a man must be frequenting a place for the purpose of betting.

Mr. LUPTON said that Clause 2 provided that if a man made a bet he was to be run in.

Sir E. CARSON said he did not think the observations of the Home Secretary ought to go unchallenged. If the right hon. Gentleman meant that this Act was only to apply to those who were known as bookmakers, taking bets in the street, he thought he was mistaken; any person found in the street making a bet could be punished under this Bill.

*Mr. GLADSTONE said all he did was to answer a specific question put to him as to whether if a man made a bet in the street for the first time he would be sent to prison. He did not think any magistrate would find a person in a case like that guilty of loitering or frequenting public places for the purposes of betting.

Amendment negatived.

*Mr. WATT (Glasgow College), said that he was under the impression that a recent deputation to the Under-Secretary had converted him to their views upon this point, but the Government had not adopted their suggestion. The Bill gave power to "seize and detain," but not the right of search. It stood to sense that such articles as books, cards and papers relating to betting would be secreted about the person. By the law of Scotland the police officer in charge of the station had not the right to search, and the object of this Amendment was to give the power under this Bill. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 5, after 'and,' to insert 'the officer in charge of the police station to which such person is taken may cause such person to be searched and.'"—(*Mr. Watt.*)

*Mr. GLADSTONE said the Government could not accept this Amendment because any constable at the present time had the right of search, and why should that right be limited to the officer in charge at the station? His hon. and learned friend informed him that the law in Scotland with regard to search was the same as in England.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. BOTTOMLEY moved to leave out Sub-section (3) of Clause 1. A person might be sent to prison for six months if, in the opinion of the Court, he had made a bet and was under the age limit allowed by this Bill. This sub-section threw the onus upon the prisoner of proving his own innocence. The proceedings under this Bill might be either in a Court of Summary Jurisdiction or by indictment. What was the position of a bookmaker who was charged with betting with someone under the age of sixteen and who honestly believed that the person he was betting with was over that age? Probably some short-sighted stipendiary magistrate would take a casual glance at the prisoner and say that he looked under the age of sixteen. Probably the boy would be sent down to the Criminal Court and possibly they would have in the end to search the register at Somerset House. [Cries of "Oh."] Hon. Members should remember that they were dealing with a Bill which immediately it became law would be construed literally according to the laws of evidence. If they gave a prisoner the benefit of such a safeguard as that which he was suggesting no man could be deprived of this plea—that he had reason to believe the prisoner was above the statutory age. He hoped they would not violate every fundamental principle of justice in the Law Courts by passing this sub-section.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 7, to leave out Sub-section (3)."—(*Mr. Bottomley.*)

*MR. GLADSTONE said this sub-section referred to the lads under the age of sixteen, with whom a bookmaker made bets. There were precedents for this proposal. Surely if there was any doubt in the mind of the Court about the lad's age, they would take precautions to call for his birth certificate.

MR. LUPTON said this was another case of making a prisoner prove his innocence when it was the duty of the prosecution to prove him guilty. A more monstrous proposition he had seldom heard placed before this House.

Amendment negatived.

MR. BOTTOMLEY moved to leave out Sub-section (4) because it professed to be an interpretation clause, and this was the opportunity for the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill to introduce his proposal to amend the Act so as to apply to telegraph offices and make it quite clear that the Act was intended to apply in such cases.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 10, leave out Sub-section (4)."

*MR. GLADSTONE said this subsection was intended to remove any doubt about certain places which it might be held would not come within the meaning of the Act.

*MR. HICKS BEACH said that some race meetings were conducted upon open ground to which the public had free access. What the Home Secretary said was that it was the intention of this Bill simply to prohibit bookmakers frequenting the street in order to induce people to bet on things which they did not see. If there was any doubt about this question it was desirable that the Government should consider the advisability of including some proviso to exempt coursing meetings.

Amendment negatived.

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

*MR. CLAUDE HAY moved the omission of the word "unenclosed." If betting was an evil it should be dealt with as a whole and not piece-meal, and if persons who possessed much of this world's goods were to be allowed to bet because they went to an enclosed ground for access to which they paid an entrance fee, then they were tolerating within a ringed fence that which they considered an offence if it was done in a club or in a street. They must deal with the rich man as well as the poor man.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 14, to leave out the word 'unenclosed.'"

Question proposed, "That the word proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

*MR. GLADSTONE said this word was extremely necessary. The definition clause was subjected to the closest scrutiny by eminent legal members of the House of Lords, and he was very much afraid that if any alteration were made it might endanger the passage of the Bill.

MR. CLAUDE HAY said the right hon. Gentleman had already thrown over the House of Lords by accepting an Amendment. The right hon. Gentleman had given him no answer. If betting was an evil it was the same whether carried on by rich or by poor.

SIR E. CARSON said he did not see any reason why the word "unenclosed" was there. In the case of a football match or a cricket match he thought the sport was often spoiled by the betting which went on. What difference did it make whether the place was enclosed or unenclosed if the public had unrestricted access? They could not apply this Bill to private grounds, because, of course, the police could not go in.

*MR. GLADSTONE said he would consider the matter, and if necessary propose an Amendment at a later stage.

MR. T. M. HEALY said the right hon. Gentleman should accept the Amendment, and then tell the House of Lords that it came from the Tory Party in the House of Commons.

MR. CLAUDE HAY said that in view of the promise made by the Home Secretary he would ask leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. FORSTER (Kent, Sevenoaks) moved an Amendment to make the Clause apply to any enclosed ground used for the holding of any atheltic sports or cycle racing. He wished to know the views of the Home Secretary on this matter. He believed that the National Cyclists Union was anxious that an Amendment of this kind should be inserted. It was in the interest of clean and healthy sport that the Amendment should be made.

Amendment agreed to.

Motion made, and question proposed, "That Clause 1, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

MR. T. M. HEALY asked the Government to consider whether in Ireland the right of appeal should not be given in the case of sentences of under one month's imprisonment. It was a real hardship that a police magistrate should be able to pass such a sentence and that the accused should not have the right of appeal. He was quite with the Government in regard to this Bill. He thought they were taking a proper step, but he held a man should not be liable to lose his liberty for a month without having the right of appeal. There was the right of appeal in England and Scotland, and he thought it was time that the whole question of public liberty should be put on the same footing in Ireland.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. CHERRY, Liverpool, Exchange) said the matter was one worthy of consideration. He could say for himself, and he thought he could say also for the Home Secretary, that it was a very desirable thing that there should be the right of appeal.

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause 2:—

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON (Lanarkshire, N.W.) said he was not quite sure of the meaning of the words "procedure before provided for." He hoped that some exception would be made, and he proposed to insert words so that the clause should read: "Nothing contained in this Act shall, save as hereinbefore provided, apply to any racecourse." He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 16, after the word 'shall,' to insert the words 'save as hereinbefore provided.'"—(*Mr. Mitchell-Thomson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*MR. GLADSTONE said that the point would be considered before the Report stage.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON said he wished to move an Amendment to add to Clause 2 the words "or other quantity." He admitted that the words were somewhat curious in their present form, but if they were going to exempt racecourses, it should be remembered that there were racecourses in large numbers, especially in the north of England and in Scotland, where there were other than horse races. He referred to dog races. He maintained that a dog race was as clean as any horse race, and if exemption was desirable in one case it was also desirable in other cases. There was also the question of foot racing as well as cycling racing.

*MR. GLADSTONE said that there was no exact analogy between coursing and horse racing. The people who attended the former meetings did not go there for the purpose of betting professionally, and those who went to enjoy legitimate sport should not come under the operation of the Act. He undertook, however, to look into the question.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG said he presumed that most people regarded the coursing match for the Waterloo Cup as an ordinary race meeting, but the question of extending this Bill to all coursing meetings as well as to horse race meetings should be very carefully considered.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

SIR E. CARSON moved to amend Clause 2 by leaving out the provision that nothing contained in the Act should apply to ground "adjacent to" a racecourse on days upon which races took place. He did not see the necessity for the words.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, clause 2, lines 17 and 18, to leave out the words 'or adjacent thereto.'"—(*Sir E. Carson*).

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

*MR. GLADSTONE said that there were certain parts adjacent to a racecourse which might not come within the legal definition of a racecourse. Therefore it was necessary, he thought, to have these words in. It was the first time that his attention had been drawn to this matter, however, and he would consider it.

LORD BALCARRES said these were rather important words, and, like many other expressions in the Bill, would require legal definition. Did "adjacent thereto" mean fifty or 100 yards or a quarter of a mile? That would have to be settled by a Court of law. The provision meant that on Monday when races were being held you could bet at a particular place or upon a particular road, but on Tuesday when races were not being held you would get six months for doing so. He thought it was desirable that there should be some machinery established for determining this question in advance, and he hoped before the Report stage the Home Secretary would consider the matter.

MR. T. M. HEALY thought that the Liberal Party were playing into the hands of their opponents, because they were endeavouring to put down betting in every part of the country except those which were resorted to by the aristocracy.

*THE CHAIRMAN said the hon. Member was making remarks which should be made on the clause rather than on the present Amendment.

MR. T. M. HEALY said in that case he should have to make a second speech.

MR. CLAUDE HAY asked whether the words "adjacent thereto" might not be held to include the betting ring.

*MR. GLADSTONE: No; that is not a public place.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Report made, and Question proposed "That Clause 2 stand part of the Bill."

MR. T. M. HEALY said that the Government proposed to put down the miserable people who betted sixpence while they allowed peers and monarchs to bet in hundreds and thousands of pounds. And this was said to be the Party of the democracy. This Bill and this clause, moreover, came from the House of Lords, and no doubt the Government case was that they must take the most they could from that House. He thought, however, that the best thing to do was to take this clause out and send the Bill back to the House of Lords and leave upon them the responsibility of restoring it.

*MR. GLADSTONE said he had already pointed out that if they omitted this clause it would strike at the poor man and would not affect the rich, because the betting ring was protected inasmuch it was not a public place. Therefore the rich people could bet there but the poor man could not bet even upon a racecourse when races were being run. This was the result of the Kempton Park case.

MR. T. M. HEALY said the right hon. Gentleman was mistaken about the Kempton Park case, which only applied to a house, office, or place, and not to a racecourse. The decision was under the Betting House Act, which dealt with betting houses. He was as anxious as anybody to put down this nefarious system of betting, and if the Government was honest in the matter they would put it down in the post offices. They had now left themselves open to the taunt that they put down Tom, Dick, and Harry, and allowed to go free the peers and other persons and rich people, who were the tempters in this matter, who spent their tens of thousands in so-called sport and tempted the working men. They gave the little men six months while they allowed the protectors of this vice to go free. It was the Liberal Party who were making themselves this rod to be laid on their own backs by the Conservative Party.

*MR. GLADSTONE said he would not put himself in competition with the hon. and learned Member on a question of law, but he was advised that the law was perfectly distinct on this point, and that it was against the view taken of the hon. and learned Member.

SIR E. CARSON: What view?

*MR. GLADSTONE said if this clause were struck out the betting rings on the racecourse would be perfectly immune. The words of Clause 1 were "unrestricted access." These people had not unrestricted access to the betting rings.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Epsom Downs.

*MR. GLADSTONE: That was his whole point. People did not wander up Epsom Downs making casual bets. But the class of society using the betting rings did not. If this clause was struck out the betting rings would still be immune, and they would not strike at the betting tendency of the wealthy by taking out the clause. All the criticism of this Bill had been that it was a Bill dealing with the poor and not striking at the rich, and it had been argued on that basis. If the rich man frequented a street for the purpose of betting, or if he betted with a bookmaker in the street, he would come within the provisions of the Bill. But they were now talking of omitting this clause, and he was pointing out that if it was omitted the omission would not effect the purpose they all desired to secure.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said that if this Bill raised the whole question they would have no difficulty in assenting to the clause, because they would rather have the Bill with the clause than lose it altogether; nevertheless, many Members had had great difficulty in supporting this exceptional legislation. If they could legislate against betting at street corners why could they not legislate against betting on racecourses? He had a distinct objection to saying even by implication that a thing was right on a racecourse but wrong in the streets.

*Mr. GLADSTONE said he would leave the matter to the House.

Mr. SHACKLETON said it appeared to him that the point they were missing was that the avowed object was to get rid of the professional bookmaker who took money from the State and gave nothing to the State back again. Taking the ight hon. Gentleman's own version, a bookmaker might be in the street on Monday taking bets and he would be liable under this Act, but on Tuesday he might go on the racecourse where he would be absolutely free to bet. He did not see why they should prevent betting in the streets and legalise it on the racecourse. He thought the Home Secretary had taken a wise course by leaving the question to the House.

*Mr. H. H. MARKS said there was one point in connection with this clause to which he desired to allude. The object of the clause was not so much a question of the protection of the rich; it was intended to protect the poor, and more particularly the class of men who were induced to bet 1s. or 6d. in the street on a race which they did not go to see and about which they knew nothing at all. If this clause was allowed to stand, and if an exception was made in favour of the racecourse, the Committee should bear in mind what that meant. If they were serious in their desire to stop the working classes being induced to bet, surely the most effective way was to stop betting altogether, and they could do it by eliminating this clause. It was within the knowledge of everybody who knew anything of the subject that the prices which were the basis of the bets made by the working classes were what were known as starting prices, and that meant the prices which prevailed at the time the horses started. If there was no betting on the racecourses there would be no starting prices and then there could be no street betting. If they left out this sub-clause they would stop betting at its very foundation.

Mr. CLOUGH said he should vote against this clause, because it was class legislation of the worst type. The House of Lords seek to take the mote out of the eye of the working class, whilst they keep the beam in the eye of their own class by carefully preserving the race-courses for their indulgence. To reject this clause at this stage does not necessitate losing the Bill, because the House of Lords frequently reject clauses which are sent up to them by the House of Commons, and we are perfectly within our right by now rejecting a clause in a Bill which has come from them to us.

Sir E. CARSON said he did not think they ought to assume that the House of Lords would at all insist upon this clause. It was plain that the Bill was drawn to put down street betting, but if there was a general expression of opinion that the Bill ought to be made wider in its scope he did not think it was fair to assume that the House of Lords would not adopt the measure in its wider form.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG said that anything more ridiculous for the House to do than to strike out this clause he had never heard. The Bill was intended to deal with street betting, and this kind of betting was as different from betting on the racecourse as black was from white. It was now proposed to extend the Bill in a way that was never intended, and to place the onus on the House of Lords. The measure dealt with an admitted evil, and to say that they should include betting of all sorts would be a very injudicious course to pursue. He suggested that the Bill should be allowed to pass as it was because it struck at a very serious evil. Nobody had made a case beyond a sentimental one for the proposition which had been made. If this Bill passed there would be no street betting, and when street betting disappeared hon. Members would have carried out what they intended by this Act.

Lord BALCARRES said he gathered that the opinion of the Committee was against this clause. He did not take that view, and he rose to ask the Home Secretary if this clause was thrown out to postpone the Report stage.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think a question of that kind should be brought on later.

LORD BALCARRES said that if they left out Clause 2 they would make it a fresh Bill altogether. The most sanguine supporter of the Bill could not claim any mandate to suppress betting altogether in Great Britain. Therefore they ought to pause before they dropped this subsection. If they stopped betting in the street they should also stop betting by telegraph, and that alone would cost the country £250,000 a year. If they made betting illegal it did not follow that they would stop betting. He hoped the Home Secretary would at least consent, in view of the enormous change which would be made by this proposal in the whole scope of the Bill, to postpone this question until the Report stage.

MR. J. W. WILSON said that upon street betting the opinion of the country was ripe for legislation, but not one hon. Member had advocated at the election the putting down of race meetings.

MR. BOTTOMLEY said that as one who did go to race meetings he wished to point out that there were two kinds of racecourses, those which were known as enclosed and those which were open. If this clause were omitted it would still be possible for anybody who went to Kempton Park races to be entirely outside the scope of the Bill, whereas at Epsom, on Derby Day, the Bill would not prevent the working man indulging in a little betting. He hoped the operation of this Act would be confined to street betting.

MR. CROSSLEY (Cheshire, Altrincham) said he was anxious that street betting should be put down. All employers of labour must know what a nuisance this street betting was. Not long ago a poor widow told him that a bookmaker was hanging about his works, inducing boys to bet. He would prefer to carry a measure suppressing street betting rather than risk the chance of dealing with this question altogether by accepting the proposal before the House.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. THOMAS SHAW, Hawick Burghs) said he was very anxious that this Bill should pass into law this session, and if possible this month. The proposal had been made that this clause should be omitted. He should deplore that extremely. There was no doubt whatever that if that course were taken this Bill would not see the Statute-book until October, and that would be a great calamity. The urgency for this Bill was great. They were legislating not for the whole of the betting evil in the country—he wished they were —but for betting in its most acute and urgent form.

MR. DICKINSON (St. Pancras, N.) said this clause placed on the Statute-book words which recognised race-courses as places suitable for betting. That made him and some others hesitate about giving it support. He hoped the Government would not force them into the position of recognising betting upon race-courses in that way.

MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON (Durham, Barnard Castle) said that every night in order to expedite legislation in these late discussions they were asked to water down measures containing important principles which some of them had taken an active part in advocating in the country. He thought they would do better to delay for a few months, or till another session, legislation on some of these great questions, in order to get something that would effectively deal with the evils. What he and those associated with him had to guard against was the creation of a suspicion that they were seeking in this case to put down an evil by which the working classes were very much touched, while permitting the evil to exist so far as their so-called social superiors were concerned. They had been told repeatedly by the Home Secretary that the object of the measure was to get at the professional bookmaker. Did they only want to get at the professional bookmaker in the public thoroughfare on Monday, and leave him absolutely free to go to the racecourse on Tuesday? If betting was wrong in the one case, he did not think this House should give its approval to betting in the other. They must guard against the impression that they were guilty in this House of promoting class legislation. The front Ministerial Bench was divided on this question. [AN HON. MEMBER: No.] He said "Yes." The Home Secretary left this question open to the House, and the Lord Advocate solemnly appealed to them to take a particular course.

MR. THOMAS SHAW said he did not presume to interfere with what was said by his right hon. friend, but the interests of the Bill were to him very sacred. He had pointed out what might happen if this Amendment were carried, and he was within his rights in doing that.

MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON said he was not disputing the rights of the Lord Advocate.

*MR. HERBERT GLADSTONE: That is not in the least inconsistent.

MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON said he had not stated that it was inconsistent. The right hon. Gentleman said he was prepared to leave the question open, and then the Lord Advocate made an earnest appeal to the Committee to leave the clause in the Bill. He thought he was right in saying that there was a division of opinion on the front bench. He hoped the Committee would reject the clause.

MR. A. E. W. MASON (Coventry) said that, although he had every sympathy with the object of the hon. Member for Barnard Castle, he did not think the leaving out of the sub-section would have the effect he supposed, for it would still be limited by the definition of "public place" as including "any public park, garden, or sea beach, and any unenclosed ground to which the public for the time being have unrestricted access." So far as he knew there were only two racecourses in England to which the public had unrestricted access. To his mind the question opened up was too wide to be settled at that hour of the morning.

*MR. BERTRAM (Hertfordshire, Hitchin) said he entirely sympathised with the hon. Gentleman in saying that the Party to which he belonged would be made thoroughly unpopular in the country by this kind of legislation. He recognised that there was a difference between a man making a bet on an event which he saw, and making a bet at a street corner on an event which he could not see. The hon. Member for Barnard Castle talked about watering down the measure; but the omission of the Clause would vastly enlarge the scope of the Bill, which was only meant to put down betting at street corners; and it would be very unwise to risk the Bill by insisting on Amendments which would be refused in another place, and which would have a far greater effect than this Bill was ever intended to have. He should vote for the retention of the Clause.

*MR. GIBBS (Bristol, W.) said that the Bill was directed against bookmakers who made bets at street corners with poor people; and if the clause under discussion was omitted it would not be legislating in the interests of the poor. They were dealing with the case where the bookmaker came to the people, and not where, as on Epsom Downs, the people went to the bookmaker.

MR. ESSEX (Gloucestershire, Cirencester) asked whether the clause gave additional sanction to betting on racecourses. If it did strengthen the right to bet on racecourses he would vote against it.

VISCOUNT MORPETH said that an hon. Gentleman on the Ministerial side was afraid that the popularity of the Government would be weakened if any attempt at legislation were made without a mandate from the country. If he thought this clause would make the Government unpopular it would be an inducement to some hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House to vote for it. Almost every Member who had supported the against this clause. He did not take that view, and he rose to ask the Home Secretary if this clause was thrown out to postpone the Report stage.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think a question of that kind should be brought on later.

LORD BALCARRES said that if they left out Clause 2 they would make it a fresh Bill altogether. The most sanguine supporter of the Bill could not claim any mandate to suppress betting altogether in Great Britain. Therefore they ought to pause before they dropped this sub-section. If they stopped betting in the street they should also stop betting by telegraph, and that alone would cost the country £250,000 a year. If they made betting illegal it did not follow that they would stop betting. He hoped the Home Secretary would at least consent, in view of the enormous change which would be made by this proposal in the whole scope of the Bill, to postpone this question until the Report stage.

MR. J. W. WILSON said that upon street betting the opinion of the country was ripe for legislation, but not one hon. Member had advocated at the election the putting down of race meetings.

MR. BOTTOMLEY said that as one who did go to race meetings he wished to point out that there were two kinds of racecourses, those which were known as enclosed and those which were open. If this clause were omitted it would still be possible for anybody who went to Kempton Park races to be entirely outside the scope of the Bill, whereas at Epsom, on Derby Day, the Bill would not prevent the working man indulging in a little betting. He hoped the operation of this Act would be confined to street betting.

MR. CROSSLEY (Cheshire, Altrincham) said he was anxious that street betting should be put down. All employers of labour must know what a nuisance this street betting was. Not long ago a poor widow told him that a bookmaker was hanging about his works, inducing boys to bet. He would prefer to carry a measure suppressing street betting rather than risk the chance of dealing with this question altogether by accepting the proposal before the House.

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Bill had declared again and again that this was a class measure and was intended to prevent a poor man putting a shilling on a horse on a race, but would not prevent the wealthy man from betting his £50 or £100. The first thing this democratic Government did was, instead of protecting the mill hand and other members of the working class, to introduce a piece of class legislation.

Mr. RICHARDSON (Nottingham, S.) bore testimony to the mischief which the street betting carried on by the bookmaker with men, women, and children wrought, and said that although it might make him unpopular with some of his constituents for a time, as the result of a choice of evils he intended to vote for this clause. He would leave the question to the common sense of the working men later on.

Mr. T. M. HEALY said it was an extraordinary fact that this Bill was brought forward to defend a child from betting anywhere except on a racecourse. Formerly there was a right of sanctuary in this country, but it was confined to cathedrals, but now the right of sanctuary was only to be found upon a gambling ground. It was said that the Government would be unpopular if the Bill were passed, but at all events it could not be accused of not having the courage of its convictions, although it might be considered hypocritical, as this was the first time that it had been laid down that a racecourse was a sacred place.

Mr. J. M. ROBERTSON (Northumberland, Tyneside) said it was idle to legislate in advance of public opinion, and if they tried to put down betting on a racecourse the Act would be a dead letter.

Question put, and agreed to.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 77 Noes 69. (Division List No. 299.)

AYES.

Acland, Francis Dyke
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch
Balcarres, Lord
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Bertram, Julius
Billson, Alfred
Bottomley, Horatio
Bridgeman, W. Clive
Bryce, J. A. (Inverness Burghs)
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Cawley, Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Corbett, C H. (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Crossley, William J.
Duckworth, James
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Elibank, Master of
Ferens, T. R.
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Forster, Henry William
Fuller, John Michael F.
Fullerton, Hugh
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gladstone, Rt. Hn Herbert John
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hayden, John Patrick
Illingworth, Percy H.
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
Kearley, Hudson E.
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.
M'Kenna, Reginald
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morse, L. L.
Nicholls, George
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nuttall, Harry
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Philipps, Col. Ivor (S'thampton
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rees, J. D.
Rendall, Athelstan
Richardson, A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick, B.
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Straus, B. S. (Mile End)
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Thompson, J. W. H. (Somerset, E.
Ure, Alexander
Ward, W. Dudley (Southampt'n
Watt, H. Anderson
Wilkie, Alexander
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Winfrey, R.

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. J. W. Wilson and Mr. John Robertson.

NOES.

Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barnard, E. B.
Black, Arthur W. (Bedfordshire)
Bowles, G. Stewart
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Byles, William Pollard
Channing, Francis Allston
Clancy, John Joseph

Viscount Morpeth.

Clough, W.
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W.
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cory, Clifford John
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Cullinan, J.
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N
Dobson, Thomas W.
Essex, R. W.
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ffrench, Peter
Gill, A. H.
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hazleton, Richard
Healy, Timothy Michael
Higham, John Sharp
Hyde, Clarendon
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lamont, Norman
Lever, A. Levy (Essex, Harwich
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.)
M'Killop, W.
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Mond, A.
Montagu, E. S.
Montgomery, H. G.
Morpeth, Viscount
Murphy, John
Nolan, Joseph
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary Mid)
O'Malley, William
O'Mara, James
Paul, Herbert
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Rickett, J. Compton
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Scott, A. H (Ashton-under-Lyne
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Sullivan, Donal
Sutherland, J. E.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant, Sir Edward (Salisbury)
Thomson, W. Mitchell-(Lanark
Verney, F. W.
Waterlow, D. S.
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Arthur Henderson and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald.

MR. LUPTON moved to report progress.

THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN said the rule was suspended in order to get through business.

Clause 3:—

MR. THOMAS SHAW said Scotland was very much interested in this matter of street betting. In Scotland there was a system of houses—of flat tenements approached by a passage or a common stair. The passage and common stair had been found to be a very convenient situation for bookmakers to take up a position in. They stood in one of these passages during the dinner hour when the working men were coming home to their meal, and there was an instance where a bookmaker induced in thirty minutes fifteen men to make bets with him. In 1903 there was a decision in Scotland which held that a passage or common stair was not a place within the meaning of the Act. He begged to move an Amendment to deal with this point.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 20, at end, to add the words 'and "passage" includes common close or common stair or passage leading thereto; and, in the event of an offender failing to make payment of a fine imposed under Section 1, (1), (*a*) or (*b*) of this Act, he shall be liable to imprisonment in accordance with the provisions of the Summary Jurisdiction Acts.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON entirely agreed with what had been said by the right hon. Gentleman. All he desired to know was whether under the Summary Jurisdiction Act in England imprisonment was contemplated, because if so he thought Scotland should be placed on an equality in that regard.

MR. THOMAS SHAW said he believed that was so.

Question proposed, and agreed to.

MR. THOMAS SHAW said he hoped the Committee would permit him to add the following words, which he thought were necessary—

"Any offence under this Act may be tried before the Sheriff Court."

Amendment agreed to.

Clause 3 amended, and agreed to.

Clause 4 agreed to.

Bill reported, with Amendments; as amended, to be considered To-morrow.

CENSUS OF PRODUCTION BILL.

Order for Second Reading read.

Proposition made and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

LORD BALCARRES thought that Parliament ought to settle generally within certain limits how often this census should take place. What he wished to refer to more particularly were the last words of Clause 3 under which forms had to be prepared to give particulars with respect to production. The words of the clause were very wide indeed, and people did not like to give to Government Departments the whole particulars in a great many industrial occupations. He was aware that it was done in agriculture, but that was a very open industry and it differed entirely from the secret processes of manufacture which came under this Bill. There was the Wireless Telegraphy Act which he would give as an instance. Under that Act nobody might practice wireless telegraphy without a licence from the Postmaster-General. The result of that was that people preferred to run the risk of the penalities in some instances rather than allow the officials of a Public Department to know the secrets of their business. In this case there were certain applications of what were known as chemical physics which were extremely precious and which it was quite unnecessary that a Government Department should investigate. If the compiling of these returns was carried out in any hostile or inquisitorial spirit the value of them would be absolutely nil. As the object of this Bill was purely statistical the measure ought not to be put in this general form. It was like the ordinary Board of Trade Return, but it was placed in a more extended form and in carrying it out he trusted the President of the Board of Trade would not keep it in such a vague and extended form because that might defeat the object he had in view. There was a great deal of anxiety about this Bill in industries which were now in their infancy. There was one particular company which was doing much useful work in the development of wireless telegraphy, and he was sure they would suffer all the penalites rather than make returns about their business. He would suggest that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee.

MR. STUART said he hardly needed to say anything but ditto to what the noble Lord had said. The object of the Bill was to obtain statistical information as to the course of trade apart from exports and imports. There were many details that did not come under the statistics required. He desired to second the appeal which had been made by the noble Lord that this Bill before it became law should go before a Select Committee. He thought that would calm the fears which some of them felt and he hoped that course would be taken by the Government.

MR. T. M. HEALY regarded this Bill as a great invasion of public liberty. There was no necessity for it and no case had been made out for it, and it was a deplorable thing that such a Bill should come on during the dying hours of the session. He regretted that this Bill should have been moved without a word of explanation from the Board of Trade or any indication of the nature of its provisions showed the extraordinary state of things which the House of Commons could come to during the hot weather of the month of August. Supposing the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham had been President of the Board of

Trade and by a measure of this sort he had got into his hands the possibility of prying into the secrets of the trade and commerce of the men of Birmingham. What would have been said about it by hon. Gentlemen opposite? Where was the necessity for this and where was the demand for it? They were simply sacrificing their liberty to a gang of clerks in Downing Street. Every plumber or every man who was employed upon a building job would be expected, under this Bill, to spend hours making a public return or run the risk of being fined £10. Who wanted this return? They were told that manufacturers were flourishing and that free trade was triumphant all over the land. This was an extraordinary illustration of the use the Government were making of their power to compel every man to make a return of his business. This Bill lent itself to oppression of every kind. The Government if they could save a single farthing on any orders would send their orders to Germany instead of to Ireland; would the Government send an inspector to Ireland to ascertain why Irish industries were languishing?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE, Carnarvon Boroughs) assured the hon. and learned Gentleman that it was not the case that he did not wish to defend the measure. The hon. and learned Gentleman was not correct in saying that there was no demand for the Bill. The Chambers of Commerce had passed a unanimous resolution in favour of an inquiry of this character. When the Bill was first introduced there was no voice raised against it, but the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham got up and supported it, expressing the hope that it would be passed this session. His hon. and learned friend had rather exaggerated the dangers of the Bill; he said this was an experiment which had not been tried anywhere before. As a matter of fact this was a system which had been in operation in the United States for fifty years. It had been exceedingly successful there. In Australia a similar Bill had been passed. He thought it would be desirable before the Bill passed the House of Commons that the rules to be prescribed should be laid on the Table of the House, so that anyone would have the opportunity of scrutinising them and moving the excision of any particular part of them. He had received a deputation of traders who expressed the wish that the clause should be modified, and he was able to remove their apprehensions. What he proposed to do was, under the general powers taken in the Bill, to set up a Committee representing trades and industries for the purpose of settling these forms. He thought that would be much better than the appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons. The Committee would take into account all the points raised by the hon. Members who had taken part in this discussion. The noble Lord had expressed anxiety lest secret processes should be divulged. He could not imagine that any Committee of that character would frame regulations in such a way as to invite traders to divulge their secret processes to any Government Department. What they wanted to know was the aggregate of the home trade. They knew the export trade in the details divulged to the Customs. At present their information with regard to home trade was more or less a matter of conjecture. While one man would say that it was £800,000,000, another would say that it was £1,500,000,000 what they wanted was to ascertain the actual facts in regard to our industries from decade to decade. Hon. Members might rest assured that there was no desire to have an inquisition of any sort into the trade of any man.

LORD BALCARRES asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would consider the propriety of making the Committee statutory.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said he was prepared to consider that suggestion.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR (Kildare, N.) said he had heard some objections stated by an hon. Member to the proposal in the Bill to obtain returns in regard to the various trades of the country. The right hon. Gentleman boasted of his ignorance of figures; but that was one of the exaggerated statements which the right hon. Gentleman made when he wanted to score a point. He himself was rather fond of figures both for breakfast, lunch, and dinner, and he hoped that the President of the Board of Trade would get all the statistics possible, and have them arranged in an admirable manner. A short time ago he had received a most interesting return on all the industries in the State of Massachusetts which he would be glad to put into the hands of the right hon. Gentleman. Complaint had been made about the want of statistics of the trade of Ireland. It was true that the trade of Ireland had been practically wiped out more than a century ago, and that they did not know much about it. They were short of official statistics both under the old Irish Parliament and since the Union.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time and committed for To-morrow.

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS (REPAYMENT)

Resolution reported:

"That it is expedient to authorise the extension of time for the repayment of a loan made by the Public Works Loan Commissioners to the South Staffordshire Mines Drainage Commissioners in pursuance of any Act of the present Session, to grant money for the purpose of certain Local Loans out of the Local Loans Fund and for other purposes relating to Local Loans."

Resolution agreed to.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) BILL.

Reasons for disagreeing to Lords' Amendments reported and agreed to.

To be communicated to the Lords.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to: Marriage with Foreigners Bill; Statute Law Revision (Scotland) Bill, with Amendments.

Whereupon Mr. Deputy Speaker adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to the Order of the House of the 13th July last.

Adjourned at a quarter after Two o'clock a.m.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, 2nd August, 1906.

EARLDOM OF NORFOLK.

The evidence taken and the speeches delivered by counsel before the Committee for Privileges to be printed. (No. 200.)

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR aquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with: Metropolitan Electric Supply.

The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

Buckhaven, Methil, and Innerleven Burgh Extension Bill [H.L.]; London Squares and Enclosures Bill [H.L.]: Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Open Spaces Bill; Sutton District Water Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendment made to each Bill agreed to.

Ground Game Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill; Rutherglen Burgh Order Confirmation Bill; Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation Bill; Pontefract Corporation Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

Metropolitan Electric Supply Bill. Ordered, That Standing Order No. 93 be suspended; and that the time for depositing petitions praying to be heard against the Metropolitan Electric Supply Bill be extended to the first day on which the House shall sit after the Recess.

Hackney Electricity Bill; Hampstead Garden Suburb Bill; London County Council (Money) Bill; North West London Railway Bill; St. Pancras Electricity Bill; South Lincolnshire Water Bill; South Wales Electrical Power Distribution Company Bill; Watford and Edgware Railway Bill; Lancashire Electric Power Bill; Returned from the Commons, with the Amendments agreed to.

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Petitions against; of Inhabitants of Carshalton; Whepstead; Llandegfau; Mendham; Runwell; Eythorne; Hemswell; Harpswell; Stoke Newington (Parish of St. Faith's); Northwood; Crambe; Everley; Sowton; Brighton; Elton; Stambermill; Staunton-on-Wye; Public Elementary Schools in Diocese of Ely; Bolton (Parish of St. George the Martyr); Granby; Worminghall; Kilkhampton; Basildon; Little Malvern; Bylchau; Llangranog; Laindon; Hinton; Blewett; Brighton; Hawthorn; Monewden; Helindon; Paulerspury; Parish of St. Peter's, Hindley; Parish of All Saints, Wigan; and Colwyn Bay; Read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

EDUCATION.

Petitions in favour of maintenance of existing religious teaching in Church of England schools; of parents and guardians of children attending school at St. John's National School; and Brindle; Read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LAND REGISTRY (LAND TRANSFER ACTS, 1875 AND 1897).

Report of the Registrar of the Land Registry for the years 1902, 1903, 1904, and 1905, as to the work of constructing a general register of title for the county of London.

MARRIAGES, BIRTHS, AND DEATHS (IRELAND).

Annual Report of the Registrar-General for Ireland, for the year 1905.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND).

Return of Evictions in Ireland for the quarter ended 30th June 1906.

LUNACY (IRELAND).

Supplement of the Fifty-fourth Annual Report of the Inspectors of Lunatics in Ireland, being a special report on the alleged increase of lunacy in Ireland.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, BELFAST.

Annual Report of the President for the year 1905–6.

WAR STORES IN SOUTH AFRICA (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Report of the Royal Commission on War Stores in South Africa, together with appendices and minutes of evidence (four volumes).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

ARMY (PENSIONS).

Return for the year ended 31st March 1906 of pensions specially granted under Articles 730, 1173A, and 1207 of the Pay Warrant.

RAILWAY SERVANTS (HOURS OF LABOUR).

Report by the Board of Trade respecting their proceedings under the Railway Regulation Act, 1893, during the year ended 27th July 1906.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

CRIMINAL APPEAL BILLS.

Return respecting; laid before the House (pursuant to Address of the 3rd of May last), and to be printed. (No. 201.)

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL.

Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª To-morrow. (The Lord Privy Seal [*M. Ripon*]). (No. 202.)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) ACT (1898) AMENDMENT BILL.

Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª To-morrow; (The Lord Ribblesdale). (No. 203.)

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Standing Order No. XXXIX. considered (according to Order), and suspended for this day's sitting.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (TRANSFER OF TREASURY POWERS) BILL.

Read 2ª (according to Order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) BILL.

***THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE**: My Lords, I see by the Order Paper that we are to be invited to consider the Commons' Amendments to the Lords' Amendments, and the reason for disagreeing to certain of the Lords' Amendments. I have had some private conversation with the noble Marquess opposite on this subject. The matter raised is one of very great importance to your Lordships, and I think it would be clearly advisable that we should have a little more time to consider the issue in all its bearings. I understand that with the concurrence of the noble Marquess the matter may be taken either later this evening or to-morrow.

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (The Marquess of RIPON): My Lords, this is a very serious matter indeed, or might become a very serious matter, and I entirely agree with my noble friend that we should give as much time as possible consistent with the approaching adjournment, for the consideration of the matter. Therefore the Commons' Amendments will be considered either later this evening or to-morrow.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day read for the adjourned debate on the Motion for the Second Reading.

***THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE**: My Lords, there appeared on the Paper yesterday notices of two Amendments either of which, if passed, would have been fatal to the Second Reading of this Bill. I am glad, however, to think that both these notices have been withdrawn, and I gather, from the speeches which were made from this side of the House yesterday, that there is no intention in any quarter of the House to oppose the Second Reading of the Bill. I think that the decision thus arrived at on the part of the Opposition is a wise one. Whatever we may think of this Bill, however we may object to some of its provisions, however we may regret the spirit in which it appears to have been framed, whatever we may think of the injustice and the hardships, the unnecessary hardships, as some of us believe, which will be inflicted by this Bill on the owners and trustees of voluntary schools and on large classes of parents, whatever infringement we may hold that it contains of the principles of religious freedom and toleration, still the Bill comes to us sanctioned by so great a majority of the other House that, even if we thought it was incapable of Amendment such as would make it a fair and final settlement of the education question, it would be our duty to give the fullest consideration to its principles.

It will be our duty, I think, to reserve our final judgment on the measure until we see what is its shape after the Committee stage; until we know what concessions, if any, his Majesty's Government are prepared to make, and, if no concessions are made, by what reasons their refusal can be justified. I do not think that the Government will deny that the Bill does require very full consideration on the part of this House. Although it comes to us backed by a very large majority of the other House, still the discussions in the other House have revealed differences of opinion on the part of considerable sections of that majority which deprive its verdict of the weight which it might otherwise have possessed. Party allegiance, no doubt, has enabled the Government to carry the whole of their proposals by very large majorities, and has enabled them to defeat Amendments which they considered inconsistent with the principles of the Bill. But it has not been accepted as a final settlement with anything approaching unanimity.

The concessions to the voluntary schools which the Bill contains have called forth loud protests from a section of the Nonconformist supporters of the Government, and in the course of the discussions a large and increasing body of opinion has manifested itself in some sections of the House, especially among the members of the Labour Party, in favour of a system of education based upon secular principles as opposed to a denominational or an undenominational system of religious teaching. Therefore we are entitled to satisfy ourselves as far as we can that in passing this measure in its present form or in an amended shape that we should be giving effect to the clear opinions of even the majority in another place.

We shall all desire in this debate to confine ourselves to a discussion of the principles of the Bill, but I confess that I find it rather difficult to discover what are the principles that this Bill contains. Mr. Birrell, in introducing the measure stated two principles, or rather one principle and an opinion. He stated that the principle of the Bill was that, where public money was taken, complete public control must of necessity follow, and in a later passage in his speech he said the Bill was based upon the happy experience of thirty-six years of Cowper-Temple teaching. I, and I think most of your Lordships, fully accept the principle of public control, but I do not think it carries us very far. I do not think that Parliament has ever acted upon any other principle. That principle only asserts what nobody would dream of denying, that when Parliament takes the money of the public either in the form of taxes or of rates it is bound to control the application of those funds.

But as I had to argue over and over again in 1902, chiefly, I think, with my noble friend Lord Rosebery, whom I am happy to see in his place, that control may be exercised in two ways. It may either be exercised by direct instruction given by Parliament as representing the whole body of taxpayers, and that control may be exercised through a State Department presided over by a Minister responsible to Parliament; or, on the other hand, Parliament may delegate all or some of its powers more or less completely to local authorities as representing the ratepayers. As a matter of fact Parliament, in educational legislation, has always so divided the control which it has exercised over funds applied to public elementary education.

Under the Act of 1870 schools were for the first time built and wholly maintained at the public expense. Parliament then decided to leave the management of these schools, the appointment of the managers and teachers, and the direction of secular education given in them entirely to the local authorities, subject only to the inspection of the Education Department to secure the efficiency of the education given. As to religious education, Parliament permitted one form only, that which is known as the Cowper-Temple form of teaching. But it left the local authorities to decide whether religious instruction should be given at all, and it left them also largely to decide what character that undenominational teaching should assume. In 1870 largely increased grants were given to the voluntary schools, and Parliament at the same time decided what sort of additional control should be exercised over these schools. The decision to which Parliament came was to give the school boards no control whatever over these schools. It required a certain standard of efficiency tested by strict inspection, but it left the management and the appointment of the managers and teachers wholly to the owners or trustees of these schools.

As to religious instruction, Parliament did not interfere at all with the previous arrangements, except to insist upon the conscience clause being observed in every case. Parliament in 1870 deliberately, and as I think rightly, decided to adopt different forms of control for different schools, differently provided and differently maintained.

Under the Act of 1902 almost the whole cost of the maintenance of the voluntary schools was, for the first time, thrown upon the rates. That rendered a further measure of public control necessary for them. Parliament thought fit in 1902 to enact that the local authorities should, for the first time, have complete control over the secular education given in those schools, and gave them a share, if not a preponderating share, in the management of those schools and the appointment of the teachers. At the same time Parliament thought fit to take securities for preserving the denominational character of those schools. That may have been a wise or an unwise arrangement. It was not an arrangement, in my opinion, in contravention of the principle of public control, which, under the Act of 1902, was exercised, as it always had been, partly by Parliament and partly left to the discretion of the local authorities.

The Bill, in my opinion, makes no advance whatever in regard to the principle of public control. It proceeds on the old lines. The control exercised by the State over all the schools is still one which is divided between regulations framed by Parliament and the delegation of the powers of Parliament to the local authorities. If you meant by public control complete local control over all the schools, you would have to allow the local authorities to decide what religion should be taught. But you do nothing of the sort; you maintain, you even extend, the prohibition in the Act of 1870 against any but undenominational instruction in council schools. You extend it, for you will not even allow Cowper-Temple teaching in school hours. You extend it, because this Bill gives no discretion to local authorities; it extends the prohibitions of the Cowper-Temple Clause of the Act of 1870 to transferred schools, and the limitation of local control is maintained and extended under the present Bill. The prohibitory character of the former is always extended in the direction of discouraging religious teaching, denominational or undenominational.

The settlement of 1902 was always opposed by a considerable minority—by a large minority in the other House, by a small minority here. That minority in the present Parliament has become a large majority in the other House, and of course it is open to that majority if they think fit to revise or even to reverse that settlement. But I take it that a reversal is not the inevitable or logical consequence of acceptance of the principle of control by a local authority, but of the altered opinion of the other House. I am afraid that so long as wide differences of opinion exist between us on religious matters it is idle to expect that we can arrive at any finality upon the religious question in elementary schools. We cannot arrive at that unless we can find a compromise in principle universally or generally accepted.

True, the settlement of 1902 was founded on a principle not universally accepted, and it is also true that the principle upon which your Bill is founded is either not understood, or certainly not accepted by very large numbers in the community; and unless you can find some compromise founded on a principle we can all accept, the cause of education must continue during the present, the next, and perhaps many Parliaments to be disturbed and weakened by a perpetual recurrence of the religious difficulty. I find, therefore, very little or no assistance in the principle invoked by Mr. Birrell as the principle of the present Bill.

I think we must regard the proposals we find in these clauses as separate unconnected—perhaps I might call them empirical—proposals that must be discussed on their own merits, not as bearing upon a general and accepted principle, and such a discussion is more appropriate to Committee. Some of the proposals in the Bill are of an extremely intricate and complicated character difficult to understand, but the first clause has, I admit, an engaging appearance of simplicity, and I believe there is a general disposition, even on the part of many who think that large Amendments will be necessary, to accept the principle of the first clause. I imagine many of your Lordships have seen the "Lay" memorial addressed to the most rev. Primate the Archbishop of Canterbury by a number of eminent members of the Church of England not being Members of either House of Parliament, a memorial which has, I believe, received the benediction of the right rev. Prelate the Bishop of Ripon, whose speech last night I regret I did not hear. The first statement in that memorial declares, as in accordance with the plain will of the people acceptance of the fundamental principle contained in Clause 1.

Now I am not quite sure, as I think I have indicated, that I know exactly what is the fundamental principle embodied in Clause 1, and perhaps it is more important to try to ascertain what will be the effect of the clause. Having discovered that we shall be in a better position to ascertain how far that effect will be qualified or mitigated by subsequent clauses. The clause enacts that transferred schools are to become provided schools and subject therefore to all the incidents of provided schools, including the Cowper-Temple clause. What is the Cowper-Temple clause? It is very often spoken of as if it were a clause establishing some sort of religious teaching, but it does nothing of the kind. The Cowper-Temple clause is simply prohibitory, and merely enacts that no catechism or religious formulary shall be taught. This teaching, then, is prohibited in transferred schools.

But then Clauses 3 and 4 go on to enact that in certain transferred schools religious formularies may in different degrees be taught—a curious method of drafting. I trust the Nonconformist supporters of His Majesty's Government will take note that the present Government is responsible for the partial repeal, at all events, of the Cowper-Temple clause in certain classes of provided schools. Though the clause is prohibitory only, a certain form of religious teaching has grown out of it; and I conceive that the real effect will be to give a preference, a strong and decided preference, to that form of undenominational teaching over any other form of religious teaching the schools may have been established and subscribed for to provide. Undenominational teaching may be given by teachers at the expense of the State, but other forms of teaching are to be treated as extras, to be given not by expert teachers and to be paid for, not by the State, but by the trustees. I confess it seems to me to be a singular arrangement, and, whether it be good or bad, I deny that it is in accordance with the clearly expressed will of the people.

I deny that the Government has received among its numerous mandates any mandate for the creation of a set of schools in which denominational teaching shall be permitted but discouraged and placed under disabilities. I am not qualified to discuss from a theological point of view simple Bible teaching, the teaching of the great truths of Christianity, or any form of religious teaching which supporters or opponents of the Cowper-Temple clause may prefer to call it, but certainly I entertain for the Cowper-Temple clause no such aversion as has been expressed by many on both sides of political opinion in the other House. I recognise that it is accepted as a satisfactory form of religious teaching for children, as opposed to adults, by a great many sincere and earnest Christians, and by a very large body of parents of children. I recognise also that it is regarded by others as insufficient, and by some as actually mischievous, and among these are included a number of parents of children attending elementary schools.

But I confess I cannot understand the view of those who dogmatically assert that while Roman Catholics or Jews cannot be expected to accept this form of teaching it is good enough, or ought to be good enough, for all Protestants. I do not claim to decide whether it is good enough, or ought to be good enough, for Protestants. It is quite enough for me to know that there are a great many whose opinions are entitled to respect who do not think that it is good enough; and I regard it as unreasonable and, what is worse than unreasonable, as intolerant, to attempt to force it upon those who hold that opinion, to the exclusion of any more definite form of religious teaching. And, therefore, my Lords, although I think that this Bill goes much further than is necessary in establishing the Cowper-Temple form of teaching in every one of our elementary schools, I am glad that His Majesty's Government have refused to yield to the pressure which has been placed upon them by those who would impose it indiscriminately and without exception upon every school. But that is not all.

Besides the Cowper-Temple clause there is another incident attaching to transferred schools in their new character of provided schools. The managers will be appointed in future by the local authority, and the teachers will be appointed by the same body. The effect of that is, that every security that has been provided by the deeds of Church schools for having Church teaching by Church people in Church schools will be absolutely swept away. The trustees of those schools may not inconceivably see instruction given under the name of simple Bible teaching which it will be their duty to their very utmost to counteract as far as they can in the two days of the week in which they or the teachers appointed by them have liberty to enter the school. And this, my Lords, is the plan of the Government for establishing religious peace and solving the religious difficulty. This is a consequence graver and far more injurious to the religious character of the voluntary schools and to their objects than the mere introduction into them of Cowper-Temple teaching. This consequence the Bill makes no effort whatever to avert.

There are other clauses in the Bill which extend the effect, which I have endeavoured to describe, of Clause 1. They appear to be designed to discourage, if not actually to forbid, all teaching of religion, whether denominational or undenominational. Both these forms are now to be excluded in school hours, and, as to denominational instruction, teachers, even if willing and anxious to give that instruction, are prohibited by the Bill so to do. I should like to ask what is the necessity for such sweeping and drastic changes. I think I have shown that they are not the necessary and inevitable consequence of the accepted principle of public control. They are not necessary to the efficiency of secular teaching in our schools.

In my opinion, the only justification for the revision of the Acts of 1870 and 1902 lies in the existence of a grievance of certain parents which, I believe, all of us are ready to admit. That grievance has existed since 1870; it is not removed, I admit, by the Act of 1902. That grievance consists in this. A parent, perhaps a Nonconformist parent, while he has in some, not by any means in all, districts to pay rates and taxes in support of denominational schools, has no access for his own children to the religious instruction which he himself would accept for them. That is a grievance which I think we all admit, and would all be ready to the utmost of our power to attempt to remedy. But we must remember that Roman Catholics and members of the Church of England in other districts when there is no school accommodation except in board or council schools have precisely the same grievance of being forced to support those schools although they cannot get in them, or anywhere, the religious instruction which they desire. If justice requires us to redress one of those grievances, surely justice also requires that we should attempt to redress the other.

I have no doubt Amendments will be moved in this House for obtaining facilities for denominational teaching in council schools. For myself, I desire to see as little disturbance as possible of our existing system, and I do not desire to commit myself to support such Amendments, until I see what, if any, concessions the Government are prepared to make in regard to giving real facilities for denominational teaching in the transferred schools. But if no concessions in that direction are to be made, then I am of opinion that there is a great deal to be said for a provision which will place all provided schools on the same footing in regard to religious, as well as to secular, instruction.

But while I do not desire to commit myself to any proposals for altering the *status* of the present council schools—I am dealing only for a moment with the Nonconformist grievance, which I think is the sole justification for amending the provision of the Act of 1902—I may say that it appears to me that the problem which has to be solved is that, when parents in any appreciable number desire that they should have access to Cowper-Temple or undenominational teaching, means should be found for providing them with such access. But that does not seem to me to be a problem which ought to be insoluble by means less violent and drastic than those provided in the Bill. I cannot think that this not very heroic task makes it necessary to disturb the religious character of every voluntary school and to remove every security that remains in respect to it whether these schools be Church schools, Catholic schools, or Jewish schools. There are, not in towns alone but in the rural districts also, hundreds, and I think thousands, of them against which no voice of complaint has ever been raised, which offend no conscience, and which are doing good work to the satisfaction of the parents of the children who attend them, to whatever religious persuasion they belong.

With regard to such schools as these, under such circumstances as I have described, I am tempted to ask—Why cannot you leave them alone? Why are you, without inquiry, without examination, without inviting any friendly discussion between local authorities and trustees of voluntary schools, going to impose upon those schools a uniform and a cast-iron rule which will offend the consciences of as many as, if not a larger number of parents than those whom you are going to please? I know that this suggestion will be considered an audacious one, and will be absolutely scouted by members of his Majesty's Government, but I ask any members of that Government who are going to take part in this debate whether the description I have given of a large number of existing schools in the country is not a true one, and I will ask them to say for what reason the good work which they are doing is to be disturbed.

The most rev. Primate, in the great speech which he addressed to the House yesterday, indicated Amendments which he thought might be moved on the clauses of the Bill with the object, in some degree, of making them more effectual for the purpose which they profess to have in view. The most rev. Primate suggested Amendments which might make the facilities so grudgingly given in the Bill real; and, as I understood him, he proposed to expunge some of those clauses which appear to be directly aimed at the destruction of the security for the efficiency of religious instruction, either denominational or undenominational, hereafter to be taught in our schools. I believe I am entirely in sympathy with the suggestions of the most rev. Primate; but there is one point on which I cannot altogether agree with him.

The most rev. Primate said that in his opinion a great opportunity for a great measure had been lost. My Lords, in the present divided state of opinion on religious matters to which I have referred, I doubt whether any measure, however wisely framed, however moderate, or however tolerant it might be—I doubt whether any great measure dealing with this difficult problem could be made acceptable. I hold, on the contrary, that the Government have immensely exaggerated the magnitude of the question with which it is necessary for them to deal. I believe that but for political exigencies the question might have been dealt with on far less ambitious lines. I think the Government themselves have shown some perception of this fact; for, they have introduced clauses the object and intention of which appear to be to mitigate the rigour of the treatment which the first clause and other clauses will impose on voluntary schools. I fear that the scope and effect of those clauses are too wide and far reaching to make them susceptible to substantial mitigation. At all events, in their present form, as amended in the other

House, they are extremely complicated, intricate, and, I think I may say of some of them, almost unintelligible. I shall not attempt on this occasion to discuss them. I will only say that these clauses appear to me to fall short to an unnecessary degree of what I may call a just and tolerant arrangement. I am, therefore, confident that no Amendment that can be devised to the framework of this Bill can make of it a final settlement or one which can be acceptable to those who care for and value definite religious teaching. Still less can I expect the Government, fettered as they are by one of their supposed mandates and exposed to the pressure which has been constantly applied to them throughout the discussions in the other House by some of their extreme supporters, will be permitted to agree to many of the Amendments which may be proposed, however reasonable they may appear to be.

It has been suggested that this House should decline to undertake a task which appears to be almost an impossible one, and should leave to the Government the responsibility of passing an unamended Bill which will probably prove unworkable and will certainly produce widespread and strong reaction. I think that this House, if it adopted any such suggestion, would be failing in its duty. I think it is our duty, however little hope we may have of success, to approach the consideration of this Bill in Committee with a firm and strong desire to mitigate every grievance which can be proved, and at the same time to obtain some securities for religious instruction in our schools, which I believe the country is determined to have in some form or another. I think it is the duty of this House to endeavour to show the country that there are alternatives to the violent and unnecessary disturbance of our educational system which, with all its faults and imperfections, has for thirty-six years done a work of which we have no cause to be ashamed; and until we have done this, until we know how our efforts in these directions will be regarded by His Majesty's Government and by the other House of Parliament, we shall not be called upon to make the final and momentous decision which at some later period we may have to take and which may involve consequences far wider even than any that are involved in connection with the present measure.

*THE LORD BISHOP OF SOUTHWARK: My Lords, the keynote of the second night of this debate, if I may venture respectfully to say so, could hardly have been struck more suitably than by the speech to which we have just listened; and what has fallen from the noble Duke is a great encouragement to one who holds such opinions on this matter as I do myself. We on this Bench share to the full what must have been the feeling of the House during the first stage of this debate—namely, that this is not only a matter which raises very real and very grave issues, but one with regard to which the House must so far as that is possible, adopt a judicial attitude. There ought to be no question here of Party victory, because there is indeed no Party bond that unites the critics of this Bill.

The issue which we would desire to put is an issue of fairness, a simple issue, one which we can make clear to our own consciences, and one with regard to which we may deserve respect, we hope, from public opinion outside. I could wish we had here, as well might be if this House should ever be amended, representatives of the great Nonconformist bodies, because then I think we should have this case better set out, and, I must be allowed to add, because I should like the House to have an opportunity of forming an opinion on a good deal of Nonconformist argument and Nonconformist attitude at first hand. In the speech of the most rev. Primate last night there was a good deal of reference to the past history of the matter, and it has been touched upon briefly to-night by the noble Duke. The merest tyro, looking on at our debate or reading it, would find that there have been now for a century behind us two great bodies of opinion in this country, to which our controversial jargon has fixed the titles denominational and undenominational.

In 1870, though that is by no means the beginning of the matter, we find a great settlement in which both those bodies of opinion were recognised, one having the advantage of position because the supporters of denominational schools had been earlier in the field and had made great sacrifices, and the other having the advantage of the prestige which emanates from public administration and the great help which comes from a double hold on the public purse. We remember how in 1870 it was prophesied that that two-fold condition was merely transitory, that it was quite plain that voluntary schools could never hold their own, and that a few years would suffice to see them pass away. That feeling prevailed among many members of our own body, and a number of schools were sacrificed which might have been saved to us.

But when we come to the beginning of the new century we find that, so far from having been nearly extinguished, the voluntary schools have, roughly speaking, doubled in number, the number of children using them has doubled as well as the amount of their support. I venture to hope we shall not hear any more in this debate of what I may call the ungenerous belittling of that great body of denominational effort on the ground that it was assisted in certain places by railway companies, or because in other places the desire to be relieved of the rate had a great deal to do with the matter. Is there any movement in politics or in history which, as it proceeds, does not gather round it a good deal which is not congenial to its main principle? We should ask ourselves upon what principle does this movement depend, what set it going, and what put it in a position to receive these tributary streams? I do not doubt that any fair-minded person will answer that it was the strength of denominational conviction. You had, on the one hand, great numbers of people up and down the country putting their strength into the working of denominational schools and making great sacrifices for them; and you had also a new body of people representing the other principle, and I think we may be proud to have amongst us perhaps the ablest, the most distinguished, and the most untiring of the public servants who have given their work to the support of the undenominational system—I refer to the noble Lord who sits near me, Lord Stanley of Alderley.

The position was still the same in 1902. I am not going to worry the House by dwelling on the weak side of the double arrangement of that date. It was quite plain that while the two bodies were at least equal in conviction and in earnestness one had got a grip of public money which the other had not; and the Act of 1902 was, as it appeared to me, a reasonable effort in that sense to maintain in its main feature the settlement of 1870. I quite admit that in order to maintain its main feature it had to depart from that settlement in other respects, but the settlement had been already departed from in favour of undenominational schools. Mr. Gladstone's maximum rate of 3d. in the £ had gone up to the 1s., the 2s., and, I believe, even the 2s. 6d. in some places. No settlement could remain a real permanent settlement which had been already so largely overset.

Meanwhile, I believe that in the region of opinion there had taken place a good deal of change which, unless I greatly misread things, has been accelerated since. I believe that the opinion, strong in the first flush of its growth in 1870, in favour of an undenominational system which should, it was hoped, remove all difficulties, has grown a good deal more diffident and doubtful of itself since; and I believe, on the other hand, that the sense of the essential truth of the denominationalist argument, of the argument that if religion is to be real it must be the religion that people do themselves believe, has gained very much strength. And if you ask me for any proof that I am right in that respect I should be willing to take "facilities" as a test. A little while ago it was regarded as the fad of a few theorists; it is now accepted by persons of all kinds as one of the most obviously just expedients towards a solution of the question.

We have then the two-fold condition existing, not merely as a relic of the past, but in a state of the fullest vitality on both sides, and with the arguments both ways tenaciously held and vigorously set out; and it is under the circumstances that a Government called to mend that settlement in some way, called to deal with certain grievances to which it was liable, have offered us what the Prime Minister has described as an undenominational

Bill. What I am asking your Lordships' House to consider is whether this looks like, or is likely to be, a reasonable and fair solution. The Bill says that having got your two-fold system you shall, in order to remedy the grievance, pull down one half of your system; that you shall destroy all that satisfies the denominationalist body of people of all kinds who care so much, and work so hard, and who, into the bargain, help so loyally in the work of the undenominational system, for the men who have done most for voluntary schools have often been prominent on the school boards throughout the country. You destroy all that satisfied that body of your citizens and you take the principle which is identified with the other side. You take the very formula which represents that principle in the old controversial form. You push these in upon the schools of the opposite sort. You change the whole character of the denominational schools without asking whether they desire it or whether it is needed; on the contrary, you are pleased with yourselves for the sweeping comprehensiveness of the first clause. I ask, does that look like a fair arrangement? If we could get a dispassionate judge this seems to me the case which we could put to him with a very confident hope of success.

Then, with regard to the teachers. You have a large body of teachers, many of them very religious people, and you are going to silence them as regards a great deal of what they have been accustomed to teach, and you are going to allow them to teach under a sense of restraint, which I do not think has been fully realised as the effect of the working of the Cowper-Temple Clause. When a teacher is not quite sure how much the Cowper-Temple Clause means, and what those in authority will interpret it to mean, he will be timid, not only about how far he dare express, but (what is much more serious) how far conscientiously he ought to express his real convictions. I wish we could adjourn this debate and go round the country and have a series of object lessons of what this means in the concrete. If your Lordships would visit these schools in various parts of the country between now and the autumn, you would find some, no doubt, which you would have good reason to criticise, but I am sure you would find cases which, to use a simple phrase, would go to your hearts; and when you had learnt the story of what the schools had cost and the work that had been accomplished, you would say that to satisfy political theory or to remove some fragment of conscientious grievance, surely it required a less drastic remedy than this.

But it may be said to me—"You are putting the case all your own way, and you are not observing that this Bill is a compromise." Indeed, I think one speaker last night went so far as to make the extraordinary statement that the Act of 1902 was not a compromise and this Bill was. We must be rather careful about what a compromise means. It is not a compromise to make an arrangement on the "*væ victis*" principle, and claim credit for not having pushed your power to the last extremity. You could not call it a compromise when the Germans in 1870, taking the provinces of Alsace Lorraine, did not take the single unsurrendered fortress of Belfort.

With regard to what the Church did in 1902, I venture to say that the Church did undoubtedly attempt some sort of compromise. Was it not the case that, at the time when we on our part asked that the State should give us an additional measure of public help from the rates, we felt at once that it was only just that on our side there should be some considerable concession? I have in my hand the conclusions arrived at by the Convocations of Canterbury and York sitting together in 1901. It was agreed that, for the first time, into the government of every school there should be admitted two persons who, if the authorities were to appoint them, might be as alien as possible from the principles of the school, but who would secure to everyone connected with the school that there was some independent person in the governing body privy to all the secrets and able to see that there was no unfair play or unreasonable dealings with any children.

Along with that we passed another Resolution to which I do not think attention has been sufficiently directed, because it was not, unfortunately as we think, taken up by the Government in 1902. It was this, that "whenever a reasonable number of parents desired that religious instruction in accordance with their belief should be given to their children, opportunity for such instruction should be secured to them by statute in all elementary schools, provided this could be done without expense to the managers." If it had been possible to insert that in the Bill of 1902 I think it would have gone a good way towards removing the necessity for this Bill. I think that was an instance of a fair and reasonable attempt at a compromise. But the present Bill cannot in any way be described as a compromise. Is there under this Bill any single point at which the denominational side of the community stands to gain? If there is no-two-sided account it is difficult to call it a compromise. That has been perceived by some controversialists on the other side, and we have seen resolutions lately which have attempted to show that the advantage was partly on our side.

At a conference held in London last week a resolution was adopted declaring that this Bill is not a settlement of the question, and that it is "the profound conviction of large numbers of Liberals and Nonconformists that it leaves several of the gravest wrongs unredressed; that while still further subsidising all the old denominational schools, in many cases," continues the resolution, "it strengthens their sectarian character; and that it fails to secure the teachers of such schools in three-fourths of the population against the imposition of sectarian tests. I venture to think that at the rate we have been educating ourselves by this debate everyone in this House will feel that the statement about further subsidising all the old denominational schools and in many cases strengthening their sectarian character, is really hardly worth criticism. I think the same remark may be applied to the other statement contained in the resolution passed at this conference. The remark about three-fourths of the population is an instance of what goes entirely beyond the limits of legitimate controversy. What we are now offered is not a compromise, and it cannot be supposed that you are going to advance a stage towards a settlement of this matter unless you do something to meet the calims from both sides. Unless this is done you will not get nearer a solution, but will be plunged deeper into the difficulty. This is one reason why this Bill has met with such opposition in the country. It offends the instinct of justice.

Noble Lords who come from all parts of England must have had opportunities of judging for themselves, and unless their experience differs greatly from my own, both first-hand and second-hand, they will know that the Bill has created an amount of opposition among people who are not at all inclined to excite themselves or take part in political matters for which there is no parallel in this generation. It is not merely that a large number of people have come together on this subject. It is by no means merely a matter of excitement; it is one of very deep feeling. Further still, if you go beyond those who have joined in opposition to the Bill I think you will find that many who started by saying, "Do not oppose the Bill," have been obliged to make such criticisms upon it as constitute a most formidable condemnation of it in the eyes of anyone who looks at the matter from the point of view of common fairness.

We shall hear, for example, my right rev. brother the Bishop of Hereford, whom I am glad to see in his place, present from this Bench the most favourable estimate that can be made of this Bill; but unless he has altered his opinion, which is not very likely, he will tell you that the action of this Bill in silencing the teachers in the matter of denominational teaching is "harsh." He will tell you that it is "quite unreasonable" not to give facilities, and he will tell you that by leaving out religion in school hours you are doing great damage to the cause of religious education. I know the Bishop of Hereford so well that I am sure he will not take exception to my quoting him in that way. But it is not a single person. The same thing may be said of persons who do not generally agree with those who are taking a strong line on this matter. The noble Duke quoted a declaration made by certain moderate Church people who held a meeting the other day. If the modifications which those people suggest were introduced in the Bill it might fall very short of what many of us ardently desire, but it could not be said that the Government's Bill had not been altered to a degree which would amount almost to a transformation of it.

I ventured to ask just now that one statement which I thought ungenerous might not be repeated. There is another statement, constantly made in the newspapers, that the Opposition to this Bill comes only from Roman Catholics and a very small section of persons, chiefly clergy, within the Church of England, who are so misguided as to have some affinities with Roman Catholic opinion. That really is so grotesque a perversion of the state of things within the Church of England that I hope we shall not hear any more of it. In my own diocese a committee of 400 laymen has been formed to carry on agitation against the Bill, and their elected chairman, the only clergyman who has been admitted to their body, is a leading evangelical incumbent. It is not one party in the Church of England which is making this resistance. The resistance comes from all those—and they have been greatly increased in number under the power of this controversy—who feel the necessity, if we are to keep religion, that that religion should be real and vital.

I am glad that this debate is not to terminate with any division or any attempt to reject the Bill on Second Reading. I think that would have been scant courtesy, not only to the other House but to those outside. But I am glad also on our own account. I believe that the effect of the threshing-out of these arguments in your Lordships' House, not only in this debate on the Second Reading but in the Committee Stage will be very great indeed. I believe that, as we go on, under unfettered conditions of criticism both as to the justice of the Bill and its details, it will more and more come out that it is not such a settlement as the country can accept, and that it cannot be passed into law without a far greater grievance existing than that which it professes to remedy. I hope that at some future time in some way or other we shall all unite to find the means of so framing our educational system as that the denominational principle and the rival method shall find full and final and permanent expression.

*Lord STANLEY of ALDERLEY: My Lords, there is a certain element of artificiality about this debate because it is agreed that the Second Reading is to be conceded, and that the struggle is to take place on the Committee stage. But the speeches which have ended by accepting the Second Reading have been characterised throughout by such hostility to the essence of the Bill that the arguments would have been more naturally translated into a rejection of the measure. Although for various political reasons it was thought impolitic to enter into a conflict with the other House at this stage, I would say that if, as the result of the Autumn discussions, such demands should be finally insisted upon by this House as would be incapable of acceptance in the other House, the very grave consequences indicated in the most weighty and serious language by the noble Duke would follow——

The Duke of DEVONSHIRE: Might follow.

*Lord STANLEY of ALDERLEY: Consequences which might be more serious even than the passing of this Bill in an unamended form. When the noble Duke gives that warning we know that it indicates deep conviction. We have had addresses in this House, and I think too much in the country, in which this Bill has been talked of as remedying a Nonconformist grievance, and as, in the course of doing so, inflicting greater grievances on Anglicans and Roman Catholics. The right rev. Prelate who has just spoken expressed regret that the representatives of Nonconformists were not here, partly that they might have their say, but still more, I think, that he might have the pleasure of refuting them.

I do not approach, and never have approached, this question of education from either the merely Anglican or Nonconformist point of view. To my mind, the question of a little more or a little less in the exact measure of religious instruction or even of theological dogma that you can impart to children between the ages of three and fourteen is a very trifling matter. In nine-tenths of the Anglican schools the teachers do in fact teach the Bible very much in the same way as they teach it in the board schools; and the professional instinct of the teacher makes him, when he comes to the Catechism, teach it also in such a broad and moderate way that he only draws the same kind of lessons from the Catechism as the board school master would draw from the Bible. I approach this question much more from the point of view of the citizen; and I think the debates in your Lordships' House have too much ignored the fact that the grievance in regard to the management of schools receiving a large measure of public aid is that the administration offends against the principle of municipal self-government. The essential thing, in my opinion, and I believe in the opinion of the great mass of popular forces which have returned this overwhelming Liberal majority to the House of Commons, is that the feeling behind the demand for this Bill is that the schools should become a municipal and not an ecclesiastical institution, and that they should benefit by that broad current of public life that flows from popular election and popular self-government.

When I saw that the noble Duke was going to resume the debate this afternoon I had hoped, having regard to his past career and to the fact that we are within one day of the 30th anniversary of the occasion when the noble Duke as Leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons moved a hostile Resolution on the report of the Bill of 1876, that the old spirit would have revived in him, and that we should have heard from him some words worthy to be put side by side with those which he spoke in the debate on Lord Sandon's Bill of that year. But as I listened to him I thought, to slightly parody Tennyson, that "Men may pass on stepping-stones of their dead selves to other things."

We have had summaries of the history of this education question which are remarkable by their omissions and by their misrepresentations of the fact. It was a singular thing to my mind that the noble Duke, in giving the history of this education question during the period when he was responsible largely for it, should have entirely skipped over the year 1876. The noble Duke spoke even of the Cowper-Temple clause with an air of detachment and indifference which seemed to imply that he had quite forgotten that he was one of the parents responsible for it. I see also on the opposite Benches the noble Viscount who began his distinguished political career by being the champion of religious liberty and equality in the University of Oxford. He took an active part in the invasion of ancient trusts and the abolition of ecclesiastical restrictions which made the Universities and their colleges available to the country. He, too, is one of the veterans who denounce the breaking up of the compromise of 1870, and he took the extreme step of dividing against the Third Reading of Lord Sandon's Act of 1876.

But what I wish to call attention to are the remarks which the noble Duke made as Leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons on August 3rd, 1876. After pointing out, with great truth, that the Act of 1870 was a compromise, that there were many things in it to which Nonconformists and Liberals objected, yet he said there were elements in the compromise which made it accepted. At any rate, the presumption for the future was in favour of the public management of the schools, and voluntary schools were permitted to exist on the strict obligation that they should be responsible for one half of the annual cost. In reply to the right rev. Prelate who has just sat down, I would remind the House that every invasion of the principles of 1870 has been in favour of propping up voluntary schools which found they were unable to keep pace with the competition.

THE LORD BISHOP OF SOUTHWARK: There were invasions on both sides.

*LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY: The right rev. Prelate complained that the public spirit of the ratepayers and their determination to do the work properly had caused the education rate to go up considerably higher than Mr. Forster anticipated. But that was an act of sacrifice on the part of the ratepayers. The ratepayers had it in their power to do the work in a niggardly and cheeseparing way, but I have never heard before that any section of the citizens had a right to complain of the public spirit of the community as a whole. But what was it that the noble Duke said in moving his motion on the Bill of 1876? He said—

> "There are many of us, and I do not scruple to say I am one of them, who believe that the principle of school boards is the right and true principle in this matter. We believe that, being the right and true principle, it will in the end prevail. We believe that once the

time has arrived that Parliament has declared the education of the country is the business, not, as formerly, of individuals, but is the business of the State itself, it becomes inevitable that sooner or later State education must be in the hands, not of individuals, but of the representatives of the people."

That was admirably put thirty years ago, and I had hoped to hear that principle again enunciated to-night; but, instead of that, the noble Duke declared his inability to understand what the first clause means when it says that all schools shall be under the control of the representatives of the people. As we cannot have the services of our lost leader we must march on without him, and we can only hope that some day or other he may receive the lost knowledge. Where he will meet us I do not know.

I should like to pass for a moment to the historical recapitulation given by the most rev. Primate. The most rev. Primate, curiously enough, omitted to bring out the signification of the century-old conflict in this fight for the education of the people. He quoted for 1847 from a very small controversy between Mr. Bright and Mr. Macaulay. But if anyone will take the trouble to read the speeches he will see that the essence of Mr. Bright's opposition was that the rules of the Privy Council put the whole money expended into the hands of the Church. The most rev. Primate did not remind us of the persistent and obstinate resistance of the clergy and dignitaries of the Church of England at that time to what were known as the management clauses. He also entirely passed over the Act of 1876. Time is short, and I onlywish to note in passing the hardly complete narrative of the history of the education question sketched by the most rev. Primate, which left a great many chasms not seen.

The most rev. Primate put forward certain definite Amendments which he considered essential, and failing to get which, apparently, he would wreck the Bill. I do not know how far he is prepared to stand to his guns or how far your Lordships are prepared to stand by him; but I should like briefly to run through the suggested Amendments because, though this is a Second Reading debate, I think we may fairly indicate the points beyond which it is idle to suppose the great Liberal majority in the country and the great body of parents will go in the settlement of this question. The first proposal was that there should be religious teaching within school hours, subject to the conscience clause. The impression I get from looking at the report of the most rev. Primate's speech is that he wants the imposition of a Parliamentary obligation on the managers of all public elementary schools to give religious teaching. But if he merely means that the religious teaching, subject to a conscience clause, when given shall be within school hours, that, it seems to me, having regard to the attitude of the Government in the House of Commons, is an Amendment which, if your Lordships passed it, would hardly be resisted. But it is a very different proposition to say that the State should take the responsibility of laying down a new parliamentary religion to be imposed on every local authority. The most rev. Primate shakes his head, and therefore I suppose his policy is the more moderate of the two.

The next proposition is that this teaching must be given by men who feel what they say. Does that mean a test for teachers, or does it not? I had to do for many years with a body which employed a larger number of teachers than any other body in the country. The School Board for London had in their service some 12,000 certificated teachers, and that Board, as the result of the heated controversies of twelve years ago, passed a resolution giving a far wider charter of immunity from tests for teachers than anything which has been put into the Government's Bill. That resolution prohibited not only inquiry as to whether the teacher belonged to any Church, but as to what his religious opinions were; it forbade any inquiry, direct or indirect, as to whether he possessed certificates which would suggest that he belonged to any particular Church, and it forbade managers from trying to pry into the teacher's religious opinions. Of course, in the case of any great body of men you will have people who volunteer to teach anything regardless of whether they care for it or not. Yet I think the most rev. Primate will admit that the teachers of London have been an honourable, earnest, and thoughtful body, who have given this teaching in a proper spirit and with reverence and seriousness.

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: They were all trained.

*LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY: Yes, but I have seen a resentment of theology coming from schoolmasters trained in Church colleges. They have resented the over-ecclesiastical atmosphere in which they had been brought up. I think that, in the long run, you cannot expect that a large force of 70,000 or 80,000 teachers should all be men or women of fervent piety, any more than the whole of the curates of the Established Church. Whenever you take a large body you must take the mass of them, who are very average people. It is sufficient, so long as it is understood, that one who is not desirous of giving this teaching has only to say he does not wish to give it and can be excused. In the case of a teacher who has declined to give religious teaching as an assistant, the authority would think twice before they appointed that teacher as headmaster, in which position he would have to supervise all the teaching; and I am afraid that that indirect test would apply.

The third proposition is that definite religious teaching must be accessible to those children whose parents desire them to have it. I take it that that means that in every council school hereafter, whether formerly a voluntary school or not, there shall be opportunities for the children of parents who desire it to obtain definite religious teaching. When you are establishing a great national system, if the parties honourably and freely recognise that there shall be the one public system under public management, I think it is not an unreasonable thing to ask that those parents who desire anything special shall not depend for the chance of getting it upon the mere fact whether in the town or village in which they live there happens to be a board school or a Church school. I should not feel myself that that claim was an unreasonable one.

The next suggestion is that the teachers who have spent some of the best years of their lives in acquiring religious knowledge shall not be silenced from giving that instruction. The noble Marquess the late President of the Board of Education asked yesterday what he was to do in connection with Seaham School, which has 1,100 children and thirty-three trained teachers. I was very glad to hear that the noble Marquess had such a fine staff in his school and I congratulate him on his public spirit. I feel that it is essential that in the future the teachers shall be the servants of the municipality and not the servants of any ecclesiastical organisation, and that whatever is necessary to protect them from that in the future must be done. In the existing denominational schools which are being transferred the teachers are taken over with the schools. They are not subject to any test on being taken over; they have been appointed by reason of that test; and I cannot see any injustice in allowing the existing teachers in the voluntary schools to place their services at the disposal of those who wish to give definite religious teaching so long as they remain in these schools. At the beginning there would be practically no break at all, and I think it is our business, in bringing in a new scheme of national education, to make the transition as easy as possible. I think these concessions in the towns would be valued very highly by those who now manage those schools.

The next suggestion was that the managers should have some voice in the appointment of the teacher. I was glad to hear the most rev. Primate pay a tribute, which was absolutely well deserved, to the old managers who worked so well under the London School Board. He was quite correct in saying that those managers were gathered together regardless of the denomination to which they belonged and regardless of their profession. But they developed a keen interest in their work and were a valuable element in education in London. I agree with the most rev. Primate that unfortunately too much officialism has now grown up. I think that large bodies dealing with education do want the assistance of local knowledge and local interest in helping them to find teachers for the schools.

May I say one word as to what I think about the interests of special minorities in the staffing of their schools? I do not think the local authority can be asked to violate the law by imposing a test as to the religious opinions of the teacher, but so far as there are teachers of the special religious association of the school, those teachers, if otherwise fit, will inevitably drift into those schools. There are not so many Jewish teachers as there are places for them in schools frequented by Jews. Any Jewish teacher would undoubtedly try to get into one of those schools, and certainly the local authority would endeavour to place him there, because there is a very practical difficulty in this matter in regard to school holidays and the various Jewish feasts and fasts. As a matter of practical administration, everyone would desire to put Jewish teachers into Jewish schools.

I come next to Roman Catholics. I think a Roman Catholic teacher would naturally apply for a school where he or she would be among people of the same religion and where the associations were pleasant. The local authorities will, as far as possible, fill up the posts in those schools by teachers of that type. It is one thing to say that this will be done in the ordinary way, but it is another thing to ask a public body to set aside a better teacher for an inferior teacher because the latter holds those opinions. The teachers will gravitate to the schools with which they have sympathy. The right rev. Prelate referred to St. John's school, Kennington. I am sure that in connection with that school no difficulty whatever would be experienced in getting applications from qualified teachers. These things will work automatically.

I now turn to the appeals which were made by the right rev. Prelate the Bishop of Southwark. Let me say that, grateful as I am to him for the kind way in which he spoke of me, I am not prepared to allow him to make my speeches for me. The right rev. Prelate spoke most strongly, and I am sure from the bottom of his heart, of the possibility of finding some common line of union. He spoke too much of the common line between Nonconformists and Churchmen. He ought to have spoken of the common line of action between all who care for the children and the work. I am not new to this work. Long before the Act of 1902 was passed, and all the time that these storms were in the air, I have been earnestly seeking whether some of the leading people of the Church Party could not, while there was time, come forward and find some basis of agreement. May I refer to a great friend of mine and a great friend of the Bishop of Southwark; I mean the late Principal of St. Mark's College. He was a man of fine character, of great public spirit and a great straightforwardness, and if any man could have influenced the leaders of the Church to frame some settlement, I think he might have done it, if his life had been spared. But, my Lords, was not the time for compromise before the passing of the Act of 1902?

We hear a great deal about the parents now. The noble Marquess who spoke last night from the Front Opposition Bench devoted the greater portion of his speech to talking about the parent, and he laid great stress upon the paramount claim of the parent. I should like to ask the noble Marquess why he and his Party showed no regard for the rights of parents when they were legislating on this matter. It was urged in the House of Commons that of the four foundation managers the parents might have been allowed to elect two; that would have left the old school managers two and the public authority two. But not at all. That proposal was rejected. There has been a great deal of lip service done to the cause of the parents, but when it came to a question of doing something effective in their interests the Amendment was rejected and the Bill was forced through, giving control to the old managers. In the Principality of Wales, in parish after parish throughout the rural parts of the country, the population is two-thirds, three-fourths, or four-fifths, and in some cases unanimously, Nonconformist. And yet, because in former days the squire chose to give the school with strict trust deeds to the National Society, the one man who was incapable of being headmaster of the school was the man who taught all the children in the Sunday school and worshipped with them in the same chapel. No effort was ever made to remedy that. I venture to think that it is a little too late now for noble Lords opposite to talk of the parents. If they had thought of the parents in the time of their triumph they would not have had to appeal to them now in the days of their adversity.

For forty years and more of political life I have been closely associated with Nonconformists, and I have made it my business to know the point of view of the various Churches and their leaders, and I wish to say that Nonconformists utterly disclaim and repudiate the idea that they are asking for any advantage as Nonconformists and for Nonconformity. They claim that there shall be no partiality and no favour for any Church, and they claim that the schools shall be municipal institutions. You may say that it is inconsistent with that to advocate the general Christian teaching which is popularly described as Cowper-Temple teaching. All Nonconformists have been brought up by means of the Bible. The Bible has been an important part of their moral, spiritual, and intellectual means of sustenance and they, especially Wesleyans and Presbyterians, find it very difficult to say that that book, which is to them so precious, shall not be included in the school curriculum. But many of them feel that the Bible can speak for itself. In Wales especially the Bible is read, but these same people who will not have the Bible taught in the day school are not content with the Sunday school, but large numbers of these children go not only once but twice on the week-days for definite religious instruction in their chapel. It is not that they are opposed in any way to religious instruction, but they do not wish to mix it up with the day school.

The most rev. Primate made an impassioned appeal on the ground of the past, quoting from Mr. Gladstone as to the effect religious zeal had had in the fashioning of the education of this nation. I think that what the most rev. Primate said with regard to religious zeal was perfectly true. But will the most rev. Primate allow me to quote, as an estimation of the value of this factor in promoting national education, the opinion of his predecessor in St. Augustine's Chair—the Rev. Frederick Temple? Giving evidence in 1860 before the Duke of Newcastle's Commission, the Rev. Frederick Temple, who was advocating the establishment of a rate-supported system of schools under public management, was asked whether this substitution of the the rates would not greatly diminish effect of religious zeal; and he replied—

> "Yes, but I do not think a diminuition of religious zeal an evil. I think much of it is very unhealthy."

Then he was asked by Sir John Coleridge whether he would define what he meant by religious zeal, and he replied that religious zeal meant—

> "Activity of religious leaders to get the management and control of the education of children, in order to educate them in their own opinions."

That was not an occasional opinion of the Rev. Frederick Temple, because anyone who will take the trouble to read a most important essay of his published in the Oxford Essays in 1856 will see an elaborately-written essay in which he recurs to this question of religious zeal and to his desire to see something else substituted for it. He said that what he would prefer as a moving force for the education of the people, instead of religious zeal, was a quiet sense of duty. The religious zeal on which the most rev. Primate relies is a fluctuating and uncertain foundation upon which to build a system of education.

May I sum up what I think cannot be accepted, and, if pressed by your Lordships, will certainly lead to that lamentable conflict which the noble Duke who opened the debate foreshadowed? Firstly, any diminution of the absolute management by the local authority of all schools supported out of the rates. I think that Clause 1, the absolute management by the local authorities of all schools is essential. Secondly, any attempt to impose tests on teachers or to interfere with their liberty to give or not to give Scripture teaching. Thirdly, any attempt to set up a Parliamentary religion and to enforce it on the local authorities. This measure cannot be described as confiscatory or a spoliating Bill, any more than the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, for which the noble Duke who resumed this debate to-day was responsible as one of the Cabinet. That Bill confiscated, without one penny of compensation, all the parochial schools of the Church of Scotland and transferred them to the newly-created school boards.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: I think that is a statement which the noble Lord will have some difficulty in supporting.

*LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY: I have in my hand the extract from *Hansard* of that year. An Amendment was moved in the House of Commons against the taking of these schools, and——

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: Which schools do you mean?

*LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY: The parish schools.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: They were not the property of the Church.

*LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY: Far be it from me to dispute with my noble friend in an interlocutory manner with regard to this point; but these parochial schools, which were under heritors, and almost entirely managed locally by the minister, were taken away from the people who then owned them, and transferred to a new body which was the result of popular election, and which was under no obligation whatever to continue any form of Presbyterian teaching in those schools. That is quite enough for my purpose. That shows an absolute diversion of trust property from one set of owners to a new body, who were under no obligation in the way I have suggested.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: There were no trusts in connection with the heritor's or parochial schools.

*LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY: I am not going to prolong my speech by discussing side issues relating to Scottish education with the noble Lord. The House of Commons will never again in another year deal with a measure of such complexity, and therefore I warn the House of the danger of drifting into that secular system which I agree that the majority of the people of this country do not at present desire, but which, if the various Churches cannot settle their disputes, they may welcome as a counsel of despair in their desire to have done with confusion.

*THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON: My Lords, I think I should be most ungrateful if I did not recognise on the whole the conciliatory spirit displayed by the noble Lord who has just sat down, and as I hope to set the example of rather shorter speeches I propose not to follow Lord Stanley point by point, and certainly not to defend the noble Duke. I had not the pleasure of hearing his speeches thirty years ago, but he made a noble speech to-night. It seems to me that the whole fallacy in regard to tests for teachers lies in confusing tests for a profession with qualifications for the work. If the noble Lord is ready to allow those who teach to be tested as the curates of the Established Church are tested, we shall be quite satisfied. With regard to public bodies, I am quite prepared to say that most public bodies will act fairly, but what about the West Riding of Yorkshire and the Councils of Wales? I know that Nonconformists honour the Bible, but the Church brought the Bible to England and taught it here centuries before there were any Nonconformist bodies at all. What we want is a free teaching of the Bible, and not the Bible edited by the County Council. As to religious zeal, if there ever was a man fired with religious zeal it was Dr. Temple, our late Archbishop.

Having answered in these few sentences some of the points raised by the noble Lord I wish very temperately to explain what our grievance is in this matter.

What is a Christian school? In speaking of these matters I feel the difficulty which the most rev. Primate expressed yesterday. These things are so sacred with us that I hesitate to speak of them even in so sympathetic an Assembly as this. But I answer the question, "What is a Christian school?" not in the words of some extreme High Churchman, but in the words of the Dean of Canterbury, who may be said to be the leader of the Evangelical Party in many respects. He says—

> "The name of God and of Christ are in the forefront. Everyone knows that the school was established by the Church of Christ, in the Name of Christ, for the purpose of teaching the lambs of Christ's flock; and thus all the children who are taught in it, and all who work in it, live, as it were, under the shadow of the great Name, under the vault of that spiritual heaven which it constitutes; and, notwithstanding their imperfect apprehension

and realisation of all that it involves, it is in the main hallowed and held supreme. That is the purpose for which the Church establishes a school, just as it is the purpose for which she builds churches."

I have read that because I want to make as my next point that the Evangelicals are as keen about these Church Christian schools as anyone else. In our dioceses we are always dealing with various clergy of different schools of thought, and during these months of controversy it has been one of the few redeeming features to me that Evangelical and High Churchmen have been at our back in this matter side by side.

An attempt has been made to prove that the atmosphere for which we ask is some intolerant sectarian atmosphere. I venture to say that that attempt has wholly failed. We heard some years ago a great deal about Gace's Catechism, but we have heard nothing of it for the last few years. We cannot discover a place where Gace's Catechism is ever used, and we firmly believe that the sale of it was largely due to the efforts of the Liberation Society. Again, the denominational aspect of the school has this meaning. We believe, in starting these schools, that you should not, at the end of a child's school career, leave that child in the air, so to speak, but should hand it on to a religious society which shall carry on its religious education. In saying that any education which leaves the child in the air on leaving school is a bad one, I have the support of Dr. Dale, the great Nonconformist of Birmingham. Dr. Dale asserted that any explanation of the Bible which could be described as "undogmatic" he always regarded with distrust. He argued that religious teaching which would not be likely "to attach the children to any particular denomination" would end in detaching them from all. Undenominational teaching, if genuine, he believed would ultimately leave men without a religion at all. That gives us the answer to the question, What is a Christian school?

I will not dwell on this, because I want to leave out all the points which have been pressed upon your Lordships already, with far more eloquence than I can command. For years this system has been carried on by voluntary effort in England. I have gone into the statistics as far as I can, and I find that the amount spent has been about £10,000 a week for ninety years. People do not spend £10,000 a week for ninety years unless it is for something which is very dear indeed to them, and it has been proved that this ideal is just as keenly attractive in the slums as in other places. I think we misunderstood the noble Earl the Lord President. At first I thought that in his speech he was going to call the Church of England the Church of the rich, but I believe we misunderstood what he said, because I am certain that in his fair-minded way he would be the first to recognise that the Church of England has taken the lead in the slums, and may more fairly be described as the Church of the slums. There are tracts of these slums where there is no one else working except the representatives of the Church of England. Therefore, when I find that this ideal of Christian schools is so dear to the poor as well as to the rich, it gives me an added grievance that these schools are to be done away with.

Perhaps your Lordships will permit me to give a concrete instance. I went down to a very poor district in London not long ago, and heard the vicar just saying to his people—

"We are going to have a great pleasure this week. We have been collecting for twenty years for a new wing to our school. This wing will be opened in the course of the next week or fortnight."

I want your Lordships to picture these people in that poor district for twenty years giving their pennies and their sixpences and their shillings because they loved this Christian school in their midst. We opened, only a few years ago, a school to which we had given out of our own pockets £8,000. Before the school was opened, it was full in anticipation, because in the slums of East London they love to have a Christian school. This ideal still survives in 14,000 cases throughout the country.

I am perfectly ready to admit that the ideal breaks down in two points. There are two grievances, one in the country and one in the towns. The noble Duke has dwelt upon both of them, therefore I will only spend a few moments in dealing with them. It is a grievance that the Nonconformists in the country should not have some special teacher to come in and teach their children in the country schools. Then it is a grievance with us with regard to the 1,000,000 town children in what are called board schools that we have not access to them. No one recognises that more than Mr. Birrell himself. In an excellent article in the "*Independent Review*" in 1903, he says—

> "There are more than 1,000,000 children of Church of England parentage under the operation of the Cowper-Temple Clause, and so prevented from being instructed in Church principles in their day school. It cannot be denied that 1,000,000 children are worth considering."

Now if the Government had come in with some scheme to redress those two grievances, I would have supported it with all my heart. We have done our best in a voluntary way to redress those grievances ourselves. In Spitalfields it was found that there were 100 Jewish children in a Church school. Without asking me whether he might or not, because he knew that I should agree with it, the rector sent over to the Jewish Rabbi and asked for a Jewish teacher to be sent to teach the Jewish children. When we hear of the three days of what is called "simple Bible teaching," and the two days of denominational teaching, it should be remembered that that represents an effort on the part of the country clergyman to be fair to his Nonconformist children. If he teaches the Catechism chiefly on only two days, it is because he is making an effort to be fair to the Nonconformists, so that they shall withdraw their children only for those two days, and he gives on the other three some teaching to which the Nonconformist parents cannot object. Therefore I feel with the noble Duke that a Bill of far less magnitude than the present would have redressed the grievances which I admit in those two respects. If the Bill had dealt with the country grievance and with the grievance of the towns, I believe it would have been a most useful and blessed measure.

My Lords, what has happened? This Bill—and this is why I say that the whole Church of England turns against it in its present shape with tremendous indignation and a deep sense of wrong—by a stroke of the pen alters the whole character of those 14,000 Christian schools. The Member for Cambridge University in another place said—and he was not contradicted— that if the Bill passed, in no single school in England and Wales would any parent be able to claim his legal right to have religious teaching given to his children. When I read that, I thought for a moment it was an exaggerated statement, but on thinking it over I have come to the conclusion that the Member for Cambridge University was perfectly right. In no single school in England and Wales will a parent be able to claim the right to have religious teaching given to his children at all. Therefore I need not dwell any further on that point.

The noble Duke has shown how public management would have been perfectly consistent with leaving denominational schools. It is not my business to point out the inconsistency of the Bill, especially if the inconsistency was meant to help us. But how is it possible for Clause 4 to be reconciled with Clause 1, if public management is to reign over all the schools? It is impossible for me to fit Clause 4 into Clause 1. What I desire to do, in the few minutes during which I shall further trouble your Lordships, is to point out the unsatisfactory nature of the substitute which is to be allowed when you have swept away our Church schools. I am not going to say a single intemperate word about Cowper-Temple religion. For nine years, year after year, day after day, I have stood with Nonconformists in the open air in East London fighting for our common truths. Therefore, I do honour to those truths which are common to us all, and before which Mr. Gladstone himself said he bowed his head—the doctrine of the Incarnation, the Atonement, and the Holy Trinity.

I should like, in passing, to say how much we recognise the spirit of those Nonconformists who put out the manifesto the other day, stating that the teaching they wished was not to be inconsistent with the Apostles' Creed. My point is that you will not get that at all under this Bill. Of course, I want to make it clear that as a Church we have never recognised Cowper-Temple religion as the normal religion as being satisfactory at all. Everyone admits that it leaves out the doctrine of the sacraments and the history of the Church. There has been an attempt to make out that we acquiesced in it. The fact is, that when we could not cover the whole ground we took what was given us and worked with it to the best of our power. But I should like to make it perfectly plain that the Church of England has never acquiesced in Cowper-Temple religion as being satisfactory as the normal religion of the country. As the most rev. Primate pointed out in an interruption which he addressed just now to the noble Lord, the teachers who have given this excellent teaching which has been spoken of under the school boards were trained in our denominational colleges, and the teaching under the school board has been kept up to a higher level by the competition, or by the existence side by side, of the denominational schools. I do not know whether your Lordships have noticed it, but I have myself noticed a down-grade tendency in the Cowper-Temple teaching ever since it was started years ago. I believe that Mr. Cowper-Temple himself would have been absolutely astonished if he had been told that Cowper-Temple teaching would ever be understood to be either reading the Bible without note or comment, or something which was "not to be inconsistent"—I quote these words from the debate in another place—"with the religion of the saintly Martineau or the holy Channing"; in other words, with Unitarianism. Whatever those who started it meant, there is not the slightest doubt that the teachers who teach it feel hampered in their teaching, and are prevented from imparting any definite dogmatic truth, for fear of acting against the clause. Therefore I cannot at all admit that the substitute which is to be given, by which Cowper Temple religion is to be forced upon all schools as the normal religion, satisfies me in the least.

That being so, I am left with the facilities. It has been pointed out that the denominational teaching is not to be given by the teachers. This Bill is called a charter of freedom for the teacher. It is a charter of tyranny for many teachers who bitterly resent having their mouths closed. Children need not attend the educational instruction, and the whole thing is at the mercy of the local authority, who may not take over the school at all. Therefore, when I come to facilities, I find very little comfort in them. My Christian school is swept away before my eyes. Clause 4 may apply to a few of our schools, but the most rev. Primate has pointed out how small the number will be even at its best. If the Jews are to save 100 per cent. of their schools, and the Roman Catholics nearly one half of theirs, while we save only 25 per cent. of ours, I should like to ask why it is that we, who have done so much in our humble way for the religion of the country, are to be singled out to be penalised more than every other body under Clause 4?

Then I come to my next point. I am glad to see the noble Lord on the Woolsack in his place, because I am going to appeal to him, for whose sense of justice and honour I have the greatest possible regard. Is it or is it not the fact that under this Bill that school which we opened five years ago, and on which we spent £8 000 out of our own pockets, if we do not choose to come under this Bill, is to be taken away from us by the Commission of Three? I have read the Bill over and over again, and it seems to me that supposing I, as a trustee for a great many schools in London, do not see my way to hand over those schools under this Bill, holding them as I do on a trust before God, I am to come before the Commission of Three—composed of able and honourable men though we know it is, but who can only administer the law—and be forced to hand over that new school in Bethnal Green, which is only a type of hundreds in the country. If that is so, I say that it is an act of intolerable tyranny and injustice.

Lastly, my Lords, I object to the Bill because it throws down an apple of discord at every election throughout the country. I find a great number of people not particularly keen about the Bill whom you might have expected to support it. I find that a leading Nonconformist in another place said that he was not very sanguine of the Bill becoming law, and personally he would not break his heart if it did not, so long as Clause 4 remained in it. Dr. Clifford's Vigilance Committee makes this statement. It registered its protest against the acceptance of the Education Bill of 1906 as a settlement of the question, and expressed the profound conviction of a large number of Liberals and Nonconformists that it leaves several of the gravest wrongs inflicted on the country by the Act of 1902 unredressed—and so on through a long Resolution. I know the mind of the Church of England, and therefore if all these bodies disagree with and throw over the Bill, what an apple of discord you are throwing down in every municipal election throughout the country by passing this measure! The introduction of this Bill can only be justified if it is going to appease religious strife and settle the religious difficulty. But if, as I look into it, I find that it produces more religious war, and does not settle the religious difficulty at all, I only hesitate to press for its rejection on the understanding that we shall be perfectly free in the autumn to open up this whole question of the destruction of our Church schools, and that, if the nation does decide that they are to be destroyed, we shall discover a substitute more in accordance with justice and religious equity than is provided by the present Bill.

VISCOUNT HALIFAX: My Lords, we have been told several times in the course of the debate that this is a Bill for placing elementary education under popular control. I venture to say that it is nothing of the kind. This Bill cannot be a Bill for placing elementary education under popular control if elementary education be what is contemplated by the Bill, for the simple reason that this has already been done by the Bill of 1902. The local authority has at this moment the complete control of the secular education given in all the elementary schools of the country. Does the Lord President deny that? No teacher can be appointed in any of those schools of whose efficiency in regard to the secular instruction the local authority is not satisfied. Every teacher who is found inefficient in regard to secular education can be dismissed by the local authority. No child may be refused admission to the school, even though it does not belong to the religious denomination owning the school. The conscience clause withdrawing such child from religious instruction to which its parents may object is of universal obligation. The local authority can order what alterations it desires in the structure of the school building. There is only one thing the local authority cannot do—it cannot object to the appointment of a teacher, or insist on the dismissal of a teacher of whose efficiency in regard to secular instruction no complaint can be made. But since this Bill expressly excludes religious teaching from school hours, and proclaims an absolute indifference as to the religious opinions of the teachers, whether they have any religious convictions or none, and leaves it free to the teachers to decline to give religious instruction, it is not open to the Government to say that this exception, or the control by the managers of the religious teaching given in the school, in any degree diminishes the completeness of the popular control at present possessed by the local authority over the elementary education of the country as contemplated by this Bill. No, my Lords, this Bill is not a Bill for placing elementary education as defined by the Bill under popular control; it is a Bill to deal with education in its relation to religion, and I desire to draw your Lordships' attention to the nature of the proposals to which you are asked to assent.

Now, my Lords, to judge those proposals, there is one preliminary question which must be settled. It is this: what do we mean by education? We mean, the training of the children's faculties, their instruction in all useful and necessary knowledge, their equipment with the necessary means of getting on in life; but is that all we mean? Is that all we desire for our children? Surely we desire something more than this. Do we not desire the correction of what is bad in them, and the drawing out of what is good? We desire the formation of their character. We desire that our children should grow up into good men and women, men and women who shall so play their part here as to fit them for that eternal future which awaits us all hereafter. In other words, we believe that education to deserve the name must be religious. And the whole question resolves itself into how, in view of our unhappy religious differences, the religious character of any system of compulsory elementary education is to be preserved consistently with the rights of conscience. If we were all agreed as to what was essential religious teaching, the difficulty would vanish. The religious teaching accepted by all as essential would be given to all. But this is, unfortunately, not the case. It is because it is not the case the difficulty arises, and it is that fact which constitutes the difficulty felt by the Bishop of Ripon in his eloquent speech last night. In view of the actual circumstances is it not obvious that if any compulsory system of education is to remain religious, without doing violence to the rights of conscience it can only be, as Lord Salisbury said last night, by a frank recognition on the part of the State of the rights and wishes of the parents whose children it compels to go to its schools, and by maintaining a friendly but impartial attitude as regards the religious teaching of all the different churches and denominations alike. I do not see how this can be seriously denied. Yet this is precisely what this Bill does not do.

Consider, first, how this Bill deals with the religious character of education in general, and next how it treats the rights of conscience. I will not detain your Lordships by going through the details of the Bill; they have been dismissed already, and there will be further opposition for dismissing them at another time. But no one in the face of the provisions of the Bill can deny that such recognition as the Bill gives to religion in its connection with education is of the most grudging and unsatisfactory character. Religion by this Bill is treated as the thing of the least importance in the elementary schools of the country. I do not think that can be denied.

Now, my Lords, I turn to the manner in which the Bill deals with the rights of conscience, more particularly with the rights of conscience of the members of the Church of England and of the Roman Catholic body. We have been told that Clause 1 is the Bill. By Clause 1 the Bill destroys at one blow all the denominational schools of the country, for the exceptional and limited facilities given by subsequent clauses for denominational teaching in some of the existing schools do not apply to new schools, and are quite illusory and insufficient. And further, it establishes in those schools —that is in Anglican and Roman Catholic schools — the very kind of religious teaching those schools were built to exclude. I would ask you to consider the injustice of such proposals. What has the Church of England, what has the Roman Catholic body done to deserve such treatment?

Long before the State concerned itself about education, it was the Church of England, as the most rev. Primate has reminded us, that first took up the cause of elementary education throughout the country. Well might Mr. Mundella say, as he did in Parliament in 1870, and Mr. Mundella was a Radical of the Radicals—

> "that the Church schools had done a noble work, which Parliament had neglected to do,"

Adding that—

> "after all the clergy were the best friends of education."

Your Lordships know the efforts that have been made since 1870, the millions that have been raised by private effort to maintain the denominational schools and to make those schools efficient. And I ask why, in the face of such a record, are those schools to be destroyed? Why are the members of the Church of England, why are the members of the Roman Catholic body, who have done so much for education in the past, to be deprived of the religious teaching in their schools which those schools were built to maintain? There is only one answer to that question, and it has been given by the Prime Minister himself. It is not because those schools are inefficient, it is not because persons have complained of them, it is because it is the deliberate and avowed intention of the Government to destroy the denominational schools—your Lordships will forgive me for using hard words—in order to please the political Nonconformists. I defy any member of the Government to deny it. What did the Prime Minister say on June 27th in the House of Commons—

> "This," he said, "is an undenominational Bill, setting up an undenominational system." . . . It would be a false Bill if it were to the mind of the denominationalists."

Mr. Birrell, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Lloyd-George have all said the same thing. My Lords, who are the supporters of denominational religious teaching? Roughly speaking, the Church of England and the Roman Catholics. Who support undenominational teaching? With the exception of some of the Wesleyans, all the Nonconformists. There can be no illusion on the subject, the Bill is not a Bill to remedy any legitimate grievance the Nonconformist may possess, unless the existence of any denominational school is a grievance in the eyes of Nonconformists. The only shadow of a grievance they possess is in single-school districts, a grievance which could easily be remedied without injury and injustice to anyone. This is a Bill which deliberately and of set purpose attacks the schools of the Church of England and those of the Roman Catholic body. Mr. Birrell himself appears so conscious of the injustice and inconsistency of his proposals, that he has gone out of his way to show that the undenominational religious teaching set up by the Bill is not the religion of Nonconformists. I think the President of the Council and certainly Lord Burghclere said something to the same effect last night. It may not be the religion of Nonconformists; it certainly is the religious instruction of which they approve.

The facts of the case disprove Mr. Birrell's theories. One example out of many which is within my own knowledge will be sufficient. The Nonconformists in Leeds had formerly some sixteen schools of their own. How many have they now? Not one. They surrendered their schools one after another to the local school boards. They did this either because they were too indifferent as to the religious education of their children to make the slightest sacrifice on its behalf, or because they were satisfied that the sort of religious instruction they desired would be given at the cost of the ratepayers. There is no doubt that the latter reason is the true one. The Nonconformists at Leeds surrendered their sixteen schools when they found they could get for their children at the public expense the sort of religious instruction they wanted. Other Nonconformist bodies have done the same thing all over the country, and, having succeeded in establishing and endowing their own undenominational religious teaching out of the rates, they now refuse any share of the rates and any recognition on the part of the State to the denominational teaching to which they object. The plain truth is, and this Bill is the proof of it, however much they may dislike its being said, that the Nonconformist leaders supported by the present Government, want to deprive all the religious bodies with which they are not in agreement of their right to have definite religious instruction in the schools those religious bodies have built, and, utilising the dread of mere secular education, demand that the religious instruction they themselves favour shall be given in all schools at the expense of the public.

And now, my Lords, allow me to turn to what is the heart of the Bill, to the question of what this undenominational religion is, which henceforth is to be endowed by the State and which the Government propose to establish in all the Church schools of the country. My Lords, I would ask you to bear with me for a few moments, for this is the point on which the whole issue turns. Undenominational religious teaching is, we are told by the supporters of the Bill, those simple truths which the Protestant bodies are supposed to hold in common. Those truths do not include belief in a priesthood and a regard for the Sacraments. Roman Catholics, Mr. Bryce informs us, hold these doctrines. They believe in a priesthood, and they value the Sacraments. Every consideration, therefore, says Mr. Bryce, ought to be shown for their convictions, but such doctrines are not the doctrines of the Church of England. I would refer your Lordships to the opening questions of the Church Catechism to show the falsity of that statement. The statements of the Catechism in regard to the Sacraments —I note in passing, that the Church of England declares these Sacraments "to be generally necessary to salvation," and insists that all her children before they come to Confirmation shall be instructed in the Catechism—are according to Mr. Bryce, "metaphysical and theological" definitions incomprehensible to the simple mind of a child, and the only form of Christian teaching that could properly be given to a child was comprised in those few fundamental truths in which all Protestant bodies were agreed; those fundamental truths being the kindness and goodness of the Creator, the duty to love Him, and keep His Commandments, and the sacred precepts of the Sermon on the Mount. My Lords, a Jew or a Mahommedan might say as much; yet it is this practical Unitarianism masquerading under the name of simple Christian teaching which it is the object of this Bill to substitute for the definite Christian instruction, as set out in the Church Catechism, our schools were built to maintain and teach.

Let me emphasise the point, for it is all-important. Undenominational religious teaching, I say it deliberately, is to all intents and purposes in its tendency and effect Unitarian religious teaching. Everything said in and out of Parliament about this Bill proves it up to the hilt. It is not what is read of the Bible that is at fault, it is what is left out, and it is the effect of what is left out that is so fatal to the character of the teaching given under the Cowper-Temple clause. So far as undenominational religious teaching in the past has preserved any of the salt of Christianity, it is due to two facts, first, that the great majority of teachers in board or council schools have hitherto been trained in training colleges belonging to the Church; secondly, that the existence of Church schools in which definite religious instruction was given, side by side with the board schools, has kept up the standard of the religious instruction given in the latter. Neither of these securities will continue if this Bill becomes law. Church schools will cease to exist, undenominationalism will be taught in all schools, and the training colleges are directly threatened. Reading of the Bible as a literary or an ethical lesson may continue, but what will that be worth ? Mr. Asquith has recently told us in the interests of such Bible teaching that the Bible is the greatest masterpiece of English literature. Yes, my Lords, it is that, but it is something more, and it is just that in it which makes it more than a mere masterpiece of English literature, that signifies to us. Mr. Asquith has also been good enough to tell us what the religious teaching is, as opposed to "controversial dogma," which he understands by "simple Bible teaching," and which he wishes taught to little children. It is "to fear God, to serve the State, to hate injustice, to love their neighbour, and to do their duty with all their might." In what does this differ from Unitarianism ? And it is this teaching which has nothing distinctively Christian about it, which some people support, and like to call simple fundamental Christian teaching. It would be better to try to be intelligent and honest, and say at once as Mr. Goldwin Smith has been saying in his new book : "Christian dogma is built on belief in the Incarnation and the Atonement; that the inferences of science are fatal to dogmatic Christianity," but that because we reject the Incarnation and the Atonement, we by no means, reject Christianity, since the "Essence of Christianity is belief in the Fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man." Again practical Unitarianism. Mr. Goldwin Smith is, indeed, profoundly right when he goes on to say that the authority of conscience is, and must be, religious. And that apart from religion all that is left us is "a domination of self-interest without regard for moral considerations," but Mr. Goldwin Smith because he says that, though we may hope that he is on the way to Damascus, is not, and does not profess to be a Christian, and belief in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man does not constitute Christianity.

But, indeed, my Lords, it is not necessary to labour the point. We have it clearly confessed by its supporters what this undenominational religious teaching, what this simple Bible reading really is. What did Mr. Herbert Paul say in the House of Commons on Monday ? I apologise to your Lordships for alluding to such a person, but Mr. Herbert Paul, who began his career in the House of Commons by abusing those of his countrymen who had fought for England in South Africa has continued his career by abusing the Church, and the other day, he told us that simple undenominational teaching was "religious teaching in those simple religious principles upon which Protestants are agreed, and which many Free-thinkers have no objection should be taught their children." Mr. Herbert Paul informed the House of Commons on the same occasion that "the Bishop of London was the most innocent of God's creatures, though his innocence was as much mental as moral," in other words that he was a fool, because he had asserted his conviction that the Church of England would never acquiesce in such undenominational teaching. No one will accuse Mr. Herbert Paul of innocence, either mental or moral, but he was certainly lacking in the guile of the serpent when he defined undenominational religion as being the kind of teaching "which Free-thinkers think suitable for their children." The members of the Unitarian body have also recently been saying that undenominational instruction is a foundation agreeable to themselves on which persons who do not agree with them may build such other things as they like. I have no doubt that it is a foundation agreeable to the Unitarian body, but it is not the foundation on which Christianity reposes, it is not a foundation consistent with the Christianity of the Christian Church ; and to accept it, or to acquiesce in any compromise in regard to it in Church schools, would be a betrayal of the faith and fatal to the most sacred rights of the children of the poor. There is no book that requires so much explanation as the Bible. Everybody is not qualified to explain the Bible. "The Church to teach, the Bible to prove." Simple Bible teaching as handed down by the Church is what has to be preserved in our schools. But it is precisely such teaching, hitherto given in Church schools by trained teachers in school hours, under adequate authority, which under the provisions of this Bill is to be forbidden.

My Lords it was an Apostle who said "No scripture is of private interpretation." It is the Church of England which declares in the Articles that "the Church is the keeper and witness of Holy Writ" ; but this Bill leaves the teaching of the Bible to teachers whose fitness for the task is to be determined, if at all, by local authorities and county councils, who, as a noble Lord opposite, Lord Stanley of Alderley, has very justly remarked, seem likely to be invested by this Bill "with the authority of the General Councils of the Church."

My Lords, it is impossible to discuss this question adequately without entering into these theological considerations. I beg your Lordships to forgive me for having done so, but these things must be said and it is perhaps as well that a layman should say them.

Let me turn for one moment to what is more a layman's province, that is to one practical aspect of this question. Your Lordships will have noticed that in the Return of the religious instruction given in board and council schools it is an almost universal condition that no attempt be made to attach the children to any religious denomination. I do not quarrel with such a provision in such schools. I refer to it to show the necessary insufficiency, to use no harsher word, of undenominational religious teaching and more especially to show one of its practical results. The whole effect of that teaching, and the better such teaching is the more certain its effect, is to create "unattached Christians." The children, so taught, go out into the world ; they come up, we will say to London ; they are alone in this vast town ; they are exposed to all its dangers and temptations. What could you most wish for a son or daughter of your own under such circumstances ? Would it not be that their previous religious training—and remember, my Lords, that there are masses of children who, if they do not get religious training in school, will get it nowhere—would it not be, I say, that their religious training should, amongst other things, be such as would throw them as a matter of course amongst the members of a church or some religious denomination who would be likely to look after them, and be just the people to help them and keep them straight in the way they should go ? Simple Christain teaching, simple Bible teaching, call it which you like, which does not attach children to some religious body is practically of little use in the circumstances I am describing. Yet this is the religious teaching which is henceforth to be universal.

It may be right to pay for such a mutilated Christianity for those who prefer it, so long as equal facilities and equal assistance are accorded to definite Christian teaching in the schools of the Church. We have done so in the case of the board and council schools, but the Church can never accept it for herself. It is a very insecure foundation. Do those who make such a proposal the least understand the state of religious thought at the present time ? Have they the least idea of the consequences which must ensue from the adoption of such a principle ? Do they know in the least the dangers to which Christian belief at the present moment is exposed ? I ask the question in all seriousness ; it is one that demands an answer.

Before sitting down let me pause for one moment on less important matters. I should like to ask His Majesty's Government, if undenominational religion is to be paid for out of the rates and taxes, why not denominational religious teaching ? All pay rates, all pay taxes. Why are these to be used for the support of one kind of religion and not for the support of the other ? Why are members of the Church of England and Roman Catholics who pay more than half the rates, to be forced to pay not only for a system of religious instruction of which they disapprove, but also to be made to pay for having this religious instruction of which they disapprove forced into their own schools, schools expressly built to exclude it? Again, I would ask has a parent the right to have his child instructed in the religion he himself believes and approves of, or has he not? Liberty of conscience would seem to demand it, yet this Bill refuses this liberty. In all County Council Provided schools where religious instruction is given at all this undenominational religion is now all that may be taught. Church parents demand a right of entry into these schools that their children may be taught the Church Catechism by Church teachers. The Bill says—

> "No, you shall not, and we shall no longer allow you to have your children taught even in your own schools in the way that you desire."

My Lords, I say emphatically that unless justice and the rights of conscience are mere idle words, things to be disregarded when it is convenient, to be insisted upon only when they apply to yourself, and to be ignored when they apply to others, the provisions of this Bill ignore the sacred rights of Christian children and Christian parents, outrage the rights of conscience, and flatly contradict those principles of justice to which appeal is so constantly made in words, but which so far as this Bill is concerned, are so entirely disregarded in practice. We have been told that the object of an Education Bill ought to be to place all religious bodies on an equal footing—that is precisely what this Bill does not do.

> "I have always believed,"

Mr. Asquith said only last Monday—

> "that any scheme for a settlement founded on injustice is a settlement founded on the sand."

That is precisely what the Bill is. Let us have equal justice in all schools, whether council schools or others; let the Government give effect to the principle and we shall be nearer agreement than we are at present.

My Lords, this Bill is impossible in anything like its present shape, and can never pass unless radically amended. Those who oppose this Bill are not prepared to see the definite Christianity of the creeds banished from the land. They are not prepared to see our trust-deeds torn up, the property we have devoted to the spread of Christ's religion confiscated. They would deem themselves traitors to the faith if they abandoned the elementary right to have the children of the country taught the faith 'once delivered to the saints' by the lips of their natural instructors, and as an integral, as well as the most important part of their education.

My Lords, those who oppose this Bill ask for no favour, for no privilege. They ask only that education shall not be divorced from religion, that the State shall not establish and pay for a mutilated Christianity, the most odious form of establishment possible, for it is the reassertion of that most detestable principle *cuius regio eius religio.* They claim that fair play and equal dealing shall be dealt out to all alike. They desire the redress of any legitimate grievance which the Nonconformists think they possess, they wish to see the opinions of non-Christians and Agnostics respected; but what they claim for others they claim for the Church of England and for the Roman Catholic body. They claim in the name of justice that no preference shall be given to undenominational religious teaching over denominational teaching; that religious teaching shall be given in school hours by the teachers in the school, and shall not be given by those in regard to whom there is no security that they believe what they teach; that the Bible shall not be treated as a mere reading-book or as a convenient vehicle for ethical instruction. They believe that education to deserve the name must be something that helps to bring out the possibilities of man's nature, to develop what is good in him, to eradicate, as far as may be, what is evil. They believe that there can be no real education for man, as God has made him, apart from the knowledge of and contact with the Person of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. They can accept no national system of education that ignores and gives no place to the Christian religion. They believe that the acceptance of such a system means individual and national disaster.

How then, in the face of our unhappy religious divisions, are these principles to be maintained? Not, I submit, by excluding all religious teaching from the national system of education, not by the State constructing a religion of its own and compelling all to pay for it, but by the frank recognition on the part of the State of the religious teaching of all denominations alike, by a friendly neutrality on the part of the State to all religions, and by the maintenance by the State of all schools, whether denominational or not, which comply with the State requirements as to educational efficiency. There is no other satisfactory solution of the education question. Such a solution is quite compatible with complete popular control, and it is the solution demanded alike by a regard for religion and by respect for justice. Such a solution is easy. Continue the council schools as they are, but give the parents who are forced to send their children to those schools the right of having denominational teaching if they desire it.

In all single school districts give the Nonconformists the right of entry into Church schools and Roman Catholic schools, and extend the provision of the Act of 1902 so as to assist the Nonconformists in giving that teaching if they so desire. I for one should be more than willing to see the million offered for the rent of Church schools given to the Nonconformists for this purpose. If these things are conceded, if in some way or another the denominational character of our schools is preserved, if we have security that the teachers in Church schools are fit and proper persons for the post and believe what they have to teach, if justice and a regard for religion are allowed to determine the solution of the question, the religious difficulty will be settled and there will be peace. If these things are not secured, if the Bill should pass in anything like its present form—if it is not completely transformed and made a juster measure than it is at present—the religious difficulty will be further removed from settlement than ever and the signal will have been given for a religious war throughout the length and breadth of the country. Every one who has the interests of the country must deplore such a prospect; no one will deplore it more than I shall; but it will be inevitable, and the responsibility for it will rest on the shoulders of His Majesty's Government.

*THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (LORD TWEEDMOUTH): My Lords, we all recognise the intense earnestness of the noble Viscount who has just sat down, but I must offer some protest against the doctrine he has laid down in his speech. The noble Viscount stated that this Bill will destroy all Christianity in our schools.

VISCOUNT HALIFAX: May I interrupt the noble Lord? I did not say it excluded all Christianity; I said it imposed undenominational Christianity.

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH: I think I am in the recollection of the House. The noble Viscount said that it took Christianity out of the schools that were subject to the Cowper-Temple Clause. He claims that this Bill should give equal justice to all schools. That, my Lord, is the object of the Bill. The purpose of the Bill is to extend equal justice on equal terms to every school throughout the country. At the beginning of this evening's debate, we had a very powerful speech from the noble Duke—a speech which undoubtedly impressed the House, but one which seemed to lead to the certain conclusion that this Bill should be rejected on Second Reading. If the noble Duke's proposition were made good, undoubtedly the only course that the House could take would be to reject the Second Reading of the Bill. I am glad to say that the right rev. Prelates who spoke yesterday did not go to that length. The most rev. Prelate the Archbishop of Canterbury at any rate held out some considerable hopes of an agreement being arrived at, and the Bishop of Ripon went still further when he declared that there were three courses possible—one being secular teaching, the second equal facilities and support for all denominations, and the third compromise; and it was perfectly clear that the right rev. Prelate wished to arrive at a compromise.

Very strong language has been used against this Bill. It is said to be a Bill of robbery and confiscation—that the schools are to be taken away from their owners. That I maintain is not the object of the Bill, nor will it be its result. It is said that the money expended in the erection and upkeep of these voluntary schools will be taken away. That is not the case. It is also said that violent hands will be laid upon the ancient rights of the Church in these schools. No proposal is to be found in the Bill to take away the property from those in whose hands it now is, whether they be owners or trustees. The property remains in exactly the same hands which now hold it. Under the Act of 1902 these schools were left under private management, or nearly under private management. Under this Bill they will be under public management. That condition is imposed necessarily by the fact that they are to be in future supported entirely out of public funds, supplied either from the rates or from the taxes. The Bill does not propose to take away these schools from the owners or from the trustees; it proposes to take the use of the schools for five days in the week. It does not take the schools in the evenings or on the other two days in the week. The schools are left to the use of the owners or trustees on every evening and on Saturdays and Sundays. That surely is no small advantage to denominational institutions. The use of the school as a Sunday school is not a thing to be lightly regarded, for surely the Sunday schools of the Church have done more than almost anything else to spread religious feeling amongst the children of the country. But besides that it must be remembered that the schools are not taken for nothing, but rent is paid for them; and not only is rent paid for them, but the Bill undertakes that they shall be kept up at the public expense, so that the cost of the repairs is taken off the owners. It is further provided that where the owners or trustees wish it the the local authority shall, if it desires to make use of the schools at all, permit denominational instruction to be given on two mornings in the week, though it is also provided that such instruction shall not be paid for out of public funds, but shall be given at the expense of the denomination itself. Surely that also is a reasonable requirement, and one that may well be approved. Again, where four fifths of the parents are anxious to have denominational instruction in the schools, there they may have it on every morning in the week, and the teaching may be carried out by the teachers in the schools. The Bill insures the continuance in one form or another of voluntary denominational schools in certain areas—at any rate in urban areas with over 5,000 inhabitants.

It is also complained that the Bill removes the tests of teachers, and that in future there will be no guarantee that teachers will be found to teach religion in the schools. I do not think that will be the case. I believe that the local authorities themselves will take good care that the teachers are fit to discharge the duties required of them. We have some proof of that from what has taken place in Scotland during the last thirty years. Ever since the Scottish schools were handed over to the school boards throughout the country we have found that the local authorities, the school boards, have chosen teachers who have taught religion in the Scottish schools in a way that has been thoroughly satisfactory to the parents of the children attending them. The Bill is further said to be a wanton disturbance of the work of education in the country, and an attack on the Church of England. It is not intended to be either. The intention is to improve education, and least of all to make an attack on the Church of England. But the purpose of the Bill is that the Church of England shall not be in a privileged position, but shall take its share with all the other denominations of the country. It is said that the Bill gives a preference to Nonconformity, and that Cowper-Temple religion is the religion of Nonconformity. That is a proposition which I entirely dispute. The teaching given under the Cowper-Temple clause is not a denominational education, but it is a Christian education; and how is it possible to maintain otherwise in the face of what has been said by the most rev. Primate himself on the subject of Cowper-Temple instruction, namely—

> "That it is almost inconceivable that any Christian man who knows the facts can speak of the Christian teaching given under the London School Board. . . ."

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: In London—not throughout the country.

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH :

. . . . "as worthless because it is undenominational. Such instruction lays the foundation on which ampler teaching of the Christian Faith can be securely built."

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY : I am sure the noble Lord does not desire to misrepresent me. Those words were not used of Cowper Temple teaching throughout England as a whole, as it is now interpreted by various authorities. They refer to Cowper-Temple teaching in London, as it was given by teachers whose work was inspected under the London School Board, which makes all the difference.

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH : I think one hears from provincial districts also that exactly the same kind of teaching is given under the various great school boards all over the country. I do not think the most rev. Primate is justified in saying that it is confined purely to London.

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: I really must interrupt again. I never said that it was confined to London. I said that the words which the noble Lord has quoted had reference to London. There are many other places, I am thankful to say, where the position is exactly the same, but I must not be represented either as applying the statement to the whole of England, or as having intended to limit it to London alone. Those words were spoken with regard to London alone, but there are many other places as to which the same can be said.

*LORD TWEEDMOUTH : I contend that on the evidence that we have received from all parts of the country we may safely rely on a form of religious teaching in our schools, similar to that which originated under what is known as the Cowper-Temple clause, being given as a basis, and that that basis is one on which all denominations can agree. It does seem to me to be above all things desirable to secure in our schools the teaching of a form of religion which will be accepted by all denominations alike as a basis of common Christian belief. I contend that the present Bill has gone as far as possible to secure, consistently with full control by the authority and the freedom of the teaching profession, efficient elementary schools in every corner of the land, and to provide for religious instruction suited to the needs of the great majority of the parents of the children attending the schools, with special arrangements for the special needs of special cases.

LORD COLCHESTER : My Lords, it is thirty-five years since the adoption of the compromise of 1870. At that time I had the honour of being a Member of your Lordships' House, and I have carefully noted all the modifications of legislation which have taken place; but it is only now for the first time that we have seen any responsible statesman of either party coming forward with a measure like the present, which tears to pieces the first principles of the Bill of 1870. Those principles were supported equally as much by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster as by Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour, and hitherto they have been respected. The noble Earl on the front Bench opposite endeavoured to show that they were disregarded by the Bill of 1902; but that Bill maintained the same condition of things, under which there were two sorts of schools, one wholly maintained by public funds under the control first of the school boards and afterwards of the county councils, and the other built by private effort for the maintenance of religious teaching, which were to be still in part supported by voluntary funds as far as the maintenance of the fabric was concerned, to carry on the denominational instruction according to the religion of those by whom they were founded. The Bill of 1870 respected the work which had been solely built up by voluntary effort, and especially by the effort of the Church of England, while on the other hand it provided for efficiency by the machinery of the board schools.

Something invidious has been said as to the grants of money which have been given to the voluntary schools. But it must not be forgotten that when it was not so clearly held as it now is that it is the duty of the State to educate the children, these schools were doing the State's work, and the money paid to them may be regarded as being paid for doing what the State is now inclined to consider its own business. This Bill for the first time proposes to break up the system entirely, by establishing a unified system of schools and altogether sweeping away the partially voluntary system. The noble Lord opposite spoke with great enthusiasm of everything being under municipal control. The great evil of this Bill is that it establishes one unified system, and I contend that no unified system, whatever it may be, can meet the various wants of the country. I can appeal on this point to a high authority which will command some respect from noble Lords opposite. Years ago Mr. John Stuart Mill said that while it was the duty of the State to see that the children were educated, schools wholly controlled by the State ought to be merely one experiment among many, and that their business should be to be an example and encouragement; that it would do mischief, and cramp and narrow the minds of the people, if they had one system of education imposed by the State—that is by the dominant power for the moment, whatever it might be—which should try to impress its own mould upon the whole of the children. I must say that I respect Mr. Mill as a higher authority than Mr. Birrell, and it is the radical vice of this Bill that it intends to impose one unified system upon the whole country.

We have been told in some quarters that this is the plain will of the people. I suppose that that statement is founded on the result of the last general election. We remember that Lord Salisbury, I think it was, said that the people at a general election were in the position of a jury who had to decide a number of cases and give one verdict upon them all, whatever their merits. The noble Lord opposite suggested that no Liberal candidate would have been accepted who was indifferent upon this subject. We all know that a candidate who says anything to offend a portion of his supporters is an undesirable candidate; but will the noble Lord, or any noble Lord on that side of the House, assert that their success was wholly due to this one question of education? If education had been the one question before the country, would their Party be where it is now? There is no proof of that whatever. I was not one of those who agreed with the objections raised to, or shared in the alarm created by, the idea of a small duty on corn, but we know what effect it had in the country. I cannot admit, however, that the men who imagined that the price of corn was going up to sixty shillings a quarter were, in consequence of their vote on that subject, to be considered as strong advocates of a unified system of education. I do not believe that any of those who took the advice of the noble Duke who spoke first to-night, and voted as he recommended against all who took a particular view of the fiscal question, thereby proved themselves to be strong opponents of the Bill which the noble Duke himself piloted through this House. I do not believe that the country has ever spoken upon this subject. You have a Parliament elected on a powerful cry, in which this education question was merely an incidental matter. I hope, indeed, that we shall have some expression of the views of the country during the Recess, so that we shall be able to judge what really is their view.

We have heard a great deal about the necessity of public control, and the noble Earl used the argument that he who paid the piper should call the tune. The same argument was used in 1902, and I remember the very effective answer then made to it when it was asked whether those who used the argument would be prepared to allow the majority of ratepayers, if they were denominationalists, seeing that they who paid the piper should call the tune, to set up everywhere strictly denominational schools, with or without a conscience clause as they pleased, and to impose whatever tests they thought fit on the teachers. That would be local control. But what you have in this Bill is a mere one-sided control, as it allows the local authority to establish secularism but not to establish denominationalism—to exclude the Bible but not to admit the Church Catechism. If you had local control which could be worked either way, under which both Clause 1 and Clause 7 might require the consent of the local authority before they became law, your local control would be a reality, and not the empty name and mockery which it is in this Bill. The condemnation of this plan is to be found in the existence of any clause like the Cowper-Temple clause itself, because every argument used for them is an argument in favour of withdrawing the question from the local authorities. The argument that it might create burning local animosities is in itself an argument which goes to the root of the whole principle of local control, and is identical with the arguments used in the seventeenth century against the extension of the powers of Parliament, namely, that it would create faction. That argument was a powerful one, but we have not found it powerful enough to induce us to object to our Parliamentary Constitution. Something may be said for settling all these matters by a central authority, and something may be said for allowing them to be settled by the locality; but these two principles cannot be reconciled. The man who is enthusiastic for local control cannot be enthusiastic for the restriction of the local authority in the matter of denominational teaching.

I do not wish to detain your Lordships by going into the question of tests; I should not have mentioned it at all had it not been that the noble Lord on the Woolsack alluded to what passed in the school board. I think in a letter which he wrote some time ago, and which attracted some attention, he asked how it could possibly be that the other Party in the school board had acquiesced in the resolutions to which he alluded. A good deal has been said about finding a common basis of agreement. The noble Lord alluded to the vehement religious controversy which arose. I think it would be worth while mentioning that it arose on a point which I should have thought was common to all Christian bodies. It was proposed to insist on the teaching in all schools of the solemn doctrine accepted by all Christians. The proposal was opposed by almost every Nonconformist representative on the board, and by the whole of the Party who acted with them, on the ground that one dogma would be followed by another, and that it would involve denominationalism. In the midst of this contest, when considerable obstruction was going on, the majority of the school board being unwilling to raise a fresh controversy which would occupy what was left of their time, which needed to be otherwise devoted in order that they might carry through what they thought were very important matters, said they were willing to agree to something which otherwise they would have objected to.

Then as to the facilities for denominational teaching, I cannot see why they should be given in the urban districts only. It seems to me that it is not in the urban districts only that parents may have a care for the religious education of their children, or that there may be a reasonable desire to have such teaching. Why should the demand of the majority be disregarded unless it is a majority of four-fifths? I cannot see how the minority can be injured; they would be under protection. If the minority was smaller than one-fifth, there might be a danger of their rights being infringed upon; they might feel the singularity which they would incur; but there could be no singularity where the majority was not much larger. I cannot see, on the ground of simple justice, why a bare majority should not be allowed to have these facilities. I hope that this Bill, if it passes this House, will do so only after the most drastic Amendments. We shall be threatened, no doubt, with possible consequences to this House if we do not pass it. We have heard that threat before. On a former occasion when this House rejected a Bill, we read next day in the Press of a statement by a member of the Cabinet who had even ventured to discuss the manner and method as to how a Bill might become law without the services of this House, which meant, of course, the possibility of dispensing with this Chamber. I, for one, fully realise the constitutional privileges of this Chamber, and while we enjoy those privileges it is for us to deal with all matters submitted to us in the manner in which we think the interests of this country as a whole may best be served.

*LORD KILLANIN: My Lords, I desire to make a few remarks during this debate on the attitude of Roman Catholics towards this Bill. The noble Duke who spoke last evening pointed out what was the attitude of Roman Catholics in this country, and of the Roman Catholic Peers in this House. The noble Duke explained to the Government that although the Roman Catholic Peers might acquiesce in the Second Reading of this Bill, that action must not be taken as showing that they were satisfied with the Bill, and he stated that in order to meet their wishes the Bill would have to be drastically changed. As the noble Duke spoke on that subject it might seem unnecessary for another Catholic Peer to address you. I am, however, not only a Roman Catholic, but also an Irishman, and in speaking I wish especially to ask the House to bear in mind the position of my co-religionists and fellow countrymen in this country in regard to this Bill. They are for the most part very poor people, living in the industrial centres in this country, far from their own land, separated from their friends, taken, so to speak, out of their natural surroundings and the religious atmosphere of their own land, and forced by the calamitous events of the history of their native land, to leave it and seek a livelihood elsewhere. On their behalf, on behalf of the Irish Catholic parents and children of this country, whose interests and position must and do, both on national and on religious grounds, appeal most strongly to me, I wish, therefore, to say a few words. And I would that I had the abilities, and the eloquence, and the debating experience, all of which qualities were so admirably placed at the service of this cause by the Irish Nationalist Members in another place. I differ politically from those hon. Members, but I desire to be allowed to associate myself wholeheartedly with them in the splendid work they have done in this cause. But, in saying that I am thinking mainly of the Irish Catholic children in this country, I should not like to be understood as meaning that I excluded in any way from my sympathy and support the religious and educational interests of other denominations, but I know and can see and hear what powerful advocates they have in this House.

My Lords, when we come to look at this Bill and to consider the clauses which deal with voluntary schools and which purport to give religious facilities to them, I must say I agree with previous speakers who have shown that these clauses, as they stand, are so bad and illusory and worthless that it seems waste of time to dwell on them. And so one is forced to leave them aside and consider the Bill in its general character and effect. As I understand this Bill, under its provisions the voluntary schools, numbering, in this country, about 20,000, will cease on January 1st, 1908—the hegira of the new Nonconformist era—to be recognised or assisted out of public funds, and are either to be starved out of existence or robbed of their religious character, unless they can come to certain arrangements with local authorities and come to certain agreements, and unless they can comply with a number of exacting conditions, which arrangements and agreements and conditions, if made use of, must deprive the great majority of the voluntary schools of their religious character. My Lords, I believe the Catholic schools of this country would rather starve than give up or jeopardise their religious work. Their schools have been built by faith and enthusiasm, and faith and enthusiasm will defend them, if necessary. They have been founded and supported by the pence of the poor or by the noble benefactions of those who have recognised the religious and educational wants of the industrial classes of this country. The question before the House and the country is whether those schools are to be starved out of existence and deprived of their religious character in spite of the wishes of their founders and supporters. For that is the present aspect of affairs, that is the religious intolerance and liberty with which we are threatened by the Liberal Party. For this is not an Education Bill. It was not brought in to provide education for anyone, or to improve the education of anyone, but it is an attack on religious liberty. The Bill, as it stands, I fear shows unmistakable signs of political bias and unfairness and intolerance of any religion but that of one political body. And is religious intolerance any the less religious intolerance because it is exhibited and practised by a Parliamentary majority? How is it better than that of any despotic power? We read of such things in history and deplore them. Yet certain sections of the Liberal Party pride themselves on this self-same intolerance because they have been placed in power by the votes of an election and possess what they call a "mandate."

It will be said, perhaps, that I am exaggerating the lack of provision for religious education under this Bill, because, it will be alleged, religious education is provided for under the Cowper-Temple clause. Now, my Lords, I wish especially to draw attention to the relation of the religious teaching that can be given under the clause to the Roman Catholic position. The teaching that can be given under that clause may or may not satisfy the Protestant community in this country. It is said that it does satisfy some Protestants, and that for others it is good so far as it goes, but that it does not go far enough. But in the eyes of Roman Catholics, the religious teaching that can be given under the Cowper-Temple clause is not merely imperfect or inadequate, but it is hostile and opposed to the whole Catholic ideal and to Catholic teaching. Because it is essentially Protestantism, and if you change a RomanCatholic school into a council school you not only confiscate it and deprive it of its religious character, but you are turning a Roman Catholic school into a Protestant school. As between this Protestant sect and that Protestant sect, Cowper-Temple religious teaching may not be denominational or distinctive of one sect more than another, but, to a Roman Catholic, that teaching is denominational and distinctive. Why, my Lords, was not simple Bible teaching the very cry that separated Protestants from the Church of Rome, which has always maintained and taught that Christ founded a church to guide the faithful and to interpret the Scriptures? Therefore, I should like to point out to the Government and to the Nonconformist body that you are going to endow out of the rates Cowper-Templeism, and we are to pay for it though it is in our eyes denominational and distinctive religious teaching. You are endowing a form of religion, and making us pay for it, and it is, in its essence, spirit, and context, Protestantism, and distinctive of that creed as compared with Roman Catholic teaching. But I should be very much misunderstood if I were thought to be suggesting that we objected to paying for the religious teaching you can give under the Cowper-Temple clause. For we are under no circumstances secularists, and we recognise that Cowper-Templeism satisfies or suits the religious aspirations of a great number of the people of this country, and we are willing to pay our share for teaching it to them; but you in turn must not grudge us the teaching of our religion in our own schools. Religious teaching in the education of the child is, in the eyes of the Roman Catholic Church, of supreme importance. We think it to be of importance for the sake of the individual child, both here and hereafter, and also for the sake of society and of the State. Secularism in any form is abhorrent to the Roman Catholic Church, and we believe it, also, to be most injurious in its social aspect. We do not believe for a moment that the State, by banishing religious teaching from its schools would conduce to its own stability or produce "perfect citizens." I read the other day that an unfortunate individual who threw a bomb into the midst of a certain Royal Procession had received "an excellent secular education," and the information is significant. Therefore, my Lords, we Roman Catholics who are a small and a poor body in this country, but also an earnest one, ask to be allowed to continue our Catholic schools for poor Catholic children with teachers employed in them, who can, by their personal example and influence teach so much more to the little children under their care than can be taught by the mere word or lesson in the religious instruction class. I hope then that this House will so alter the Bill by widening the application of the "facilities" clauses and by ensuring their efficient operation as to make the measure a fair one for the entire community, and I hope the Government will assist us and so bring the measure into consonance with the speeches of the President of the Board of Education and other Ministers. And, by so doing, I believe that this House will prove that this is one of those striking occasions when the true, and just, and sober spirit of the country has looked to this House and not looked in vain—unruled as it is by the influence of momentary cries and election mandates and party reprisals—to express and give effect to its real feelings and its abiding sense of what is right and fair.

LORD NORTHBOURNE: My Lords, I have only a few words to say on the Second Reading of this Bill. There has been a great deal of controversy and a great deal of wordy strife, and I doubt whether the slightest benefit will be conferred on one individual child after all has been said and done. We had a most capable and interesting speech from the noble Duke this afternoon. I gather that he based his views concerning the educational system of this country on the Act of 1902. To a great extent that Act was due to the late Archbishop of Canterbury. My noble friend Lord Stanley, in a speech made a short time ago, referred to the events dealt with in that wonderful essay of the late Archbishop entitled "The Educational World." I go back to the speech which the late most rev. Primate delivered on the Second Reading of the Bill of 1902. It was the last speech he delivered in this House. He said he considered that that Act of 1902 must be regarded as a compromise. Nobody will deny that the late Archbishop knew and understood his subject. Will anyone deny that he was a broad-minded man? That Bill of 1902 was a compromise. The late Primate was right; he knew the conditions; he had given years of his life to the cause of religious education. One thing he said was that he knew many clergy in this country who, for the sake of these schools, had starved themselves, their homes, and their families, in order that they might keep up religious instruction for the children. Are the efforts of these men to be set aside at one single swoop? This Bill not only does violence to them in material things, but it does violence to their minds. Is it possible to reconcile such a state of things with religious liberty or religious equality? It would be interesting to note what has been the motive power behind the Government in bringing in this measure. I doubt whether there was any strong feeling in the country on the subject during the General Election. Out of the Act of 1902 there has sprung into existence what is known as "passive resistance." I do not approve of that attitude: I rather condemn it. I do not know the source of it. I have heard that it had its source in the University of Oxford. I consider it a very dangerous weapon, anyway, for it is a two-edged weapon. It can cut both ways. I am certain that if this Bill passed in anything like its present form, you would find passive resistance spread all over the country, and to such an extent that you probably would have to build additional gaols to put the people in. We know the views of the Roman Catholic community and we know how they regard this Cowper-Templeism. It would not afford me any surprise to learn later on that what had been "passive resistance," had sprung into active resistance.

In order to satisfy the Nonconformists the Government have brought in this Bill, the very first clause of which relates to popular control. The question of popular control already has been dealt with very ably by the noble Duke. But I should like to say one word on the subject as it affects the Nonconformist body and the Anglican Church. I know the Nonconformists: I have represented many of them in Parliament from time to time. I consider the Nonconformist element to be a most valuable element in the community. I know how it has kept up the standard of morals, and in in regard to many public questions, we have had to feel grateful for Nonconformist influence. But circumstances are greatly changed. Nonconformists do not stand quite in the same position that they did sixty or seventy years ago. The greater part of their grievances have been redressed. They have not the same political strength nor the same political influence that they had, insomuch that they had become divided into bodies, some of which are anxious to give support to the Anglican Church. I remember what was once said by the late Mr. Gladstone, who was fond of quoting Sir Thomas Grenville. When Mr. Gladstone asked Sir Thomas Grenville what he considered to be the most striking factor in modern history, he said that nothing appealed to him so much as the vigour and activity of the Church of England. This was sixty years ago. What would be said of their activity and their disorganisation, the extension of the Episcopate, the work of the Ecclesiastical Commission and their schools now? The Church of England is much stronger and greater now than it was in that day. And the Church of England regards nothing as being of greater importance than its schools.

However, the electors have returned the Government with a big majority and the Government have taken advantage of it and are asking us to accept the Bill which we are now considering. We understand and appreciate to the full the principle of popular control. But it is a very different thing to give to A what belongs to B. I am a trustee of one of these schools, and I can say that it is not a question of taking away property so much as the taking away from me of what is more sacred than property. The trust I hold is that religious instruction shall be given to the children of the school, and it is only common sense that I, with all other trustees of schools, should desire to continue to fulfil that trust. We have already had a simile in respect to this question upon the subject of sterility in milk. I am going to ask you to listen to another story on the same subject. An unfortunate woman who had been living in a dilapidated condition for a number of years felt constrained to ask her neighbour to oblige her with a little milk. Her neighbour, being a kind-hearted man, was anxious to oblige her, and he said he would send to the farm and see if he could get her a a supply, or, if the woman preferred it, she could go to the farm herself. The woman went to the farm, not once, but many days, and she actually got into the habit of believing that the cow which gave her this supply of milk belonged to her. She kept on believing this, and so firmly had she become convinced that the animal was her property that when she died she left the cow in her will to her nephew. Now, my Lords, these 14,000 voluntary schools are being treated in exactly the same way by His Majesty's Government. This Bill practically is dead. It has given satisfaction to no one. It does not satisfy the Anglicans, the Nonconformists, or the Roman Catholics. As to the teachers who will be employed under this Bill, I can only say that I have known many teachers—excellent persons of ability—who dutifully and with pleasure instructed the children in religious lessons and without any interference secured the very best results. Now these teachers will have to be under the supervision of some central authority. The whole Bill is mischievous and irritating in the extreme. I can only say that I hope it will never pass into law in anything like its present shape. Already it has been productive of a great deal of harm. Personally I have taken no part in the agitation that has been going on in the country, but I know the feeling that exists in my own county. Nothing can be more unfortunate than the continual stirring up of religious controversy and strife. I am quite sure that when the Bill has been through this House it will be so altered that the Government will have difficulty in recognising their own child. I am absolutely confident that in the long run those who have stirred up this religious controversy and strife will meet with their proper reward from the common sense of their fellow countrymen.

*LORD WINTERSTOKE: My Lords, I rise with some diffidence to speak on this great question, because this is the first time that I have spoken in this House, and in consideration of the number of very able speakers who have preceded me. This Bill should be regarded as an amending Bill pursuant to the Act of 1902, which Act the new Bill certainly would strengthen in character. The Bill by no means contains all that we might desire, but it is a compromise, and should be a settlement which will give us peace from the everlasting discussions on the subject of religious education. There is much stronger ground for calling the Bill of 1902 an Anglican Bill than for designating this a Nonconformist Bill. It is not a Nonconformist Bill. Whatever claims are made by Free Churchmen they make as citizens and not as Nonconformists. They claim that all public voluntary schools shall be under popular control, and that is what the Act of 1902 purposely avoided. It was not unnatural that the Party then in power should try to strengthen their position. I do not blame them. But it would have been better for them and for the country if they had adopted a more moderate and conciliatory measure. The feeling which the Act of 1902 created in the country was very strong indeed. I know how strong it was in my own county. And now it cannot be said that the action of the Church Party in opposing this Bill is an unnatural one. The Church, which less than forty years ago enjoyed the privilege of compelling every child in the voluntary schools to learn the Catechism and to go to Church on Sundays, cannot be expected to give up its vantage ground without a struggle.

Whatever Amendments are made in this Bill, I hold that the measure, as it stands, is most valuable because of three principles which it embodies; first of all, that schools will be under local and State control; secondly, that religious opinions will not be tested in the appointment of teachers; and thirdly, that no religious teaching of a sectarian character will be allowed in schools. It is upon this third point that the *Church Times* has been continually pouring out the vials of its wrath in a manner which could not be more bitter if it were the faith of Mahomet which we were trying to force upon the rising generation. The *Church Times* said on November 29th, 1901—

> "There is always with us the Cowper-Temple Clause."

Now the Cowper-Temple Clause was the work of a strong Churchman, and not that of a Nonconformist, and yet certain of the clergy have described it as establishing a new religion and enforcing heresy on the children. I draw the attention of the House to this fact, that in 1902 Sir William Anson moved an amendment to apply the Cowper-Temple clause to secondary education. The result was that 318 members voted in favour of it and only twenty-nine against. If we were strictly logical we should teach elementary education and leave religious instruction to the religious bodies. But the country is not prepared for that. There are the other alternatives; namely, denominational teaching, which is not possible, and there is the Cowper-Templeism, which is satisfactory to the great majority of the electors of this country. I have been for many years in a position which enabled me to note the wishes of the industrial classes in regard to education, and I am sure that the average working parent does not desire any more religious teaching for his child than is contained in the syllabus of the London School Board and that of Bristol. Lord Hugh Cecil claimed the right of the parent to choose the sort of education his child should receive. No one disputes that, but we cannot teach all the different opinions in one school. If the children receive the religious instruction which is provided in this Bill, they will be well grounded in the teaching which it is contended is necessary for the moral welfare of the nation. I regard this Bill as an honest endeavour to effect a lasting settlement of the question, and I shall support the Second Reading.

LORD BLYTHSWOOD: My Lords, I have read this Bill through from start to finish, and I cannot find the slightest evidence that the children of this country will be one tittle the better for its having passed. It leaves us entirely where we were before, and I think it is a great compliment to the Act of 1902 that the authors of this Bill should not have seen fit to change the provisions of that Act. No one denies that the instruction which is to be given is to be undenominational. It may be Cowper-Templeism or anything else, but it has to be undenominational. I draw your attention to the meaning of the term "undenominational." It means that in no case shall any denomination have any cause to be annoyed by any teaching that may be given in the schools. If you teach the doctrine of the Atonement you offend the Unitarians, and if you teach the efficacy of the Sacrament you offend the Society of Friends. It is not possible to teach any single form of religion which will satisfy everybody, but I would point out that you propose to give what you call "education of the highest character" and yet you leave out the most necessary part of that education, simply because you say someone will object to it. Remember that—

> "Offences will come, but woe unto him through whom they come."

I say that the children of this country will call out to you for the Bread of Life in future days and you will give them a stone. I am opposed to this Bill root and branch. If we can amend it so much the better. I will do my very utmost to amend it, so as to secure that teaching in the schools of the country which alone can make the lives of our people happy.

*LORD KINNAIRD: My Lords, I have here a copy of the Return to which the Archbishop of Canterbury referred a short time ago, the Return which deals with the class of teaching adopted in our board schools. This Return gives us some idea of the religious teaching which the children can in these board schools receive. And I think the instances, taken at haphazard, I am able to quote will satisfy your Lordships that the scholars are not without Christian and religious instruction of a very helpful kind. I take a passage relating to the Bedford County School, in connection with which it is provided that the Bible shall be read and that they shall be given such Christian instruction as is suited to the capacities of the children. It is of course necessary to leave it to the teacher to say how the lessons shall be given to the children of different ages and in accordance with their individual capacities. I turn to another page and refer to the Hastings county schools in connection with which it is provided that the parables and miracles of our Lord, the Betrayal, the Death, the Resurrection, the Ascension, etc., shall be taught along with its ordinary moral and home duties. I turn to the next page and refer to the Maidenhead Borough, where there is a very liberal system of religious teaching. There the Old and New Testament Scriptures are taught and there are five pages describing the lessons to be given. This does away with the idea that religious instruction is not given in the board or provided schools. I think, my Lords, that you will have gathered from the speech of Lord Halifax the reason why a large number of our fellow-countrymen, both Churchmen and Nonconformists, were determined that the children of the country should not be handed over to the teaching which Lord Halifax and his friends and the Roman Catholics desire. I hope that the appeal made last night by the Bishop of Ripon will have effect, and that your Lordships will consider whether we cannot pass through this House a working Bill which the country will accept. We cannot expect to satisfy the Roman Catholics entirely, or the extreme Party represented by Lord Halifax; but I think we can expect to satisfy the great middle common sense community of this country.

Lord Stanley of Alderley in the speech which he made and which should appeal to the sense of all moderate men, suggested a plan whereby this House might be able to present a practical measure to the country. I believe a large majority of the people of this country would support an Amendment to provide that religious teaching should be given during school hours, if only for the sake of the physical welfare of the children. It has been pointed out to me that bad parents probably will keep their children out of school during the hours of religious instruction in order that their children may earn the extra few pence which the parents seek. We know there are such parents and we have to consider facts as they are. The parents probably would keep the children away from school during the early part of the day and the children would get no religious teaching at all. Then in regard to the teaching I think the majority would also wish that the teacher should have the right to give religious instruction. I do not think the country would accept the re-imposition of tests, but I think they would like to see this right given to the teacher. Under any circumstances it must be considered a desirable thing that the head teacher at any rate should believe that which he teaches, and that which his staff teaches to the children. I will mention an instance given to me shewing how the present system works, told to me by the chairman of a sub-committee appointed to choose a teacher on which there were two agnostics. There were five teachers from whom to recommend a headmaster. There was one man who stood out clearly as the best—there was no doubt about that from his qualifications—but it was pretty clear that he was not probably a member of any Christian Church, and probably did not much trouble about religion of any kind. They were asked to arrange these, and the Prebendary, who was in the chair, said we must put down so and so as No. 1. The agnostic said, "I shall move that we recommend No. 2, because I think that probably you will find that the other man has not given much time or thought to the higher instincts of the child." He said, "I quite agree, but I should not have thought of suggesting it myself." It was then moved, seconded, and carried. He said to me, "I find if you treat your opponents fairly, they will treat you fairly in return. If I had tried to make No. 2 the best, I should not have had a chance of carrying it." Then we had Huddersfield referred to by His Grace the Archbishop as not having religious instruction in the board schools. Do you not think the better way was not merely to hold Huddersfield up as irreligious, but to try to influence the opinion in Huddersfield as in Birmingham, where a wonderful change has taken place since it has been left to the people to decide for themselves.

With reference to one other point. We have had a good many instances given to us with reference to a point about which many in your Lordships' House, and especially on the Episcopal Bench, are much afraid, namely, that the Church and not only the Church, but that religion will suffer—for I honestly believe they do not merely think of the Church of England but of all the Churches of the land—that they would suffer if the schools were not in their hands or in some way under their influence. As a Scotsman I may perhaps take a view different from some of your Lordships. As a member of a school board there, and as chairman of it for some years, as well as from my connection with many schools in England, I believe that in Scotland since we went in for a national system of education we have found that the people are at heart religious and do want religion to be taught to their children; and that if once we have settled our minor differences, and if once we can get agreed to go forward in a national system of education, placed on a religious basis, and further, it is, I think, the duty of the Churches to impress upon the young people that they should go in as teachers and take up that profession—one of the noblest anyone could possibly take, not second, if I may venture to say so, even to the holy ministry itself. In the foreign mission field we have attracted many of the best of our young people, but I am afraid here we have not succeeded in impressing on young people in this country that to be headmaster of a school is one of the greatest honours that can be given to any man. May I just give another experience in connection with one of our school missions? We have had some illustrations one way; may I give one another? Within fifty yards of a certain mission school there was a large school board. They did not want the trouble to build up a new school and they wanted 600 more places at an additional cost, I think, of about £30,000. The board had merely to ask for the £30,000 and they got it, and I think they had 1,600 children when I last visited the school. The children were known just as well in that board school as they were by any clergyman in his own school. I need not multiply examples, my Lords, because there are plenty of them, but I do hope that the appeal of the Bishop of Ripon will remain in our hearts and memories, and, through the Press, will be read by every member of your Lordships' House; and that when we meet in October we shall meet with a desire to sink minor differences, to agree to such a Bill as may be to the benefit of the children of the land, and hand on to them not the strifes and quarrels of which we have been so often reminded during the past year, but a national system of education based on religious principles. I believe England may have just as good and religious a national system for its children as they have in Scotland, and that together, clergy, laity, and Nonconformists, may all work for the benefit of the children to hand on to them the best education we can after we have passed to our reward.

EARL NELSON: I want particularly, as Lord Halifax is not here, to correct one statement of the noble Lord. He represented that Lord Halifax had said that his desire was to teach the Roman Catholic faith. His desire was to teach the Catholic faith, not the Roman Catholic and the errors connected with it The thing he pointed out that what our Church schools were wanting to do was to teach the Catechism and the Creed. I am pleased indeed to find that we have all realised the importance of this education question, for the future of the country depends upon the way in which our children are brought up; and I am pleased that we do not seek to end, but rather to mend the Bill, because for the sake of our education and the sake of our people, we want to heal as soon as we can the divisions which have been caused and to get some statesmanlike settlement which will be fair to all. Then we may hope for some permanent settlement of the question. Unhappily, the Bill as it at present stands, so far from doing this, makes it a perpetuation of religious strife. Even when you come to the question as to how many parents decide this and that, there must be an election every three years to decide how far people will go one way or another. That will in nearly every parish create religious strife. The noble Lord behind me has been speaking with approval of the different syllabuses that are supported by the local governing bodies. It is perfectly true the syllabuses are given, but they are not enforced in the parishes under the control of the local governing bodies. The local governing body is always changing—it is an elective body. Every three years there will be all the religious bitterness possible for the purpose of getting a majority one side or the other of the Churches who are interested in the religious question. That, again, is another reason why you can never have peace if you have opened the door for this continual animosity. I was very much surprised—I think it was Lord Stanley told us we need not be troubled about becoming a Christian nation or not. It all depended on what the people wished, and the people could show what they wished by appointing good Christians at these elections every three years. But what we feel is that if the principles of this Bill are carried out as it stands, all the denominational teaching will be set aside, and the coming generations will grow up in an un-Christian manner. They will have no standard to go by, and then you will have — you are already preparing for it by your Bill—you will have that secular education which you profess not to want to have. The Bill comes up to us with one very curious mark or mandate upon it. By a very large majority secularism has been put down and said to be an impossible thing at the present time. The Government profess to say that their Bill is to prevent secularism, and they claim for it that it is a religious Bill; but I venture to say that as long as you have no compulsory attendance at the religious hour, and so long as you take 14,000 schools where now the Christian religion is taught by catechism and by creed and by well-trained teachers, and hand them over to the mercies of the local governing body, which is, as I say, an elective body, and you give no mandatory directions to have religion you may call your Bill a religious Bill, but it is perfectly impossible that it really can be so.

It is very generally supposed that our existing law is an utter failure. I have been interested from my early youth in the education of our people, and a greater advance to the general cause of education than our present law has been is not to be told. In my own schools I took an interest in getting or trying to get to represent the county council and the parish the most prominent Dissenters we could have. There is no doubt there is some difficulty—there are some inconveniences, but they have been very much exaggerated. In the first place it is said that there are such a lot of different bodies of Nonconformists that we cannot by any possibility treat them as a whole. Well, now, in a great number of our country districts there is only one body of Nonconformists — the Primitive Methodists or the Methodists. In other cases there may be more, but all I can tell you about the religious difficulty is that in one school of which I am chairman I had two passive resisters, and we also had at our school a Wesleyan teacher. When I first took the chair of my new body, I said that I was perfectly prepared that the Wesleyan children should be put during the religious hour under the Wesleyan teacher, and I was told that they had no objection whatever to the religious teaching that was going on in the school. On another occasion, in another school that I was connected with, I had a petition from the Wesleyans, who said: "Will you allow us to come and teach in the school during the religious hour?" I immediately gave them leave. There was some difficulty about it, but if a system of that sort had been generally accepted there would have been little difficulty about religious education as far as general agricultural villages are concerned. It is not the education that you give, but it is the man who gives it. I will not occupy your time long, but the other day I came across a sermon by Dr. Clifford reported in the *Christian World*. I have every reason to suppose that it would be well reported. The subject he took was the religious atmosphere. I will read you two short extracts. He says that many of the mistakes of Parliament as well as of the Churches arise from their failure to recognise the power of atmosphere in the training of a child. The training was of course effected by such things as books, mechanical arrangements, maps, plans, etc., but it was pre-eminently a question of atmosphere. For the educational culture of a spirit made in the likeness of God an atmosphere was necessary in which were various ingredients. First there was the ruler—the superintendent, the manager, the person in command—then there was the room or building in which the children were confined. Much depended upon that, also the display on the wall, the pictures representing great facts and personalities. And then he finished by saying a good teacher was the making of a school. The school would be a good school if it had a good teacher;

Earl Nelson.

it would be a bad school if it had a bad teacher. His weekly visits to his Sunday school had practically no value except to himself. It was the teacher with his scholars around him looking into their eyes and bringing out his religious influence who was doing the real work of teaching. What we want is that the education of this country for the future shall be a Christian education. We want religion to be written on the face of the Bill as it is in Germany, as it is in Canada, where they take care that whatever the religious teaching may be, there shall be an inspection to show it is properly given. We want to have it given by trained teachers who have at heart the religion they profess to teach, and in that way and in that way alone, when the country comes to understand it, shall we be able thoroughly to carry out the country's demand for a religious basis to our education.

LORD CASTLETOWN: My Lords, I have no right to interpose in the debate to-night as one dealing mainly with educational questions in Ireland, but I have always taken a very deep interest in education. I have gone abroad to study what has happened there. I have also worked hard in my own district, and I am glad to say that I am now managing five or six schools in the sister country. One thing which strikes me in the debate to which I have been listening—listening, as I say, rather as an outsider; but very often the outsider sees a good deal of what is going on—is that though the Bill is called an education Bill nearly all of the speeches made have been upon the question of religion. Now education may be secular, it may be denominational; but I do not think it is considered to be entirely a religious question. Therefore I venture to say that the issue of the Bill and its object seems to me to be rather confused by many of the speakers. I would venture to say also that the three great essentials of good education are (1) control by the people who pay for the education, (2) a proper thorough training to fit children to compete in the world and to compete also and especially with foreign nations, and (3) religious teaching when desired and where desired. The Bill, in my opinion, gives us these three essentials. The most noble Prelate the Archbishop of Canterbury, dealing with the first essential, gave his qualified approval of the mandate which the country has given to the present Government, that is for the control by the people of educational questions. So too, I may venture to say, it fulfils to a certain extent No. 2. The great problem of education to my mind, is—does the Bill provide a good system of teaching, one which will fit the present generation to compete in the struggle of life, I have been studying, as I said before, education in many countries. I have been studying the problem for some years, and lately I have had the good fortune to be in Belgium and study the problem there. I honestly say in this House—I daresay it may be a strong statement—but I do not hesitate to say that nearly every child in Belgium is infinitely better fitted by the educational system in that land than our children. Training is much more comprehensive, and much more perfect, and I would ask you to note, too, my Lords, that they have a religious training which is very similar to that provided in this Bill. Some of the clauses of this Bill dealing with religious training seem very much, when one looks into the Belgian law, as if they had been taken from the laws of that country. While I am on the religious point, I would like to say how much struck I was by the terse and strong speech of my noble friend the Duke of Norfolk, who spoke on behalf of the Roman Catholics and the Roman Catholic Party. Living in Ireland as I do, I yield to none in my admiration of the splendid lives lived by many of my fellow countrymen, Roman Catholics—all through love of religion—and the high moral tone of their lives, but I would ask them, and if my noble friend were in his place I would ask him, if they are satisfied, as I understand they are satisfied in Belgium with the training that is given to children in that great Catholic and industrial country—I would ask them how can they find fault with the religious teaching which is provided for in this Bill. I have by me the education law of Belgium. I will quote you a very few clauses dealing with religious teaching, and show you, if you will permit me, the analogy. I do not propose to inflict on the House the reading of the clauses in French, but I will try and put them as rapidly as possible into English. These are the clauses dealing with primary instruction in Belgium. Primary instruction comprehends necessarily the teaching of religion and morals, writing, reading, arithmetic, the legal system of weights and measures, elements of language, geography, history of Belgium, notions of hygiene, singing, gymnastics, and for girls it also brings in working with the needle, and for boys a knowledge of agriculture. Then it goes on to say what is most interesting to us, that what is the local authority there has the right to extend the different systems where they are possible and where they are well advised. Then as far as the religious question goes, the ministers of different religions are invited to give in the primary schools submitted to the present law, teaching in religion and in morals, and the law goes on to explain the hours that are to be given for religious instruction; and then in the last clause of all it refers to the inspection by Government of the religious instruction to see that that instruction is properly given. Now, my Lords, there is an analogy which I venture to say exists between what is the present Belgian law and what is, roughly speaking, the suggestion made in the Bill.

What strikes me—again, if I may use the word, as an onlooker—is that the value of necessary education during these debates is being forgotten in pursuit of what I may venture to call a religious shadow. The child and its teaching, even the future of its existence, are being made, if I may say so, the shuttlecock of politics. I believe in religious training, but I do not believe in bewildering children with dogmas. If the parents in Belgium, as is provided under the law I have quoted, are able to do their duty as they are—I have been there and asked the question—then this Bill gives ample scope if they are vigorous in this country to do their duty here. If the local authority which is put into the Bill does not do its duty and does not interpret the Bill in the spirit desired by those who pay the rates, and who pay for the work of education, and control education, I must say I think very poorly of Englishmen if they are not able to see that the work they pay for is carried out in the way they would wish it. I rejoice to see in the Bill that Wales has been able to secure, so to speak, a council of education for itself. I think it does great credit to Wales, and to the Welsh people, and it does great credit, if I may say so, to the Government for dealing so broadly and liberally with these people. Wales has done fine work educationally, and her people, I think, will very likely set a good example to other local authorities throughout the land. This brings me to the essential of the best training to fit a child for life and work. That is the great problem you have to face. The Bill, as we have it, has many facilities, and I hope the local authority, as the directing and controlling power, will act vigorously and fearlessly. I fancy Wales will give a very good example, as I said before, to authorities throughout the land. I have been through a large part of the Continent studying this question of education, and I say there is very little time to lose if we are to fit our children as the children of the Continent are being fitted. They are better equipped than we are, and if we remain squabbling over the question of religious teaching, they on the Continent will be forging ahead. From the very able and kindly speech that I heard from the most rev. Prelate the Archbishop of Canterbury, and from other indications, I cannot help hoping that in all likelihood, when we come to Committee, means may be found to make this Bill a great, if not a final, settlement. I would ask all those who are here to remember when that time comes that then, and as long as this education contest goes on and the fire is kept alight, we are delaying the proper treatment of education while our competitors are, as I said, forging ahead. We thereby endanger—and I think it is the greatest danger to which a nation can be exposed—the future of the children of this generation. We endanger their future in life, we endanger their existence, and I think I may safely say we endanger the very existence of the nation itself.

*LORD HYLTON: My Lords, after the President of the Council rose yesterday afternoon, he expressed regret that while the Church of England and the Church of Rome were well represented in this House, there was nobody, he thought, who could speak with equal authority on behalf of Nonconformist bodies. I think we all welcome the appearance of so weighty a representative as my noble friend Lord Winterstoke. We do not agree, perhaps, with all his conclusions, but it must be of considerable advantage and value to our deliberations, that Nonconformity should be represented in this House by one so well calculated to speak on its behalf as his Lordship.

I should not have ventured to intervene, my Lords, this evening if I had not sat for some years as a member of a County Education Committee, and, like a great many of your Lordships, attended pretty regularly to my duties as manager of one or two elementary schools. I take, of course, an interest in education, but I do not know, thinking it over, whether that really is any excuse for my rising to-night. My noble friend Lord Castletown just now gave as his reason for speaking his zeal and interest in education, but the fact is, as has been pointed out by more than one speaker, this Bill, though professedly a Bill for the better promotion of education, has hardly anything to do with education at all. The noble Earl, Lord Crewe, lamented in his speech yesterday that some nineteen-twentieths of the discussion which had taken place in regard to this matter within the last six months related to so-called religious difficulties, but surely the fault of that, if fault there be, lies at the door of His Majesty's Government. This Bill is almost exclusively concerned with the question of religious observances, and if passed in its present form I have no doubt whatever that it would result eventually in the ousting of religious observances from nearly every one of the elementary schools of this country. I am perfectly willing to admit that such is not the intention of the framers of the Bill. Lord Crewe and others who spoke on behalf of the Government have told us that such is not their intention, and we on these benches are perfectly willing to admit that they are accurate in what they say on that point. But I think this Bill might be correctly described as a Bill for rendering doubtful the continuance of religious instruction in our schools. The Government is not entirely to blame in this matter, for the situation has been growing very grave ever since the passage of the Bill of 1902. The evil will be greatly increased, I believe, if the present Bill passes into law, but the evil has been growing ever since the Act of 1902 was passed. I will return to that point presently, but all of us on this side of the House expected and understood, as a result of the late General Election, that some amending Bill would be introduced in regard to that measure. I for one — of course I can only speak for myself — could not oppose various Amendments to the Act of 1902. No measure that is passed in Parliament is a perfect measure, and no doubt the Act of 1902 did require and did suggest Amendments. There were many of us I know on this side of the House who would have offered no opposition whatever to an amending Bill endeavouring, where grievances could be proved to exist, to remove those grievances. I will not refer in detail to what those grievances were—those of the passive resisters, and, in certain cases where further so-called popular control should be given in the voluntary schools. Wherever grievances could be held to be created by the Act of 1902, I am convinced many on these benches would have cordially supported His Majesty's Government in a measure to redress them. But the grievances that I believe did exist under the Act of 1902 were not, I think, general throughout the country. They were only of a sporadic nature. Your Lordships will have in your recollection the case of Kennington that was referred to by the most rev. Primate yesterday. The most rev. Primate referred to this case in his knowledge where voluntary and board schools existed side by side, where there was no compulsion on the parent who disliked voluntary schools to send his children there, and how could it be said that in places like Kennington any grievance existed which made it necessary that legislation of so drastic a character as this should be brought in ? The only grievance that in a case like Kennington can be said to exist is that in denominational schools denominationalists retain the right to appoint the teacher, a right dearly purchased by sums provided by voluntary efforts for providing sites and buildings. The case like that of Kennington is by no means an isolated one; there are similar ones all over the country. In my own neighbourhood I happen to know of three small towns, or large villages, where the population consists largely of miners, nearly all of them Nonconformists, and in each of these villages or towns there exist a voluntary school and a board school. The parents have the option of sending children to one or the other just as they please, and in cases like that again how can any grievance be said to exist? Take the case of another large group of schools such as that at Seaham referred to by the noble Marquess Lord Londonderry yesterday evening. Seaham, the noble Marquess mentioned, has a large Church of England school which is attended by numbers of children of Nonconformist parents, but not one of those children was taken away from the religious instruction in that Church of England school, and there was no grievance, no religious difficulty felt whatever. My Lords, I am anxious not to take up unnecessarily the time of the House, but I could have quoted the case of another Church of England school well known to me in the village where I live myself. There are a number of children of Nonconformist parents attending that school, and I asked the clergyman if he had ever known a case of a single child of Nonconformist parents being withdrawn from religious instruction in that school. He told me not one, and he added that the religious instruction given in that school was and always had been of a character calculated in no way to ruffle any susceptibilities nor to include any doctrine or formula that could be distasteful or objectionable to the parents of Nonconformist children that attended the school. I mention that case because I think, my Lords, it may perhaps strengthen my argument that the religious difficulties we have heard of are not general at all, or spread over a wide area, but are essentially of a sporadic character; and surely in cases like those I have referred to, the most fair, generous and liberal course would be to ascertain the wishes of the parents of the children attending the schools before any change is made in the existing conditions.

After the eloquent speeches we have listened to yesterday and to-day from right rev. Prelates it would be useless for me to insist upon the necessity of our maintaining religion as the basis of all elementary education in this country. I think, with hardly any exception, that is the general wish both of your Lordships' House and of the country. If your Lordships were not convinced by the eloquent speech of the most rev. Primate there is nothing else that I can say, but I believe all of us must agree that some religious instruction should be given, and that the children must attend it unless the parents like to take advantage of the Conscience Clause. I cannot admit the argument of the noble Earl the President of the Council that religious teaching is of no value where it is compulsory. I think the noble Earl might just as well attempt to argue that secular education would be of no value where it is compulsory. What do noble Lords do in the case of their own children? When it is Sunday they tell their children that it is time to go to Church. When it is time for them to go to school, they tell them to go to school. There is compulsion in that. Whoever heard of children being able to receive any education, secular or religious, unless to a certain extent it was compulsory? My Lords, if we are agreed that some religious instruction should be given in every elementary school, how are we to attain that object? The noble Earl Lord Carrington said yesterday that religious and not secular instruction was one of the principles of the Government measure, but when he was challenged by the Bishop of St. Asaph to explain how that principle could be found in the Bill, it was quite impossible for him or for anyone else to find that principle included in the Bill. It is certainly not in Clause 7, and it is not in paragraph 2 of Clause 8. Let us try to insert that principle in the Bill by which we shall please not only those on our own benches, but I hope also the noble Earl Lord Carrington.

Whilst I contend that the principle of religious as opposed to secular instruction is not contained in the Bill, there are certain clauses indicatory of the principle, but they are clauses of the most slippery and elusive character. By the Bill all voluntary schools must relinquish their property; but that is a mere question of £ s. d., and comparatively unimportant.

Lord Hylton.

The voluntary schools have to relinquish a great deal more than their property, and that is, their present opportunity of giving religious instruction. We are taking away all certainty in the matter, and in return we get chances. We get a chance of facilities; a chance of extended facilities; a chance of contracting out of the Bill under Clause 5. But then, suppose we succeed in getting these chances, at a cost of what friction, what strife and what waste of energy shall we have secured them? Supposing we do not succeed in getting these facilities or extended facilities, then we must fall back on what the Education Committees like to give in the way of syllabuses, that simple Bible teaching, which no teacher may teach and which no child need be taught. That must eventually lead to secular instruction, and the mischief, I am sorry to say, has begun already. His Majesty's Government is not wholly responsible for that. It is partly the result of the legislation of 1870 and 1902. We learned yesterday from the discussion what is taking place in Wales, where, in numbers of schools, no religious instruction is being given at all. And then we learned of Huddersfield. There is nothing to prevent that spreading. I have here a Return from the County Education Committee in Somerset as to the syllabus of religious instruction followed in the county schools, and this bears out thoroughly the contention that religious instruction is gradually being whittled away under this system. The syllabus is an excellent syllabus and is followed in ninety-two cases, but in forty-six schools an abridged form is followed, and in four schools there are syllabuses other than that adopted by the Committee. I am not going to trouble your Lordships by going at length into details, but of twenty-six schools enumerated on the first page of this Return I may mention that in sixteen there is no inspection whatever of the religious instruction that is being given. Under those circumstances, I think I may say that the religious instruction that is being given in the provided schools is not quite satisfactory and not likely in the future to be of a satisfactory character. I should like to see it, in Committee, made illegal in the case of provided schools for these religious syllabuses to be tampered with or curtailed or for others to be used in their place. I should like to see the power of drawing up these syllabuses withdrawn from the Education Committees, and for Parliament to resume the power delegated in this matter. This is a national matter, and not a local one. Religion, it seems to me, is as vital in Wales or Huddersfield as in Hampshire or any other county. Many of these syllabuses are excellent. The Minister for Education, when introducing the Bill in another place, particularly singled out one or two counties. However different their views of thought—Roman Catholics, Church of England, Dissenters—on the different county education committees, they meet together, and in almost all cases have found no difficulty in forming syllabuses on which they could agree. I should like to see this done in a national way, and I cannot see why it should be impossible for a Conference to meet in London, or elsewhere, where leading men representing all Parties, laymen as well as ecclesiastical, should meet and that some national syllabus should be drawn up for use in all provided schools. And I should like to see Parliament then sanction the labours of the Conference and make it statutory for local authorities and managers to see that such syllabus was used in all provided schools. I should not object to seeing it applied in Church of England schools, where the majority of the parents wish, though, of course, different treatment would be required for Roman Catholic and Jewish schools. But this is an age of tolerance, and I cannot understand why so many politicians should take such an intolerant view of this matter as it seems to me they are doing. There are, of course, many other provisions of the Bill, but at this late hour, and after having, I am sure, exhausted your Lordships' patience with the remarks I have already made, I shall only say that I hope this Bill will be most drastically and thoroughly altered in Committee when October comes.

*LORD AMPTHILL: My Lords, it is not necessary for anyone to make a special apology for speaking on this occasion. One and all, I imagine, feel in a special degree the responsibility imposed upon us by the Constitution of the Realm, and that sense of duty which was so eloquently expressed by the noble Duke who spoke from these benches in the name of Roman Catholics yesterday evening. I think that any Member of your Lordships' House who thinks that on account of what he has heard or seen or observed, he can add something to the discussion, ought to do so on this occasion. It is on those grounds, and on those grounds alone that I venture to address your Lordships. This is a national question. All questions, of course, are in a sense national, but this is in a particular degree a national question, a question we cannot leave to be fought out on conventional Party lines by the two front benches of this House under rules and restrictions as rigid as those of a field day at Aldershot, and with a result as certain and inevitable as that of a stage duel. We want to discuss this question, because we hope for something more than a mere Party vote to result. It is a discussion which we hope will lead to the alteration, the formation, and the confirmation of opinions. I speak, not only for myself, but also I am sure for many others on this side of the House when I say we should be heartily and sincerely glad to see His Majesty's Government solve this question to the general satisfaction of the nation. Your Lordships will note that I say the nation, and not merely the large majority in the House of Commons. That is a different thing altogether, and I think it is pretty clear that no noble Lord on the other side of the House would attempt for one moment to deny that the nation as a whole will not be satisfied with this Bill. It is not necessary for me to dilate on the dissatisfaction itself, or the nature or cause of that dissatisfaction; that has been done amply and sufficiently already. That it exists, nobody in their senses can for a moment deny, and I shall therefore endeavour to confine myself to a brief examination of the general principles for which we are striving.

I think the Lord President was perfectly right when he said in the opening words of his speech that our object is to establish a national system of education. That is the object of the Bill. I think it is equally beyond dispute that the nation does actually want a national system of education. The nation is not always able to express clearly what it does want, but undoubtedly there was a mandate for public control where there is public expenditure, and I think that the inner meaning which lies beneath that mandate is a conscious or half conscious desire for a national system of education. I also freely and fully admit, while I am on the subject of mandates, that there was a mandate for a final settlement of this longstanding problem—a mandate for the removal of the grievances of Nonconformists, which I do not think are denied by any fair-minded or reasonable Churchman. So far, then, I admit the existence of the mandates on which His Majesty's Government rely. There is no doubt that we must have a Bill giving full public control over public expenditure in the matter of education, and we must have that Bill with as little delay as possible in order to put an end to this interminable and embittered strife.

But another thing, I think, is perfectly clear, although it is not said to be supported by a mandate, and that is that the nation is not prepared to have, in fact, will not have, education divorced from religion. It seems to me to follow from this—of course every man can only speak for himself and from how things appear to him—it seems to me that what follows from this is, that what is required is a Bill to establish a national system of education of which religious instruction is to be an essential part. That, my Lords, I believe, was the mandate of the nation, and so far almost all men, I think, are agreed. But it is precisely at this point that we come to the difficulty, and that is, what is to be the form of that religious instruction? The only solution I can see is that each denomination should be equal, absolutely equal in the eyes of the State, and absolutely equal in the eyes of the law. And I cannot, for the life of me, see why such a system cannot be established. It has been done, and with great success, in other countries. I was very glad when the noble Lord who spoke from the Government Benches a short time ago, alluded for the first time to the subject of educational systems abroad, for it is my object to say a few words this evening on that point, passing on as quickly as I possibly can. The Bill does not provide that each religion shall be equal in the eyes of the State and in the eyes of the law. The Lord President, in moving the Second Reading, told us clearly that it is an undenominational Bill, and that the object of Clause 1, which he declared to be the Bill, was to place an undenominational school within the reach of every child whose parents desired it to attend one. That, he added, would remove the Nonconformist grievance. I think the noble Lord was more honest than discreet when he made that statement, for in doing so, my Lords, to use a somewhat vulgar phrase, he let the cat out of the bag. What we cannot get to be understood, and yet it is the whole point of this difficult question, is that undenominationalism is not neutral, it is not non-religion, it is something very definite, and something which is just as abhorrent to ardent Churchmen and ardent Roman Catholics as Churchmanship, Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism, are to Nonconformists themselves. Undenominationalism is, in fact, the religion of the Free Churches, and the point of the whole question is that you cannot establish undenominationalism, on the assumption that it is something neutral, in preference to other systems of religious instruction. What you must have is equal facilities for all. I said just now that other nations have been through the same difficulty. When the noble Lord who spoke last but one began to allude to Belgium, I hoped very much indeed that he would tell you how the neighbouring country of Holland has been through precisely the same difficulties in regard to the educational problem as we are now engaged in ourselves. In fact, the history of the religious and educational questions in Holland affords a most striking parallel to that same question in our country during the past 100 years. I will not presume to detain your Lordships by dilating upon or explaining that parallel. Probably it is familiar to many Members of this House, and anyhow the whole history of the question is easily accessible. The only thing I should like to suggest is that the systems of these other countries are well worthy of consideration at the hands of those who are endeavouring to solve this problem.

The foreign system on which I wish to say a few words this evening is that of Germany. I have a special reason for wishing to do so, and that is that I was brought up in my youth to a great extent in Germany, and that I have a very great affection and admiration for Germans and things German. I do not think I need enlarge any further on my reason for referring to the German system. I am only surprised that the German system, which I think is very generally admitted to be one of the most thorough and efficient in the world, has not been brought into these discussions, either in this House or in another place. The thing which I think strikes one first of all in considering the German system of education is that the Germans know what they want in the way of education. They have an ideal. They know what they are striving after. They know what they want education to do, and therefore they know equally whether it ought to be, and what they want to make it. I daresay your Lordships have seen an interesting book on Industrial Efficiency by Professor Shadwell. I trust you will allow me to quote a short passage from it because it expresses better than I could in my own words the idea I wish to convey to your Lordships' minds. He says of the German system, that—

> "The aim is clear, precise and practical. The function of the elementary or pupil school (Volksschule) concisely defined, is to train up the young in religion, good conduct, and patriotism by education and teaching, and to instruct them in the general knowledge and the acquirements requisite for a civil life. This definition gives the key to the whole educational scheme. Character and conduct are the primary objects, then love of country, then such general knowledge as will enable the child to take its part in the ordered life of the community whether as men or women."

What I want your Lordships to note is that religion comes first as the foundation of morality and conduct. The German people have decided, if I may quote once more—

> "That morality cannot be taught efficiently apart from religion, and further that religious teaching to be effective must be dogmatic. For this the law carefully provides. The schools are denominational and separate for Roman Catholics and Protestants except where there are not enough children of one confession to form a separate school. In that case they are mixed—Paritätische or Simultanschulen—but the children receive religious instruction from teachers of their own confession. In many towns there are also Jewish schools, and occasionally one or two of some other sect."

I must not delay your Lordships long with the details of this system, which are extremely interesting and which have a very real and practical bearing on the problem we have to face. When it is not possible to form three schools, two schools are formed, and where it is not possible to form two schools, one school is formed which receives the children of the three or more different confessions. In those cases the head-master is chosen from among the members of the church to which the majority of the parents belong. The second teacher represents the religion of the parents of the minority. That is roughly the principle, and even if there is a minority of no more than twelve children, the local authorities are bound to provide separate religious instruction and financial difficulties are not admitted to be an excuse. That is the German system, and it seems to me to solve the very problem we are struggling with ourselves. These German schools are in all cases on a footing of equality before the State and the law, which ordains religious teaching, but leaves the choice absolutely free.

Let me say a word or two about the instruction itself. This instruction is divided into (1) Biblical history, (2) Catechism. The latter, of course, is dogmatic. Each has so many hours a week given to it, as a rule three to Biblical history and two to Catechism. In Evangelical schools both are taught by the teachers. In Catholic schools Biblical history is taught by the teachers, and the Catechism by the clergy. I should like to tell your Lordships, if I may read one more extract, what in the opinion of Professsor Shadwell, a great student of foreign systems, are the results of this system. He says—

> "Just as the Germans have known how to retain the classical element in their higher education while adding the higher developments of science and other modern studies, so they have known how to build up the most complete system of national education on the old foundations of character and conduct. They have not flung away the old in acquiring the new, but have combined both. The retention of systematic religious teaching has a far-reaching influence on the national life which is plainly visible in many directions, and not least in the industrial sphere. To it may be traced the sense of duty and responsibility, the respect for law, the steady effort, the self-restraint, the maintenance of a higher ideal than the materialism of Social Democracy. And to these may be added the striking absence of corruption in public life which is the indispensable condition for the healthy exercise of those municipal functions that are carried on upon so large a scale in German towns to the benefit of the community."

I have only one more word on the German system, and that is, that the teachers are trained in seminaries or State colleges, that they have the rights or duties of civil servants, and that as a matter of general observation, the German school teacher has no need of self-assertion and consequently he does not teach it. It is idle to assert that there are not alternatives other than those which have been already mooted when we have these examples of other countries before us. The noble Lord, Lord Burghclere, who spoke yesterday, professed to have exhausted all possible alternative schemes, but he devoted his energies chiefly to flogging a dead horse in disposing of an alternative not seriously advocated by any large number of people in this country, viz., the so-called secular solution. The Lord President, in his pleasant and witty speech, made an eloquent final appeal. He said: Is it not possible that this long strife may be made to cease? My answer to that is yes, if the Bill is purged of those elements which lead to religious strife. But it is for his Majesty's Government, and for those who support them, to make the first move. It is for them to withdraw that which is destructive and that which is vindictive in the Bill. It is for them to withdraw those things which many people in this country consider unfair, unjust, and an outrage to their consciences. It does not matter at all whether the majority think these people are wrong in considering the Bill unjust and unfair. The fact remains that a number of our fellow-countrymen do, and you cannot have a settlement of this question unless you provide some arrangement which will not seem to them unjust, unfair and outrageous. It is possible to bring an end to this strife if His Majesty's Government will not rob Peter to pay Paul; if they will not, in endeavouring to remedy old grievances, create new ones for ourselves—I mean for the members of the Anglican Church. We do not want concessions and facilities. What we want is justice and the maintenance of our rights. We do not want an undenominational Bill any more than the Nonconformist wants an Anglican Bill, or the Roman Catholics a Free Church Bill. What we want, and I think what the nation wants, is a national Bill, a Bill which instructs the local authority to provide schools of all classes, Church, Roman Catholic, Undenominational and Jewish, in which children can be instructed in accordance with the wishes of their parents. And when I say children, I mean all children. There should be no possibility of any child being excepted from these facilities. Give to every single parent in this country what he wants. Give us a national Bill like this, and I am sure that I am not speaking only for myself when I say that we will help His Majesty's Government with all our hearts.

* EARL CAWDOR: My Lords, there has been I think we shall admit one very noticeable thing with respect to the Bill we are now going to discuss—I mean the wide divergence between the statements made by individual members of His Majesty's Government and the result when we attain to the collective wisdom of the Cabinet. The country was thrown some time ago, I think, into a certain state of fancied security chiefly by statements made by the President of the Board of Education, until one day we found laid before us the Bill that we have to discuss to-night, and then the security afforded by the statements of the President of the Board of Education seemed to fade away. I think it is worth while to consider for a few moments some of these statements, for they show us at all events the trend of thought of some of those who had studied education carefully; yes, and had studied it from the Nonconformist point of view, and before that pressure of political exigencies came about which has resulted in the production of the present Bill. Pious hopes were expressed by various members of the Government that they would do all that was fair to every parent. Every parent was to select what he wished as to religious instruction, and all these individual members of the Government were going to see that the parent got it. May I quote a short sentence from a speech by the President of the Board of Education only as far back as January last? He said he longed to see one kind of elementary schools for the whole country. He believed it was not passing the wit of man to devise a scheme whereby the public authorities should have complete public control over all the public elementary schools in the land, and whereby the wishes of the parents should be consulted as to the kind of religion they wished to be taught, and when and how they wished it taught in those schools. Those were the views of the President of the Board of Education in January last. I am afraid we seek in vain for one sign of that policy in the Bill before your Lordships' House to-day. I ask where in the Bill can you find that the wishes of the parents are to be consulted and safeguarded as to the religious teaching they wish for, or when and how they wish it taught? All is relegated to the control of the local education authority; and at the beck and call of the local education authority all religious teaching in any school may, if this Bill passes, be swept away. Nowhere in the Bill can we find any parent secured the religious teaching he demands for his child. Nowhere in the Bill, as it now stands, can he have secured to him the teaching for his child by the teacher whom he selects. The statement of the student in his calmer moments studying the real educational requirements contrasts badly with the action of the politician forced to accept a Bill which he cannot and does not like and which he has to accept because of political exigency.

My Lords, we are told very often—I think we have been told in this debate already—that we cannot provide religious teaching for all the sects because of their number. May I quote an authority on that subject, dating back only as far as 1903, after the passing of this poor Education Act of 1902 of which we have heard so many hard things? What does my authority say?—

> "There still remains the question as to the nature of the religion taught in all the schools. Here the parents really must, whether they like it or not, conquer their shyness, and making their first appearance in this ancient and horrid controversy, tell us, when they send Tom and Jane to school, whether they wish them to receive any—and if any, what—religious education. There is no chance of the multiplication of strange parental religions. We are not an imaginative people. Jews, Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Dissenters in a lump will usually exhaust the list. The great body of Dissenters will be found ready to accept the same broad simple Bible teaching which for the most part characterise board school Christianity."

My Lords, those are weighty words, and they are the words of the present President of the Board of Education written in the *Independent Review* for October, 1903. What becomes of the statement that you cannot deal with all the claims of the different sects because they are so numerous, and what becomes of the statement of one of his colleagues that to talk of Dissenters in a lump was an insult to them? There seems one peculiarity about this Bill when one comes to study its details, and that is that wherever there is any facility granted or any concession made in principle there seems to dog the steps of that concession some evil spirit within or behind the Cabinet, I know not which, which inserts into the machinery of the Bill that which makes the concession worthless. May I give your Lordships a few examples? First of all, I touch on Clause 2. There there is no mandatory power to compel the taking over of a school by the local authority, and therefore the taking over of the school by the local authority becomes void. It need not be carried into effect, though you profess openly that these schools are to be taken over. We have plenty of pious hopes that they will be taken over, but that is not business, and I do not think we shall thrive on them. There is no power to compel local authorities to take over any schools if they do not choose, and if facilities are pressed for the local authorities can still decline to take over the schools. Then what becomes of your facilities under Clause 2? I say they are destroyed by the machinery of the Bill.

Then I come to Clause 3. There we have no definition of facilities at all. No one can tell what they are. Parliament apparently is not going to decide what facilities are. You are going to leave it again to the local authority and what can the local authority do? The President of the Board of Education admitted some time ago that though he hoped all authorities would behave sensibly—he went so far as to mention the words "stupid" and I think "obstinate" with respect to some of them—without expressing any opinion on the subject, but assuming that some are stupid or obstinate or vicious, the local authority can get rid of the facilities under Clause 3 absolutely and entirely. They can restrict hours under which religious teaching is to be given exactly as they please; they can restrict the number of days as they choose. Parliament and the Government may say they think facilities should be applied to every day, but the local authorities are much bigger people than the Board of Education and the Cabinet itself. They can regulate these things exactly as they like, and though we put down what we think should be done, there is nothing to ensure facilities under Clause 3 and there is no appeal.

I now come to Clause 4—that clause which is considered to be a safeguard of many interests affected by this Bill, and which we are told was introduced—I know not if it be true or not—in order specially to meet the case of Roman Catholic schools and Roman Catholic children. We have the ballot by parents, and though I do not mean to dwell upon it I detest the idea of ballot by parents in voluntary schools. We are to have a ballot by parents, and first of all it is to be conducted by the local authority, to whom the parents are appealing for a change in the regulations of the school. That ballot is to be secret. We are told that is one of the great merits of the Bill. We accept that and

Earl Cawdor.

we assume the Government will see that it is made absolutely secret. What happens then? Turn to Sub-section (b), Clause 4, and the four-fifths who apply in order to get extended facilities. Under Clause 4 four-fifths must prove that there is public school accommodation in schools not affected by a permission given for the children attending the school whose parents do not desire those facilities. What is the result? Your ballot is secret, absolutely secret. You do not know who the four-fifths are who have voted in favour of the extended facilities, and therefore you have not the slightest idea who the one-fifth are. You do not know the minority, and if you do not know the minority how are you going to make the inquiry to satisfy anyone that this minority of the children can be given accommodation in other schools? It is an impossibility. Unless you know and can put your finger on the children of the minority you cannot say whether there is a sufficient and proper accommodation for them in that particular district. The only answer to anyone holding the inquiry under the terms of this clause must be that the case is not and cannot be proved for extended facility. Therefore, I say again that Clause 4 is made nugatory, killed and made of no effect, simply by its own machinery. It is a serious thing to say, but it is nothing much less than a fraud—I do not mean an intentional fraud for a moment: I do not want to use so hard a word as fraud—but it is an absurdity that you should offer with one hand certain extended facilities, of which so much has been made, and yet allow the machinery of the clause to make them an absolute impossibility. There may be an answer to this, and if anyone can tell me what the answer is I shall accept it with gratitude, and with much humility.

With regard to these extended facilities it is true that the local authority need give none. I should have thought the extended facilities ought to have been made mandatory. Further, I should have thought that the natural duty of the Education Department was not to say yes or no as fancy determined, and as political exigency might affect the decision, but to see that the mandatory effects of an Act of Parliament were carried into force. That, I am afraid, is far from the intention of the Bill, and that again to my mind makes the whole of Clause 4 practically useless for the purpose for which it is intended.

I want to touch for a moment, if I am not detaining you too long, on one point in Clause 5. I should be very glad if some Member of the Government would tell us what is the object of Sub-section (3) of that clause—inserted so I am informed on Report. It states, with reference to the appeals as to extended facilities, that an appeal under this section shall not be entertained unless it is made before the 1st January, 1908. Why, I am at a loss to conceive. Why not after the 1st January, 1908? Is it not possible that a rural district may change to an urban district after that date, and that a population of 4,999 may possibly grow into a population of 5,000? Is it not possible that a majority of those who wish for extended facilities may come into existence after that date? Is it not possible that an alternative school may have been provided? In each of these cases the extended facilities would be justified and would be the right of the people in that district. But for some reason I do not know how to explain the door is to be closed on 1st January, 1908, and apparently however large a district may become, however much the population may grow, however many schools may be built, you have shut the door as far as appeals under this clause is concerned. Perhaps it will be explained, but at present I do not understand it at all. I do not suppose an injustice is intended, but if the point I put is a true point there must be the grossest injustice in the future—after the clock strikes on the 1st January, 1908. Whatever be the rights of parents they should be extended into these districts when and as the cases and conditions differ and change, and I can see no reason why that extended facilities appeal is to be barred because they happen to have reached one particular date.

One further point on that. The local education authority only take over these schools for a term of years, and

I think this applies also to cases that come under the orders of the Commission set up by the Bill. They could then drop an agreement, make a fresh arrangement and grant no facilities. But if it is past the 1st January, 1908, no one has a remedy or appeal under the Bill. These are questions, I submit with deference to His Majesty's Government, which ought to receive a clear, definite and absolute reply.

One more point as to the Commission. The Commission set up under the Bill is to act on the principles of the High Court, though no sooner have we said that than the Bill proposes, under Sub-sections (a) and (b) to abolish the principles of the High Court, but to abolish them only in one direction. It only abolishes them and says they are to be deviated from in directions suitable to the local authority. The whole of the deviations are in favour of the local authority and against those who may be appealing before the Commission. Why tamper with the principles of the High Court? If they are good enough for the High Court I should think they are good enough for the Commission under this Bill. But if they have to be deviated from there are many more which should come in so that the deviations may be all-round deviations and not unfair and one-sided deviations as they are to-day.

I crave your Lordships' indulgence for a few words words with regard to Part III., which includes the Council for Wales—a very astonishing proposal dealt with in the most astonishing way. I have never heard this proposal supported by anyone in charge of the Bill either in this House or in another place. The President of the Board of Education, in another place, slurred it over and left it aside. The noble Earl who introduced the Bill into your Lordships' House—you will remember the way he dealt with it. I do not think he gave us the impression that it was a part of the Bill near to his own heart. If he did so he had a peculiar way of showing the inner workings of his own heart. But what is this Council of Wales to do? Indeed, it is very difficult to know. One has to watch the Bill of the Government day by day to see what is going on with regard to this part of the Bill. What is perfectly clear is that this part of the Bill has been thrown on the Table of the House of Commons and is now set on the Table of your Lordships' House without any thought as to its details or any knowledge as to what it is intended to do. Let us see first what the original proposal was under this Bill, for though it is only one clause it has taken three entirely separate and different forms within a very few days, and to find out what has been going on you have to read three separate Bills. Let me read the original proposal as it appeared in the Government's Bill—

> "The following powers and duties, so far as they relate to Wales shall, subject to such exceptions as His Majesty may make by Order in Council, be transferred to the Council in Wales: (a) the powers and duties of the Board of Education; and (b) the powers and duties of the Board of Agriculture with respect to instruction connected with agriculture and forestry; and (c) the powers and duties of the Central Welsh Board for Intermediate Education. The Board of Education shall in each year pay to the Council of Wales any money which may be granted by Parliament in respect of education and science and art in Wales, with the exception of money granted in aid of universities and university colleges."

The Council is to have the whole of the powers of the Board of Education in that draft of the Bill—they are to receive £800,000 a year of Imperial funds for grants, to be handed over without any check, control, or Ministerial responsibility of any sort. That I do not comment upon, but that was the proposal in the Bill when it was first printed. In Committee, and as I am informed without any notice at all, the following Amendment was carried:—

> "The Order in Council shall provide for the appointment by His Majesty of a Member of Parliament, whether a Member holding office under the Crown or not"

—mark this, my Lords—

> "who shall be responsible to Parliament for any act of the Council of Wales done in the exercise of any of the powers of the Board of Education delegated to the Council under this section, and shall have full control over the Council in respect of the exercise of such powers."

What became of the Council then? You have first of all pleaded that it is a necessary thing to give to Wales its own Council and its own absolute control of £800,000 a year of Imperial money to be dealt with without check by any human being, and now, by a stroke of the pen, you abolish and get rid of the whole of that, because if you have a Minister responsible to Parliament for the act of that Council we know what that means: he is to be responsible for the doings of that Council all the way through from beginning to end. But what happens? Before the ink of that was dry something else takes place. It seems as if one was telling a sort of fairy tale, but I assure your Lordships I am speaking solemn facts dug out of the proceedings of Parliament. On that Amendment of the clause this extraordinary Minister—by-the-by I ought to have said he was not to have provided for him any office, or any salary, or any control over the Council he was to represent, and for which he was absolutely responsible to Parliament—it is an absolute fact, my Lords; I am perfectly serious. He was to assume a control which the Government told us then was to be a real control. I do not know what happened in the inner workings of the heart of his Majesty's Government, but I remember very well a Member rising in another place and complaining that this would never do—if this gentleman received no salary how were they to move to reduce it? Where was his responsibility to Parliament and how were they to touch him? Perhaps those arguments prevailed and accounted for that very curious Minister's disappearance two days afterwards. Now we come to number three. On Report the Minister disappeared and in place this Amendment was carried without one word of discussion, without one syllable of explanation of any sort or kind—I think I am correct in that—

> "Any money which may be placed at the disposal of the Council of Wales by Parliament for the purpose of education in Wales on Estimates submitted to Parliament for the purpose by the Treasury shall be administered by that Council subject to the control of the Treasury."

My Lords, how is the Treasury to control the expenditure of the money by a council extended over all Wales for educational purposes? There is no means of doing so. They have no inspectors and there is no office for the purpose of taking up these things. They would have to accept everything the Council in Wales told them, and what becomes under this Amendment of your promised control? What becomes of the responsibility of a Minister or Department for the control of this Council? Can any one tell which of these proposals is going to hold good to-morrow—any of them or none of them? If the noble Lords would take my advice they would purge their Bill of this muddled arrangement altogether. No one knows what they mean. It is clear the Government have no definite idea themselves or they could not have changed their minds three times in a week. If they do not know their own minds surely they had better take time to consider and see if they cannot come to some better form of Home Rule for Wales by degrees. These are the positions. Position 1: A Council with all the powers of an Educational Department and with £800,000 of Imperial funds without control. Position 2: Complete control and responsibility by a Minister to Parliament for every farthing spent and every act done. Position 3: The Minister disappears and the Treasury, which is perfectly useless for the purpose of control of any sort or kind, steps in. And this, my Lords, is said to be the scheme upon which Wales is unanimous. Which scheme? In Heaven's name, which scheme is it? Are they in favour of the scheme that is going to give absolute control of £800,000 in Wales? I can conceive of that being an attractive scheme, though not from the point of view of the Chancellor of the Exchequer or the ratepayers of this country. Or are they in favour of making it what it would be under the control of a Department and a Minister—nothing but an advisory board? Is it that about which there has been such a blowing of trumpets in Wales? Or are we going to drop that and start with Treasury control and are we to be shown that the Treasury control is a real, definite, and effective control? I think we have a right to ask His Majesty's Government under which of these three interesting schemes they propose to continue discussions on this subject, because it leads to a little awkwardness when we have three at once and when there is no knowing whether we may not have three or four more in the course of the next week. I think my noble friend Lord Crewe rather intimated that he thought there was unanimity in Wales. I will read his words—

> "In Wales there was general agreement as to the creation of some central council of education. It was agreed that if Wales wanted a council, the admirable manner in which the Welsh Intermediate Education Act had been carried out by the Joint Committee and the Central Board made it almost imperative that the wishes of Wales must be met. Wales desired that certain powers now vested in the Board of Education should be transferred to the Treasury. This was the first time in his experience that he had found any body of persons nestling up to the Treasury."

I deny entirely that Wales is nestling up to the Treasury. Wales had never heard of the suggestion of the Treasury. Others have been nestling, but do not put it down to Wales that they were nestling up to the Treasury when we never heard, until the thing appeared in print on Report, that there was any suggestion of the Treasury having anything to do with the matter at all. I can assure the noble Lord that the information furnished him as to the unanimity of Wales in reference to this Council is utterly incorrect. I do not know where he gets his information, but there are one or two reasons why I think that information is not to be relied on. A great deal has been said about the Cardiff Conference. That Conference took place in March last. Many people were invited and there was a large attendance, and it is said that there was unanimity at that Conference. I wish to tell your Lordships exactly what took place. There was one resolution carried unanimously and one alone. I will read it to your Lordships—

> "That this Conference is of opinion that it is expedient to create a Council of Wales, representing Welsh education authorities, which shall have powers to supply or to aid the supply of education of all kinds in Wales and Monmouthshire."

That was the only resolution carried with unanimity at that meeting, and there was no word in that resolution as to the transfer of powers of any Government Department. There was another resolution. It was also carried, but many did not vote upon it and some voted against it, and certainly no one can allege, I do not think it is alleged, that it was carried unanimously. It was—

> "That this Conference is of opinion that to such council shall be delegated certain of the powers of the Board of Education in regard to public education in Wales and Monmouthshire, and other powers relating to education now exercised by the Home Office and the Board of Agriculture, together with the powers of the Central Welsh Board as to intermediate education, and to which may be granted such incidental powers as may be necessary for the discharge of its functions."

This, I believe, was carried, but, as I said, not by any means with unanimity. A good many opposed it, a certain number did not vote, and I can vouch that the representatives of one county council present were absolutely opposed to it and were sent by their county council in order that they should oppose it. I have sat on that county council myself and speak with knowledge.

And now, as to this unanimity, may I note how far it is really stated to have gone. Of course I know that that unanimity has been put before the Government—put strongly by some of their own followers. The President of the Board of Trade, speaking at Cardiff at the time of this meeting, used these words, and if they mean unanimity I can only say that my ideas of unanimity and his do not agree. He said—

> "So long as they talked on general principles, talked in the air, it was wonderful how they agreed."

We have often seen that, my Lords—

> "It was when they came to reduce their dreams to some practical plan that criticism came from every point of view."

And after that we are told that at this meeting there was unanimity as to the carrying out of such a scheme as is laid before your Lordships' House to-day. One other quotation I think I must make to show what was said with regard to unanimity. The President of the Board of Trade on the Second Reading of the Education Bill, after stating that the Bishops came to the Cardiff Conference, said—

> "Every Conservative candidate for a Welsh seat was summoned, and most of them attended."

There were two of them present, my Lords—I can give names if necessary—and I am afraid there were more Unionist candidates than that who lost seats at the last General Election. And yet the same right hon. Gentleman said that at this Conference, so representative, a resolution was passed unanimously in

Earl Cawdor.

favour of asking the Government to set up this Central Council for the control and direction of education in Wales. I ask if that can fairly and properly be described as unanimity? There are other powers which perchance may have escaped some of your Lordships' attention. For the ordinary purpose of a consolidation of local authorities there is power under the Act of 1902, and nothing but unanimity was necessary to bring it into force. There has been an effort to bring about an arrangement under the Act of 1902. I do not know what has happened to it within the last few months. I know what happened at the close of last year. Then there had been a failure by the authorities applying to show there was unanimity among the County Councils of Wales which would entitle the Education Department to allow such a scheme to be carried through. Where is their unanimity now? If they could not get unanimity to carry out that clause of the Act of 1902, are they now going to come to Parliament to get powers to make those join who would not join willingly? I want to say something as to what was in the mind of the noble Earl who moved the Second Reading of the Bill. I thought from what fell from him that he was under the impression that there was some precedent for this proposal in the Welsh Central Board. May I explain in a few words what the Welsh Central Board is, what it does, what its powers are, and how vitally they differ from the proposals we are discussing here? The Welsh Central Board is a consultative body; it is largely composed of experts, not merely appointed by county councils, because some are appointed by colleges and some, I believe, by the Education Department. They exercise none of the powers of the Central Board and none of the powers of a public department. They did have the power of inspection delegated to them by the Board of Education, but the Board of Education still kept their hands on the pulse of every school and college, and I am informed that, as a matter of fact, out of ninety-five schools which come under the purview of the Central Board, no less than eighty-nine have been inspected by the Board of Education themselves. The Treasury fix the conditions of the grants, and the Central Board have nothing to say to them but to accept them. They make their references to the Treasury, but the Treasury is the authority which fixes the conditions of the grants. There is no resemblance between the suggestions, the one in practice and the other made to-day. The grant made to the Welsh Central Board amounts to £25,000, and there are ninety-five schools with 10,000 children in them, but the Board has no real authority as a department over them at all. The proposed Council, under the original proposal, would have been absolutely free from all Departmental control of any sort or kind. They would have 8,000 schools and 400,000 children under their control, and £800,000 a year from Imperial Funds, which they could allocate and deal with exactly as they liked. Therefore it is idle to contend that there is the slightest precedent in what the Welsh Central Board is doing. There is not a shred of foothold in the Welsh Central Board to lead up to this extremely curious suggestion of a Welsh National Council. The Welsh Central Board has done its work extremely well and has carried out its functions admirably, but I repudiate the suggestion that it affords anything in the nature of a precedent. We cannot forget that this Council if it came into operation would be a simple and representative body of the local authorities, the whole of them elected by the county councils. They would be their constituents, and their interests would be the rate. How are they going to check the grant to any incompetent schools and the expenditure of Imperial funds? The whole of their interests are in the other direction, because every penny they cut off the grant they will have to put on to the rates. Therefore, so far as its Imperial aspect as to finance was concerned, the thing is as rotten as in every other respect. This agitation for a National Council for Wales is not merely an educational matter. It goes far wider in its intentions than that. I will not give your Lordships my idea, I will give you the idea of a Member of the Cabinet. Speaking of this Council at Carnarvon in January this year the President of the Board of Trade used these words:—

> "Once the Board is set up, delegation will follow, but I am in hope that the powers to be delegated will not stop with the Board of Education. There are powers under the Local Government Board which I hope to see delegated, and also powers under the Board of Trade and the Home Office."

He had not left out much except the Army, the Navy, and the Foreign Office. This shows pretty clearly what the ideas of the President of the Board of Trade were when he tried to get the first step taken in this most unwise suggestion of a Council for Wales. He said:—

> 'I am looking forward to the time when a Bill is introduced providing the same powers given to local authorities shall be delegated to the Council for Wales. I should like to see certain control every time given to such a Welsh authority, and I have great hope that we shall see all this realised in the course of the next four or five years."

I hope that whatever else your Lordships may have to do with regard to the Bill you will not give way to any authority which comes to you and lays before the country that programme and asks you to go one step in the direction of Home Rule for Wales.

*Lord RIBBLESDALE said that, not being a member of the Government, but only an ordinary Member of their Lordships' House, he should not embark on the drafting and interpretations of the clauses and considerations which had occupied so much of the eloquent time of the noble Earl. Speaking generally, wherever in the Bill they had "may" he would like to put "shall," and wherever they had "shall" he would like to put "may." For the same reason he intended to leave Part III. severely alone. Plucky little Wales could, he felt certain, take excellent care of itself. From what the noble Lord told them the Minister for Wales would be a very poor place, and he certainly should not apply for it. After listening carefully to the noble Earl, he saw no reason for reconsidering the carefully prepared words which he had proposed to intervene in the debate. He would say what he meant to say at first; namely, that he was glad of the opportunity of doing his best to prosper the progress and passage of the Bill. He did not pretend that it was an ideal Bill or that it was based upon counsels of perfection, but he believed it would commend itself not to the political, Parliamentary, and platform sense, but to the political sense in the way in which the Archbishop used the word "political" the previous night; the political sense and the utilitarian instincts of a large majority of the people of the country. To put it broadly, they relied upon common-sense and that unromantic, common-sense, practical aptitude which resided in our fellow countrymen and women to work out the Bill. The noble Earl talked a great deal about the political exigencies in which the Government found itself at the time it had to draft the Bill. He quite admitted that the Government was in a strait. He might with truth say to Mr. Birrell and his colleagues: *Delicta majorum immeritus lues*; they had to pay for the criminal mistakes of their predecessors. The noble Lords opposite would do well to remember, though perhaps they would very much prefer to forget, that it was when they passed the Bill of 1902 that they made the Bill of 1906 inevitable. He might perhaps here avow something more than a platonic affection for Lord Malmesbury's proposals. He thought they must all admit that he did very well in a rather uncomfortable position. In one of the scraps of talk which he had had with the Archbishop of Canterbury and which he valued extremely, he told him that he had a sneaking liking for Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, and the Archbishop said they were ideal in theory but quite unworkable in practice. On that he would say a word or two presently. Nobody would be surprised to hear that he was now coming to the religious difficulty. Mr. Gibbon, who would have greatly relished this debate, laid it down somewhere or other that all religions were equally true to the people, false to the philosopher, and useful to the magistrate. He believed Mr. Birrell and Lord Crewe would substitute for the word "useful" "perplexing and unintelligible." The Bishop of St. Asaph once described the religious difficulty as "gaunt and emaciating." It had lost none of its old characteristics, and it was becoming exceedingly irritating. They could not do with it in the West

Riding. It had tired them all out irrespective of creeds and camps. He must avow a certain amount of churchness or denominationalism. He attended the other night the great Churchmen's meeting in the Albert Hall. He listened to eloquent speeches from the Bishop of London and Dr. Wace, but it was not the speeches which took such hold of him as the opening prayer and the familiar hymns, the wave of a "sursum corda" tendency and emotion, and which at such times convinced him that we could not live by bread alone. To come to more practical and less sentimental considerations in this grave matter of national education, he was gradually being driven to the conclusion that churchness and denominationalism, whether of the Established Church or of Nonconformity, was a mistake, and that Mr. Chamberlain and the Bishop of Birmingham might be right, when, by very different roads, they arrived at the same result; and when they told them that the only way of putting an end to all this was by having no State-assisted or State-taught religious education, but by special facilities—which he (the noble Lord) understood to be bricks, mortar, better drainage, times, and teachers—being granted to religion and irreligion alike, everybody having the right to freely teach their own dogmas. That was, he believed, the view they held as to the only way of freeing education from this parasite—the religious difficulty. He felt that anyone intervening in the debate at this period was gleaning after the gleaners. But as he had always found that other people's ideas were embarrassing to his own originality, he must try and make the best of it. He would spare their Lordships any comments on the backbone of the Bill, Clause 1. He would not go into its obedience to the great principle of public control and the abolition of tests, and its acquiescence in that new and terrible portent, the mandate. Nor would he go into the practical difficulties of Lord Malmesbury's plan, which parties on both sides told him were insuperable, although he was confident that those difficulties would have to be faced in certain eventualities. He believed most people would agree with *The Times* newspaper that the speeches of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of the Duke of Norfolk held the field as regarded the debate so far as it had gone. They were very cogent and very remarkable. He would take that of the Duke of Norfolk first; and he believed that secularism would have to be faced if full effect was given to the able and constitutional speech which they heard the previous night from the noble Duke. The speech was penetrated and informed by a high constitutional spirit and argument, and he delighted in listening to it. He listened to it with the greatest possible envy. The noble Duke declared in that English of which he was a master what he and his friends meant to do with the Bill in Committee. He had no doubt that the noble Duke would stand by what he said, and he had no doubt that he would get a considerable amount of support from what he might call the independent *franctireurs* opposite. What would be the alternative if the Bill was wrecked in Committee and lost? He believed it would be secularism and the secularisation of education. He would now turn to the cogent, eloquent and remarkable speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury. A great portion of his argument was rested on what seemed to him a very shaky proposition. It was that Parliamentary encouragement at one time and in one set of circumstances carried with it Parliamentary encouragement for all time and in a totally different set of circumstances. Holding this view the right rev. Primate appeared to have advised his friends to make very considerable gifts to the Church, and he also appeared to have given them a sort of personal guarantee that Parliamentary action and encouragement which was taken and given in 1870 was an indefeasible security for any action which might be taken in 1902 and 1906. His friends appeared to him to have been ingenuous enough to have taken him at his word; and he (the noble Lord) only hoped the right rev. Primate did not implement the guarantee in any way. Instances abounded to show how impossible it was. There was the example of the Encumbered Estates Act established to encourage by Parliamentary assistance ownership of land in Ireland; since then Parliament had devoted itself to discouraging such ownership;

and there was the parallel of the Guards. They were told only a fortnight ago that Parliament was going to reduce the battalions of the Coldstream and Scots Guards, whereas it had only recently raised those battalions and the Irish Guards. These cases showed that the proposition on which the Archbishop rested the first part of his speech was not only remarkable but exceedingly shaky. He was also very grateful to the Archbishop for bringing them face to face with a real live Rousseau-cum-Voltaire teacher in the national school. He told them of a Gentleman who administered, he believed skilfully, a most generous religious syllabus when professionally occupied, and who in his leisure moments devoted himself to writing articles and leaderettes discrediting the Resurrection and subjects of a kindred kind. He confessed he had often heard of this type of teacher, but he never knew he could actually be brought before them as he was brought before them the previous night. He also told them about the anti-religious ways which seemed to be most regrettably of the local authority at Huddersfield. He did not say that the Primate drew conclusions from those exceptional cases. So far from that he had guarded himself very carefully from any *ex uno disce omnes* argument, but he said with perfect truth that these cases had happened and that they could happen again under the Bill; and they all knew the spell of such suggestion which could be exercised by a wielder of words of the calibre and authority of the Primate, especially when that suggestion was addressed to noble Lords who were hearing exactly what they wanted to hear. He agreed there was one very strong point which the Archbishop made and on which he should like to say a word. It was where he argued that the Bill gave full control to local authorities, but limited powers wherever it was concerned with religion. He admitted that with regard to religion, which was the Archbishop's point; but let them compare it with the Act of 1902. That Act reserved in stringent and explicit terms—they all remembered the adamantine front the noble Duke presented to every arugment they used on that side when in Committee—the important function of choosing teachers to denominational managers, and, seeing that this restriction of popular control and its inevitable partnership with strict tests for teaching posts and appointments had caused a lot of unpleasantness up and down the country, it was quite clear that the present Government had no alternative in their Bill, but were bound as far as possible to give full control to that authority. He did not pretend that the Bill would "tune discords to angelic harmonies." There was a great deal of what Mr. Kinglake, when speaking of the then Czar of Russia, who, he had no doubt, was a strict denominationalist, called "ferocious Christianity" about. It always had come gallantly and noisily to the front on these occasions, and he believed it always would. He did not think it was altogether a bad thing. Friction was the concomitant of motion and activity. What was more, he did not know what divines, different in kind but not perhaps in degree, like Dr. Clifford and the Bishop of Manchester, would do if a permanent atmosphere of "peace, perfect peace" were to brood over this stimulating, controversial and intellectual area. He thought they enjoyed rather than disliked it. The House were not going to a division, but if they had been he would have given his vote cordially in favour of the Bill, and he should do all in his power to see the Bill through the House in as near the form as it had come into the House as possible.

LORD ROBERTSON said he proposed to violate what appeared to be the conventions of this debate and make a brief speech. He should address himself to two subjects, which he thought were not irrelevant to a Second Reading debate. He should consider concurrently what was the occasion for the Bill and what were the gist and substance of it. When His Majesty's Government faced the question, they were confronted with one palpable fact, and that was the existence of a vast number of voluntary schools, recognised by the public Education Department as being efficient and doing good work in the country. They were unquestionably private property, governed only by the conditions annexed to the receipt of public money. What were the suggested reasons for the interference of those schools, embodied in the Bill? He took the House to witness that it had never once been suggested in all the various speeches that the schools were to be confiscated upon the ground that they were not rendering adequate and efficient service to the community. The contrary was palpable, and fortunately they did not require to go back upon vague generalities about which one man might contradict another. All those schools were under the inspection of the Privy Council and anyone who knew anything about the community in which he lived knew perfectly well that, excellent as the board schools were, they were not the same in ethos or characteristics as the Church schools. The Government were face to face with this large fabric of schools, and if there was no allegation against them in point of efficiency, why was the transference made? He was not going into any minute details, although he must own that he had been surprised, he would not say at the levity, but at the facility, with which noble Lords on the other side of the House had glided from the arguments and had never come to close quarters with them. The whole object of the Bill was to extinguish Church of England teaching in the schools of the country. No other reason had been suggested for dealing with the question at all, and, when he turned to the clauses, he found one thing consistent, and that was that the one aim was to put down Church of England teaching. Clause 1, in a sense, *was* the Bill, because it said that there should be no independent schools, but that they should be public schools after a certain time, though there might be restrictions and modifications enabling religious education to be given. Clause 4 had comparatively little application to the Church of England. It was manifestly intended for the Roman Catholics, though possibly it was also intended for the Jews. He did not grudge it, and he thought it was merely a small portion of what they were entitled to. He mentioned Clause 4 to exclude it from the main question he was considering, viz., the exclusion of the Church of England. Clause 3, which was really intended for the Church of England, wanted to be clearly stated. It would be observed that the owners of voluntary schools had to enter into negotiations with the local authority. They were to come to an agreement with the local authority, but they knew already that the agreement was very much at the point of the bayonet. Then came the question as to whether there should be any stipulation about religious instruction. Here the Act did two things, and they were most important. The very best which could be done for the Church under the Bill was to give two mornings in the week. That was the *optimum maximum* of the Bill. Apparently they negotiated on equal terms, but really it was not so. Let them suppose that the local authority said that they would not give the facilities; they were entitled to do so. The Bill, curiously enough, in the circuitous methods which were adopted, expressed it as follows:—

> "Nothing in this section shall prevent the granting or requiring of facilities for special religious instruction."

The reader had got to keep in mind that it was equally true that nothing in the section would prevent the refusing of the facilities. He would therefore, and he was entitled to do so, take the case of a hostile local authority. That authority might perfectly well say they would not grant the facilities, and no one could force them, because, they would observe, that when they turned to Clause 3, which was the charter of the rights of the Church for ordinary facilities, it was only if the agreement had been come to that it came into operation at all. He was quite certain that in the country a great deal of play had been made of the appointment of impartial, highminded commissioners to deal with the Bill, but the country had not been told that these impartial, high-minded commissioners never came into play unless the local authority pleased, and therefore the Church of England, which was concerned with Section 3 of the Bill, was at the mercy of the local authority. If the local authority refused the facilities, there would be none. If that were the outcome of negotiations for an agreement, then they got Cowper-Templeism substituted for Church of England teaching in the schools. He should imitate the noble reserve which had been exercised by persons very much more entitled to speak upon the subject than himself, but he thought it right in his place in Parliament that he should say that Cowper-Templeism was something totally different from the teaching of the Church of England. The Church of England was a religion with definite dogmas and beliefs; it taught children through the Catechism, a religion which was personal and supernatural. It began by asking the child its name. It went on to ask how it got that name and then it dwelt upon the fact that, when it got that name the child was made a member of the mystic Body of our Lord, and it deduced its responsibilities from that supreme fact. Therefore, to tell him a teacher had a perfect right under Cowper-Templeism to read passages from the Bible to the child, but that he could not tell him that our Lord was Divine seemed to him the most idle of all teaching of religion. He resented the arrogating to themselves by the Dissenters or their political friends the words "Bible-teaching." The mere reading of the Bible was one thing, but they had no right on that account to claim to teach simple Bible truth. What was done was simply to read passages from the Bible as they might from Marcus Aurelius, or from many of the admirable writers of philosophy. It would leave the child entirely ignorant of everything essential which was taught in the Church Catechism. He had spoken of the Church Catechism for this reason. One of the things which the Government had unconsciously done under the Bill was to bring together Churchmen who were a little alienated before, upon the common ground of the Church Catechism. He had dwelt upon this clause because the result of their legislative enactments was to wipe out Church of England teaching and set up Cowper-Templeism. He was understating the case, because there was no obligation upon the local authority to teach even Cowper-Templeism. On the contrary, they had got the option of teaching no religion at all. The Bishop of London had mentioned that Cowper-Templeism had declined in quality during past years, but he would venture to point out that now, by the choice of the noble Lords opposite and their friends, questions had been raised and consequently increased attention would be drawn to the lower option of no religion at all. He could quite understand that with local authorities a compromise might be come to. Some might propose no religion at all and others might propose Cowper-Templeism, and on that there might be a compromise arrived at—not formally upon expressed Resolutions, but by way of producing harmony—that Cowper-Templeism should be as remote from dogmatic religion as it possibly could be. He had one further word to say upon the subject, which he hoped he had treated without indelicacy and without presumption. He objected altogether to people supposing that they left unimpaired the churches while they were capturing their schools. In pronouncing what religion their children were to receive in the schools the inevitable result would be to diminish the authority of what was afterwards taught in the church. If the children were brought up in this diluted and unauthoratative religion they would not readily submit themselves to the yoke of dogma and authority. If children up to fourteen years of age thought that they had got options from existing religions, was it likely they would be so amenable to the authority of the Church when the time came for their confirmation? He hoped he had made good his promise to prove that the facilities professed to be offered to the Church of England under Clause 3 were illusory because they were entirely optional.

THE EARL OF CREWE: Facilities are only so far optional that the school may not be taken at all.

*LORD ROBERTSON: I can assure the noble Lord I am not ignorant of that.

THE EARL OF CREWE: But the noble Lord did not say so; if he will pardon me, he said something entirely different.

*LORD ROBERTSON said he was not able to say all the various points which completed his argument at once. He was going to say that in all this talk about Commissioners and what not there had been an attempt to throw dust in the eyes of the public and to persuade them that all was well because there were Commissioners appointed in the Bill. Let them see what they could do. He had dealt hitherto with the case of an agreement not being come to; but, when they came to an agreement, what took place? Could the owners of the Church schools apply to the Commissioners? They could not. The initiative was solely with the local authority. There was no access to the Commissioners except through the local authority. Perhaps he was anticipating the question of the Bishop of London to the Lord Chancellor, which the Lord Chancellor was best qualified to answer, but let them suppose that the proprietors of a school were suddenly deprived of the Government grant and less suddenly of the rates and found themselves unable to carry on the school. Then the local authority would go to the Commissioners and say the Church people could not carry on the school and accordingly ask that it should be handed over to them. That was the course of affairs. If the noble Lord meant to draw the attention of the House to the fact that the Church could raise the money by her own unaided efforts, then it was quite true they could go on and nobody, as he understood, could prevent it, but there would be no Government grant.

THE EARL OF CREWE: That is correct.

***LORD ROBERTSON** said he believed it was accurate, and he did not think it was reasonable to expect him, of all people, to try to evade a difficult question. He now turned to the question of the extended facilities. He found in Section 5 exactly what he found in the previous section, and that was a manifest intention to keep the Church out of the facilities. Apart from the limitation of area and of population they had all sorts of fences to take; they had to go through the ballot or inquiry, or this and that, and then finally the thing could be gone back upon as soon as the figures adjusted themselves, or were adjusted, so as to enable the local authority to withdraw this power. He had treated this of such importance because he wished to concentrate attention upon the position of the Church of England in the matter. He noticed, as a very curious result, that the Government had been afraid to put in a direct appeal from the local authority with the effect that the superior power could order the thing to be done. What happened when the appeal was found to be just? The school remained a State-aided school; and accordingly the whole scheme was upset in favour of the Roman Catholic schools. They were, when they could satisfy the Commissioners, to revert to the position before 1902, and they would therefore have a set of Roman Catholic schools on the old system before 1902 while everybody else was elsewhere. He asked the House to permit him to call its attention to the very grave question that this was private property, private in the best sense of the term, because it was charitable property. The noble Lords opposite had—he did not say unfairly—very fully developed the point that the State had met the givers of those gifts in a handsome way. Sometimes, however, as the most rev. Prelate had pointed out, the contributions from the State had been so small that they were nothing more than an imprimatur of the effort made by voluntary contributions. This was the taking over of those large properties in order to divert them to purposes substantially different, to Cowper-Templeism from the Church of England. What was the reason of it? Was it that the principle was wrong; was it that it was impossible for this country at this time of day to sanction the giving of public money where doctrinal or dogmatic religion was being taught? If it was not that, what was it? He would tell them what it was in a moment, but he would ask them to solve the problem for themselves by an easy test. He was quite certain they had received eager and unswerving support from the Liberal Members for Scotland, and, if they asked them or their own Education Department, they would learn that dogmatic teaching of a most absolute kind was common in the board schools.

They taught the Shorter Catechism, in which Predestination and all the mysteries of that scheme of religion were found, to children, and yet he had never heard that it had shocked the consciences of noble Lords opposite. He knew, having been a dissenter from this doctrine himself, that he had paid rates and taxes for the support of that form of religion, but he had never yet been in prison. If the desire of the conscience, or whatever was the proper name for it, to have satisfaction was acute upon this question, surely they were entitled to ask whether a Bill would be brought in for Scotland to prevent the teaching of dogmatism. He had promised to say what he thought was the real reason for the Bill, but he had reserved his opinion until he had heard the speeches of the three Cabinet Ministers, to which he had listened with the most profound attention. He acknowledged the graceful and literary diction of the President of the Council, but he was involved in the details of a very complicated measure, and he could not say he obtained a very clear insight into the necessity or scope or the gist of the measure. He must not, however, omit the Minister for Agriculture. He could not say with great respect to him that he gathered more information from him on the subject, but he certainly learned much of his own heroic virtues and intentions. He heard also the speech of the First Lord of the Admiralty, and again he must take leave to remark that he derived great satisfaction from the conclusive evidence the speech afforded that so little of his time was abstracted from the affairs of the Admiralty and devoted to these miscellaneous topics. He mentioned those speeches because they afforded a glimpse of the proceedings of the Cabinet Council. What coherent or intelligent policy was represented by these utterances? The great Liberal Party, with all its mandates, had felt itself unable to cope with the disestablishment of the Church of England, but, deprived of that eager spoil, it had thought that that deficiency in their programme might be made up by setting up Nonconformity in the schools. That and nothing else was the explanation of this measure. It was idle to say that the Cowper-Temple clause, which was merely negative and prohibitive of definite creed, represented in terms Nonconformity, but, when they found that those who were unanimously agreed and eager in support of the measure were the Nonconformists, and that all the dogmatic religions were against them, he thought it was legitimate to say that they were the people who were welcoming, if not inspiring, it. If that was so, he thought the Party on his side of the House had good reason to congratulate themselves on the position in which they stood. One of the pristine traditions of the Conservative Party had been its attachment and support to the Church of England, and that not merely in the old days when there was privilege and the prejudice which attached to privilege, but in the modern days when the Church of England had struck deep root into the democracy of the country, and when the future of the Church of England was bound up, not with the privileged classes, but with the whole population. The Liberal Party had done this for them: they had united the Church which formerly upon some subjects had been a little divided; and they had put into their hands a momentous weapon of political warfare. The people of the country had a warm feeling towards the Church of England and towards fair play, and when they saw that the Opposition were identifying themselves, in the defence of the Church, with the cause of fair play, he did not doubt, in the utter barrenness of argument in support of the Bill, that it would be ultimately defeated.

*LORD REAY said he admitted that the point of view from which he looked at the Bill was very different from that of the noble and learned Lord who had just spoken. In his impressive speech yesterday the most rev. Prelate seemed to him to acknowledge the merits of the Act of 1870 and to regret it was no longer the educational code. To a great extent he shared that regret, but the Act of 1902 had undoubtedly made a return to the Act of 1870 impossible. He always considered that the principles of the Act of 1870 were based upon a solid foundation. He thought they might assume that the exclusion of religion from the school was not desired by any large section of the community, and that experiments in secularism would be very likely to break down as they had broken down in Birmingham and elsewhere. There was a difference of opinion as to the method of the recognition of religion. He was pleased to hear the admissions of a noble Lord opposite—Lord Ampthill—that a Bill had to be introduced establishing public control and also a national system of education. That was the origin of the Bill. There should be in every parish in the country a school to which parents could send their children without fear of their hearing anything which was opposed to their own principles; but the great majority of parents wished to have the Scriptures taught to their children in accordance with Christian principles, in accordance with the Apostles' Creed. That was what the Cowper-Temple clause allowed. It did not introduce a new religion. It accepted Christianity in the form which was common to all the Churches, which divided them least. It excluded formularies, it did not exclude dogma. It could be given by teachers to whatever denomination they belonged. It was the foundation on which the Churches could build their own specific doctrinal views. It was neither Nonconformist nor Church of England. Presbyterians had a distinct creed and distinct formularies—and the noble and learned Lord would not deny that they were dogmatic—but they did not insist that they should be taught, not because they were indifferent, but because they recognised the impossibility of insisting on denominational teaching south of the Tweed in public elementary schools. That applied to other Nonconformist bodies. No distinctive Nonconformist principles were taught, and the children of parents who were attached to the Church of England would not hear anything opposed to the creed of the Church; and experience showed that a great number of parents belonging to the Church of England were satisfied with the religious instruction given in provided schools by the teachers. He had no hesitation in stating that the religious instruction given in the London Council schools had been in the highest degree beneficial to thousands of children and that hardly any difficulty had been experienced in carrying out the syllabus of instruction. He had been informed by those who were concerned in the management of board and of voluntary schools that there was hardly any difference between the method of Bible instruction, and that the only difference was that in the voluntary schools the Catechism was taught. If facilities were given in the transferred schools for the Catechism — and he did not anticipate the difficulties on which the noble and learned Lord laid so much stress — the difference would not be perceptible. The transfer of Church schools to the local education authority was inevitable as soon as the voluntary element almost entirely disappeared. It was foreseen. They must never forget to render to the Church of England their gratitude for its erection and maintenance of schools in former days, but the Act of 1902 was an admission that the State alone could grapple with the educational needs of the country. The answer to the noble and learned Lord's question why this Bill was inevitable was a very simple one, viz., that the Act of 1902 transferred the voluntary schools to the rates. The Church of England claimed to be the national Church. As such it was comprehensive, and various schools of theology were represented in it. Much hostility had been displayed to this Bill, but he had seen no assertion that the Church was prepared to undertake what had been transferred to the State. It would be well if so great and so influential a body as the Church of England accepted, as a national Church, a national solution of the educational problem and co-operated with the State in preserving the Christian character of the schools. Many eminent men in the Church, and the Bishop of Ripon, in his eloquent speech yesterday, had clearly pointed out the danger of an irreconcilable attitude. The argument that no religious education was of value which was not conducted on denominational lines and not directed to the aim of attaching the children to a particular denomination struck him as a negation of the transcendent efficacy and power of Christianity. Christian teaching could be given to the children of Christian parents by Christian teachers. That teaching was given in 9,000 schools to 3,000,000 scholars, and no serious difficulty had arisen. It was not intended to detach the children from the denomination to which they belonged, and he had not heard that it had had that effect. No one had ever contended that it was injurious, only that it was insufficient. In as far as it was insufficient in transferred schools, there would be the two hours a week, the whole of Saturday and the Sunday school to fill the gaps. Apart from the special facilities schools, if the direct influence of the Church of England was not to be the same in the future as in the past its indirect influence was not threatened. In the training of teachers, in the drawing up of the syllabus, in watching the effect given to the syllabus, in controlling the facilities for denominational instruction it would have a field of operations in which it could co-operate with all those who desired to uphold the Christian character of the schools. There need not be any antagonism between the Church of England and Nonconformists. On the essential truths of Christianity there was no difference of opinion. The Cowper-Temple clause did not offer any impediment to instruction in those truths. It was an injustice to the children not to teach them the truths on which all Christians were agreed because at a certain point differences arose. These were not vague aspirations. His experience of the London School Board enabled him to state with confidence that Christian teaching could be given in public elementary schools which was approved by parents who were members of the Church of England as well as by those who were Nonconformists, although no tests were applied to the teachers. As regarded their knowledge of the Scriptures, the children of the London County Council schools were not inferior to those of any other schools. He did not believe that anyone acquainted with the facts would desire to alter the system, and he was convinced that the adoption of what was called the right of entry would not give such good results and that it would injure the religious teaching and the discipline of the schools. The London syllabus had been generally approved and deserved the praise which had been bestowed on it. It was undoubtedly desirable that the teachers should be well qualified to give the religious instruction. The University of London had provided at their Training College for instruction in Scripture teaching, and the Senate of the University of London was undoubtedly a body representative of very diverse opinions. Religious instruction was the salt of our educational system. It was given by the teacher in accordance with his convictions, and tests, if they were applied, would not give any security for the reality of the instruction. They had to rely on the teacher and to trust him. He could not conceive a teacher undertaking to teach truths in which he did not believe. That was a sufficient safeguard. No tests were imposed on the teachers at public schools, and Mr. Page, at a recent meeting, over which Lord Jersey presided, had said that nine-tenths of the religious teaching in those schools was simple and unsectarian. There was no provision in the Bill to ascertain whether a teacher who was willing to give religious instruction was fit to give it. The local authority would be able to ascertain it. He would remind the House of the interpretation given by Mr. Gladstone to the Cowper-Temple clause on June 30th, 1870. Mr. Gladstone said the object was—

> "To provide for the reading of the Scriptures and to exclude the use of Catechisms and distinctive formularies, but not beyond that to impose limitations upon the freedom of teaching. If we are to have teachers who are really to teach religion, that religion must spring out of their own hearts and consciences, and it will not submit to be confined by definitions so artificial and unreal as these" [proposed in an Amendment]. "He must, when he finds occasion, refer to the motive of fear, to the motive of hope, and above all, to the motive of love. . . . It does not impose upon religious teaching that kind of restriction which would reduce it to a formality."

The local authority was not forced to give religious teaching, and Mr. Forster stated, on June 30th, 1870, that—

> "The forcing of religious teaching on the local boards would have given strength and power to the small minority who now disapproved it, and an opposition to religious teaching would have been created in quarters where no such feeling at present existed."

In giving the local authority a limited discretion with regard to the adoption of religious instruction and unlimited discretion with regard to its exclusion, the

Bill simply continued the powers conferred in 1870—and it should be noticed—not interfered with by the Act of 1902. Leading Nonconformists in a recent declaration had declared in favour of instruction in Bible truth as an essential factor in the education of the young and that such instruction should not be inconsistent with the Apostles' Creed which represented the general consent of Christendom on the fundamental facts of the Christian religion. The Bishop of Ripon yesterday considered that declaration satisfactory, and he (the noble Lord) had no doubt that the large body of opinion in the Church of England represented by the right rev. Prelate could co-operate with the Nonconformists who held those views. In education continuity was desirable. Constant changes of system were undesirable. Those who were engaged in the schools were entitled to consideration. The local authorities who would have to carry out the provisions of the Bill would have to take into account the wishes of the parents of the children in the various localities. They might trust them, he thought, and the guidance they would receive from the Board of Education. The Bill is a compromise which was imperative if public control of the schools is to be adopted with a minimum of friction. But if we are to advance along the line of least resistance, if the children are to be educated in the fear of God, if the schools are to be in the real sense National, this Bill contains a practical solution of a very delicate problem. He would conclude with Mr. Gladstone's view of the Cowper-Temple clause—

> "We think it is the best mode in which we can recognise the prevailing and very general desire and conviction of the people for including religion in the career of education, within rate-founded schools, and that it is the most equitable manner in which, while imposing a certain limitation upon the discretion of local boards, we can on the one hand bring together the conflicting opinions of various parties and, on the other, if not wholly get rid of what may be called denominational controversies, yet in a very great degree abate their acrimony and diminish their range, besides in a large number of cases, abrogating them altogether."

It was certainly the ardent wish of those interested in educational progress that there should be less denominational friction and acrimony and more unity of purpose.

Further debate adjourned till to-morrow.

CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES.

The Lord RIBBLESDALE appointed to take the Chair in Committees of the Whole House this day, in the absence of the Chairman of Committees.

FATAL ACCIDENTS AND SUDDEN DEATHS INQUIRY (SCOTLAND) BILL.

House in Committee (according to order); Bill reported without Amendment: Standing Committee negatived: Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX having been suspended): Bill read 3^a, and passed.

MUSICAL COPYRIGHT BILL.

House in Committee according to order.

Lord RIBBLESDALE in the Chair.

EARL BEAUCHAMP said he was very anxious to meet the convenience of their Lordships, and, if it was in accordance with their wishes, he might move his Amendments together. They were drawn up in order to meet the wishes of certain opponents in another place. They did meet their wishes entirely, and the Bill, as amended by their Lordships, would have no opposition in the House of Commons.

Amendments made: Standing Committee negatived: Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended): Amendments reported: Bill read 3^a, with the Amendments and passed, and returned to the Commons.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) BILL.

Commons Amendments to Lords' Amendments, and Commons reason for disagreeing to certain of the Lords' Amendments considered (according to Order).

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: Perhaps it may be convenient that I should say a few words as to the position in which we find ourselves with regard to these Amendments. I would, in the first place, remind the House that this Bill passed through Committee with an amount of cordial support which Irish measures do not always receive. There was a general desire, not only that it should become law, but that it should become law as soon as possible and that the undoubted advantages which it confers upon the labourers of Ireland should be placed within their reach with as little delay as possible. Your Lordships inserted a considerable number of Amendments in the Bill, some of them Amendments of a very material importance, which I venture to think greatly improved the measure. There now remain three Amendments, with regard to which there is a difference of opinion. Perhaps I may call your Lordships' attention to those three Amendments. In the first place your Lordships struck out Section 4 of the Bill, under which the period of one month was substituted for a period of fourteen days, as that within which answers might be given to notices. The House of Commons has rejected that Amendment, has re-inserted Clause 4, and has substituted twenty-one days for the period of one month which your Lordships desire to have in the Bill. Then, my Lords, there are two other Amendments on page 7 and in Clause 11 of the Bill. Your Lordships in the first place struck out Sub-section (9), which enacted that in determining the amount of compensation payable to any person the arbitrator should not make any additional allowance in respect of the purchase being compulsory, and further on, in the same clause, your Lordships added to Sub-section (11) words which empowered the Court to decide whether the amount of costs which are limited by the Sub-section to £10, should not, in certain cases, be exceeded. With regard to those three Amendments I would venture to express an opinion. The first Amendment—that which substitutes twenty-one days for a month—is not really a very material matter, and your Lordships need not think it necessary to insist upon your Amendment. The other two Amendments are, to my mind, of a much more serious nature, not only on account of their intrinsic importance, but because the objection of the House of Commons raises the important question of privilege, a question which has often been debated in this House. As to the value of those two Amendments I would only say that I am advised on very high authority that the first—that which precludes the arbitrator from making any additional allowance in respect of the purchase being compulsory—really has very little effect and leaves the law very much where it is at present. The other Amendment—that which limits the cost in every case to £10—seems to me, I must say, to involve a very considerable hardship. I have been assured by many noble Lords with practical knowledge of the subject that there would be frequent cases where the payment of £10 would not be sufficient to cover the costs and where very great hardship might be placed upon the person who thus found himself compelled to accept the sum of £10 in satisfaction of a demand which might reasonably be fixed at a much higher point. The real importance of this Amendment lies in the fact that it raises the question of the privileges of the House of Commons. I think I correctly represent your Lordships' feeling when I say that this House has always wished to respect the privileges of the House of Commons in regard to financial legislation. But the precise limits within which we might or might not interfere with such legislation have, as far as I am aware, never been strictly defined and this House has been careful on more than one occasion to make it clear that we do not accept what I may call the extreme interpretation of the House of Commons claim. We have never admitted that we were precluded from legislating upon questions of principle merely because of the application of those principles involved indirectly or remotely a charge upon the rates. I need not point out to the House that if that doctrine were to be accepted in its extreme form, your Lordships would be absolutely precluded from dealing with a great part of the most important legislation which comes before you. It would have been really at many points a paralysis of the powers of this House. Each House, however, has been tenacious of its own view, and the matter is one about which no doubt a very acute controversy might conceivably arise. I should greatly regret that such a controversy should arise in reference to this Bill, which hitherto has been conducted in the most amicable and considerate manner. There is also this to be said, that if such a controversy were to be initiated it would involve postponement of the further consideration of the measure until much later in the year and thereby retard the moment when it can come into operation. In these circumstances it seemed to us that the case was one where, if possible, a reasonable settlement was desirable, and we have to propose to your Lordships what we believe to be such a settlement. It is as follows: In regard to the first Amendment, as I have already said, we do not propose to raise any objection. We do not insist upon our Amendment. In regard to the Amendment dealing with the question of cost we propose not to insist upon it, but we suggest a form of words which I understand from the noble Earl opposite will probably be acceptable. The words runs thus—

> "Provided, where the Court is satisfied in any particular case that, owing to the difficulty of showing title, the cost properly or necessarily incurred in respect to such payment amounted to a larger sum, the limit of £10 may be exceeded."

Those words have the same effect as the Amendment of Lord Donoughmore which your Lordships carried, and I suggest if those words are agreed to that your Lordships may accept them in lieu of the Amendment of Lord Donoughmore. I suggest that we do not insist on our other Amendment relating to the question of compensation in cases of compulsory purchase, but I am extremely anxious that your Lordships should not be held to do anything involving a surrender of your right to legislate upon such questions as these and it seems to me that the best mode of guarding this House against the use of this case as a precedent which might after be cited with the object of restricting the powers of your Lordships' House would be that we should agree to place upon our journal some such Resolution as that which I now propose to read to your Lordships. It might run thus—

> "That this House, although not insisting on its Amendments in page 7, to which the Commons have disagreed, maintains its right to legislate with regard to the principles of valuation upon which property may be taken for public purposes."

I think if that Resolution is agreed to by your Lordships and remains upon our journal it will render it impossible for anyone to contend that in regard to this particular episode we have accepted any other view of the rights of this House than that which I have endeavoured to express to your Lordships.

*LORD CLONBROCK said that he wanted, with the permission of the House and as the mover of the Resolution, to say a few words on the subject. When he moved his Resolution, by which Sub-section (9) was thrown out, which sub-section the House of Commons now proposed to re-insert, he had not the slightest idea that it could be construed into a breach of privilege. Nor, he was sure, had His Majesty's Government any such idea, otherwise the objection would have been raised at the time. He had raised the question on the Second Reading of the Bill, but neither he nor other noble Lords, when they took exception to the principle of the sub-section—that the arbitrator should be prohibited from taking compulsion into account—knew that there would be any difficulty in the sense of a question of privilege being raised, or that there would be any difficulty in moving an Amendment on the subject. If they had known this it was most probable they would have assumed a different attitude on the Second Reading. He spoke with the utmost diffidence on the question of privilege. An objection was made that the Amendment imposed an additional charge on the ratepayer. It did not necessarily do anything of the kind; all it did was to leave the arbitrator unfettered as to whether he would consider compensation or not. It might be argued that any Amendment of any measure dealing with the public service might in some contingency or other impose an additional charge upon the ratepayer or taxpayer, and if that principle were accepted the legislative power of their Lordships' House would be narrowed in a most dangerous manner. He was glad, therefore, that the noble Marquess did not accept the principle that privilege was involved in this matter. The question, however, would naturally arise in the mind of anyone who had followed what had occurred in their Lordships' House, that the decision in the matter either turned on the question of privilege or did not. They were assured that it did not turn on a matter of privilege. It was therefore a very remarkable thing and they in Ireland had the right to complain that the House, having expressed its sense of the injustice of the provision by throwing it out on Monday by a large majority, should consent to its re-instatement on Thursday. The matter was not in itself a large one, They objected to the provision, not so much on account of the sum involved as to it being in their minds a dangerous precedent. They still adhered to their objection, but after the decision of the noble Marquess they were naturally powerless to take any further action in the matter. They could only hope hat in any future measure this would not be accepted as a precedent and that any claim they made for fair treatment would receive more consideration than on this occasion.

THE EARL OF MAYO said the House had determined to reject Sub-clause (9) and they objected most strongly to putting in words that were a restriction on the arbitrator. It was a question for their Lordships to decide whether the Resolution the noble Marquess had suggested really kept the privileges of this House as they were. They felt in Ireland that their privileges had been encroached upon, because if the clause were put back into the Bill the arbitrator was restricted. Their Lordships' decision the other night was given by a majority of fifty-four, and if they were content to reverse it they, the noble Lords from Ireland, would have to bow to that decision. They must, however, remember that the question of compulsion was much more serious to them in Ireland than it was in England. Compulsion was a principle which might be applied to very large measures, but they must bow to the decision of their Lordships' House, and if their Lordships were of opinion that such a protest put on the journals of the House covered the privileges of the House, all he had to say was that he bowed to that decision. He could not utter another word on the subject. They had entered their protest.

THE EARL OF CREWE: I am exceedingly sorry the noble Marquess (Lord Ripon) is not able to be in his place. He would have spoken with an authority derived from his unique experience of this House which is infinitely greater than I can lay claim to. I fully endorse what was said by Lord Lansdowne as to the general consideration shown by noble Lords opposite in dealing with the different clauses, and I think they will admit we did not show an unconciliatory spirit. We were able to meet Lord Ashbourne and also the noble Earl who spoke last, on an Amendment of some substance, and I think therefore we showed that we were desirous as far as possible to meet noble Lords in this matter. As regards the different Amendments made by the Commons, I understand, so far as Clause 4 is concerned, that noble Lords opposite agree to the suggestion made by the House of Commons which was the same as that made by my noble friend in the course of the debate in Committee here. I understand the noble Marquess opposite proposes that the Amendment to leave out subsection 9 of Clause 11 should not be insisted upon. I think it right to remind your Lordships that the question of privilege was not raised in another place by the Government but by the Speaker, and that the Chief Secretary for Ireland when moving, as it was his duty to move, that that House should disagree with your Lordships' Amendment, explicitly stated that he did so in obedience to the ruling of the Speaker. I think I may be able in some degree to reassure the two noble Lords from Ireland with regard to the Amendment of Clause 4. They have in mind not so much what may happen under the operation of this particular clause as what might happen under some future circumstances in Ireland. They fix their mind, I think, upon the possibility of some general scheme of land purchase to which a similar principle might be applied. I express no opinion whatever as to the probability or possibility of such a scheme, but I do point out explicitly that I do not think that their alarm in this matter is well founded, because the case which has to be provided for here, namely the purchase of small plots of ground by local authorities, is completely different from cases which might arise if there were a general scheme for the purchase of land from landlords by the tenants or by any body existing, or not existing, similar to the Land Commission. If—and I again speak quite hypothetically—any such scheme were to be formed the whole subject of the conditions of purchase would, in my opinion, have to be considered on the then merits of the case. I now pass to the second Amendment in Clause 11, the words of which were read out by the noble Marquess. I merely have to say that those words meet with our entire approval, and we are very glad that the clause should go back to the other House in that shape. I think, however, I ought to point out that it is more than probable that on its arrival there the clause, in its new form, will be declared by the officers of the House to constitute a breach of privilege. It is always open, however, to the other House to waive what it considers to be a breach of privilege, and, I should hope, there is a very strong probability indeed that having regard to the fact that the clause is sent down in a different form, the House of Commons will agree to waive its privilege and that the clause in that form will form part of the Bill. As regards the general effect of what has occurred, I take it that the House of Commons will retain their opinion that both these clauses constitute a breach of their privileges, and I think it is evident from what fell from the noble Marquess that the majority of your Lordships are of a different opinion. And it is with that view that the words read out by the noble Marquess are intended to be placed on the Journals of the House. We on this side offer no objection to their being so placed, and the matter therefore stands thus. The question between the two Houses will not in any sense have been decided, but each will retain its own opinion as to the existence or non-existence of a breach of privilege in these particular cases, and any discussion on the general question of privilege will by these means be avoided on this occasion. Perhaps I may, in conclusion, be allowed to say that if this happy result is achieved I shall be exceedingly glad both because it would be a great regret if the two Houses were to come into collision on this matter, and also on the ground if this particular measure were to be sacrificed to a difference of opinion between the two Houses there would be acute disappointment in Ireland, where it has been looked forward to with the greatest satisfaction during the last few months.

The **Earl of DUNRAVEN** hoped the solution would be considered a satisfactory one. After all, they had to remember that the Bill had been amended in the most important of all matters, that of securing judicial appeal, and that that Amendment had not been objected to. The other Amendments as regarded the option of an arbitrator to add something to his award in the case of land being taken compulsorily, so far as it affected this particular Bill, was not really of very great importance. He thought they might feel satisfied that in not insisting upon their Amendment they were not in any way raising a precedent which might be applied to legislation of a different character. It appeared to him that the words which the noble Marquess suggested were, practically speaking, with a very little alteration, carrying out the third Amendment which the House of Commons had objected to, and he thought their Lordships would be well advised to be perfectly satisfied. He did not think it was at all necessary for him or for anyone else on the present occasion to go into the question as to whether the Amendments involved any possible abuse of privilege. It passed his wit as an ordinary layman how the Amendments of their Lordships could by any possibility necessarily add one farthing to the rates, seeing they were merely giving an option to an arbitrator to add something for compulsion which he was not obliged to exercise, and which even if he did exercise need not of necessity add in any way to the rates. For, although the money was allocated under the Bill to acquire land and build cottages, there was nothing in the measure to say what land should be acquired. The arbitrator might limit the land to be acquired, and in that way his award need not add to the rates.

Lord BALFOUR of BURLEIGH said he hoped nothing he said would renew any possible controversy. The Motion of the noble Marquess, in his opinion, ought to be passed unanimously. The House was face to face with a much larger extension of the claim of privilege than he had ever seen in his experience. He could, however, comfort his friends from Ireland by saying that he did not think the Amendments were of much importance one way or the other. He had been an arbitrator and no arbitrator need disclose whether he had added 10 per cent. for compulsion to his calculations. All that he had to do was simply to pitch his calculations a little bit higher. Providing they had a competent and honest arbitrator he did not think it mattered whether the words were in the section or not. He should not have risen at all if it had not been for one remark which fell from the President of the Council in his conciliatory speech. He said it was not the Government which raised the question of privilege. Of course it was not; that was not the way these things were done. The question of privilege was always raised in one particular way by the officers, who very properly took the opinion of the supreme authority in the other House. The point for them was not the source from which the question arose, but the fact that it had been raised and decided in this particular way. He would give them an illustration of what this might cover. If the other House were to pass a Bill saying that part of a house or property should be taken for public health purposes and their Lordships were to put in the clause an Amendment that they were not to take the half but the whole, then that would in just the same sense as the words of the Amendments to the present Bill be an addition to the responsibilities and rating of the local authority. And that was a thing that had been done scores of times.

It was absolutely impossible to overrate the importance of the principle which was now being raised for the first time, and he was sincerely glad that the noble Marquess proposed to put on the Journal of the House words with the avowed purpose of declaring that they at any rate did not admit that wide interpretation of the question of privilege. He had, in saying that, carefully avoided one single word of censure or reproach upon anyone who was not amenable to this House. The noble Marquess, the late Lord Salisbury, on these matters always used to say that each House was the guardian and judge of its own privileges. They had been enabled by the promptitude of the noble Marquess and by the conciliatory spirit in which he had been met by the President of the Council to avoid any discussion on the merits of the question on this occasion. He was very glad it had been settled in that way, and he cordially agreed that if this were allowed and admitted by their Lordships it would be a most dangerous admission so far as their privileges were concerned.

Moved, That the omission of Clause 4 with which the Commons have disagreed be not insisted on and that Amendments made by the Commons to the said Clause be agreed to.—(*The Marquess of Lansdowne.*)

On Question, Motion agreed to.

Moved, That Amendment on page 7 to Clause 11, in line 30, to which Commons have disagreed be not insisted on. —(*The Marquess of Lansdowne.*)

On Question, Motion agreed to.

Moved, That Amendment to Clause 11 page 7, in line 41, to which the Commons have disagreed, be not insisted on, but that in lieu thereof the following Amendment be agreed to: "Provided where the Court is satisfied in any particular case, that owing to the difficulty of showing title, the cost properly and necessarily incurred in respect of such payment amounted to larger sum, the limit of £10 may be exceeded."—(*The Marquess of Lansdowne.*)

On Question, Motion agreed to.

Moved, That the following Resolution be placed upon the Journals of this House:—"That this House, although not insisting in its Amendments in page 7, to which the Commons have disagreed, maintains its right to legislate with regard to the principles of valuation upon which property may be taken for public purposes."—(*The Marquess of Lansdowne.*)

On Question, agreed to, and ordered to be entered on the Journals.

Bill returned to the Commons, with the Amendment.

BRISTOL CORPORATION BILL.

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

HOUSE OF LORDS OFFICES.

Third Report from the Select Committee made, to be printed, and to be considered to-morrow. (No. 204.)

House adjourned at ten minutes before One o'clock a.m., till Twelve o'clock noon.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 2nd August, 1906.

The House met at a quarter before Three of the Clock.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to.

Crown Lands Bill, Newburgh and North Fife Railway (Extension of Time) Order Confirmation Bill, Paisley Roads Order Confirmation Bill, Inverclyde Bequest Order Confirmation Bill, Perth Corporation Gas Order Confirmation Bill, without Amendment.

Amendments to—Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords], Wallasey Tramways and Improvements Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL (RELIGIOUS TEACHING.)

Petition from Halifax, against alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Petitions from Higham Ferrers, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

POISONS AND PHARMACY BILL [LORDS.]

Petitions from Rotherhithe, for alteration; to lie upon Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

Petitions from Derby, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

MARRIAGES, BIRTHS, AND DEATHS (IRELAND.)

Copy presented, of Forty-second detailed Annual Report of the Registrar-General of Marriages, Births, and Deaths in Ireland, 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE (BELFAST.)

Copy presented, of Annual Report of the President for 1905–6 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Return of Evictions in Ireland for the quarter ended 30th June, 1906 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

LUNACY (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Supplement to the Fifty-fourth Annual Report of the Inspectors of Lunatics in Ireland, being a Special Report on the alleged increase of Lunacy in Ireland [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

WAR STORES IN SOUTH AFRICA (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Copy presented, of Report of the Royal Commission on War Stores in South Africa, together with Appendices and Minutes of Evidence (four volumes) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (EXPENSES).

Return presented relative thereto [Address March 13th; *Mr. Lamont*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 302.]

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (LIGHTS UPON VEHICLES).

Return presented relative thereto [Address March 21st; *Mr. Marnham*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 303.]

DEATHS FROM STARVATION OR ACCELERATED BY PRIVATION (LONDON).

Return presented relative thereto [Address March 27th; *Mr. Talbot*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 304.]

EDUCATION (UNITED KINGDOM).

Return presented relative thereto [Address April 4th; *Mr. Thomas O'Donnell*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 305.]

ILLITERATE VOTERS (GENERAL ELECTION, 1906).

Return presented relative thereto [Address May 9th; *Mr. Crooks*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 306.]

PROBATION OF FIRST OFFENDERS.

Return presented relative thereto [Address May 14th; *Sir Howard Vincent*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 307.]

MAGISTRATES (ENGLAND AND WALES).

Return presented relative thereto (Address May 14th; *Mr. Bennett*; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 308.]

MIDWIVES.

Return presented relative thereto [Address July 25th; *Mr. Helme*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 309.]

NAVAL EXPENDITURE (PRINCIPAL NAVAL POWERS).

Return presented relative thereto [ordered July 18th; *Mr. Thomasson*; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 310.]

LOCAL TAXATION RETURNS (ENGLAND).

Copy presented of the Annual Local Taxation Returns for 1904–5 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 311.]

RAILWAY SERVANTS (HOURS OF LABOUR).

Copy presented of Report by the Board of Trade of their Proceedings under The Railway Regulation Act, 1893, during the year ended July 27th, 1906 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 312.]

WALNEY LIGHT DUTIES.

Return presented relative thereto [ordered May 9th; *Major Seely*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 313.]

ARMY (SPECIAL PENSIONS).

Return presented for the year ended March 31st, 1906, of Pensions specially granted under Articles 730, 1173A, and 1207 of the Pay Warrant [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY (REGIMENTAL DEBTS)

Copy presented of Further Regulations under The Regimental Debts Act, 1893 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

VOLUNTEER BRIGADES.

Return presented relative thereto [Address July 2nd; *Sir Howard Vincent*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 314.]

LAND REGISTRY.

Copy presented, of Report of the Registrar of the Land Registry for the years 1902, 1903, 1904, and 1905, as to the work of constructing a General Register of Title for the County of London [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

HIGHER EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) (APPLICATION OF FUNDS BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES).

Return ordered, "showing the extent to which and the manner in which Local Authorities in England and Wales have applied funds to the purposes of Education other than Elementary during the year 1905-6 under any of the following Acts; Education Act, 1902; Welsh

Intermediate Education Act, 1889; Public Libraries and Museum Acts; Local or Private Acts."—(*Mr. Birrell.*)

POOR-RELIEF (ENGLAND AND WALES.)

Return ordered, "of Statement of the amount expended by boards of guardians for Poor Relief during the half year ended Lady-day, 1906; and similar Statement for the half year ended Michaelmas, 1906 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 325, of Session 1905)."—(*Mr. Runciman.*)

LOCAL TAXATION LICENCES, &c., 1905-6.

Return ordered, "of the amount received during the year ended 31st day of March, 1906, in respect of each administrative county and county borough in England and Wales for Local Taxation Licence Duties, and penalties and forfeitures recovered in respect of such duties, and for other duties and payments which are directed to be dealt with in the same manner as the Local Taxation Licence Duties (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 280, of Session 1905)."—(*Mr. Runciman*)

PUBLIC REVENUE (INTERCEPTION).

Return ordered, "of the amounts of all Public Revenue derived from taxes levied by Parliament, and from any other sources, which are not paid into His Majesty's Exchequer, for the years 1904–5, 1905–6, and 1906–7 (estimated), with the totals in each case (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 223, of Session 1905)."—(*Mr. Bowles.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Post Office Savings Bank.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the Postmaster-General whether there are dormant ledgers kept at the Savings Bank Department: if so whether non-interest-bearing accounts, on which no actual transactions have taken place for a number of years, are transferred to these ledgers either regularly or from time to time; and whether interest-bearing accounts, on which no actual transactions have taken place for a number of years, are transferred to these ledgers either regularly or from time to time.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) There are ledgers kept at the Savings Bank Department to which non-interest bearing accounts which have not been operated on for a considerable period are transferred as opportunity arises. No such transfer takes place in the case of interest bearing accounts.

Dublin City Mail Cars.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Postmaster-General when will the present contract for the conveyance of the mail by car in Dublin City expire; or have the present contractors a lease of the undertaking.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The contract for the mail cart services in Dublin will continue in force until one of the parties gives twelve months' notice to determine it.

Dublin Mail Contractor.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Postmaster-General whether he can state under what circumstances are officials of the General Post Office, Dublin, allowed to visit the mail contractors' premises; and if it is with the concurrence of the Postmaster-General that an officer of the General Post Office is in attendance at the contractors' office several evenings each week.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) My officers visit the contractors' premises whenever necessary; but it is not the practice for an officer to attend at the contractors' offices several evenings each week.

Overtime in the Dublin Post Office.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): To ask the Postmaster-General if he will say the amount of overtime at present being performed in the Dublin General Post Office (postal and telegraph branches) from the 1st to the 20th of July; and if he can state the cause thereof.

MR. DELANY: To ask the Postmaster-General if, in view of the amount of overtime worked in the Dublin General Post Office, he will make arrangements to have the staff increased by placing on the establishment some, at least, of the learners at that office who are at present waiting over two years for appointments.

MR. DELANY: To ask the Postmaster-General will he say why the vacancies that exist on the sorting and telegraph branches in the Dublin General Post Office are not filled up; and, considering that these vacancies have now existed for some time, that there are large numbers of learners still unappointed, and in view of the amount of overtime which is being worked, will he see the appointments are filled up forthwith.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) I may, perhaps, be allowed to answer the hon. Member's three Questions on this subject together. The number of hours of overtime performed on week-days by the indoor force in the sorting and telegraph offices in Dublin from the 1st to the 20th July inclusive were 2,577 and 1,591 respectively. I regret the amount of overtime which has been necessary, the greater part of which was due to the withdrawal of officers for season pressure, for substituting officers on leave, and for loan to provincial offices, that is to say, to causes incidental to the summer season. The staff of the Dublin office is at present under revision, and I am not able to appoint the learners to established posts until the revision is completed.

Purchases of the Congested Districts Board.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Secretary for Scotland if he will state the number of years' purchase paid by the Congested Districts Board for the various estates which they have acquired, and the date of each such purchase, indicating the area of each estate and the entire amount paid for it.

(*Answered by Mr. Sinclair.*) Except in the case of Glendale, the estates were bought after negotiation and the lowest possible price was paid. The figure given was not, therefore, a precise calculation of so many years purchase. For information on the other points alluded to by the hon. Member, I must refer him to page 9 of the Congested Districts Board Report for 1905–6.

Scottish Local Government Board.

MR. WATT (Glasgow College): To ask the Secretary for Scotland if he will state the names of the Members of the Local Government Board of Scotland; who appoints them; and under what authority and under what conditions they hold office as to emoluments, meetings, expenses, and termination of office.

(*Answered by Mr. Sinclair.*) The names of the appointed members of the Local Government Board are—Mr. J. Patten MacDougall, Vice-President; Mr. Ewan MacPherson; and Dr. Leslie MacKenzie. If the hon. Member will refer to Sections 3 and 4 of The Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1894, he will find the rest of the information desired.

Konia Bagdad Railway.

CAPTAIN FABER (Hampshire, Andover): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has any information regarding the extension of the Konia Bagdad Railway to Khor Abdullah which lies on the sea to the north-east of Koweit in the Persian Gulf; whether there is good anchorage at Khor Abdullah 8 to 10 fathoms deep within 300 yards of a bluff solid enough to bear the terminus of a great railway; and whether the British Fleet has surveyed Khor Abdullah, which belongs to the Sheik of Koweit.

(*Answered by Secretary Sir Edward Grey.*) I have no information as to whether any decision has been taken in regard to the extension of the Konia Bagdad Railway to Khor Abdullah. No proper survey of Khor Abdullah has ever been made by the British Fleet, and I have no information which would enable me to make a statement as to the depth of water or the configuration of the land in that locality.

British Concession at Niu-chwang.

MR. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the British Concession on the north side of the river at Niu-chwang, granted in the spring of 1899, has ever been taken over; and whether it is now intended to take steps to complete the acquisition of the same.

(*Answered by Secretary Sir Edward Grey.*) No report on the subject of the Concession has been received since April, 1899. The limits of the Concession were then still under discussion with the Chinese authorities. Inquiry is being made.

Leigh Cockles.

MR. WHITEHEAD (Essex, S.E.): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been called to the recent action of the Fishmongers Company in stopping the sale at Billingsgate of all cockles from Leigh; whether he is aware that this was done in consequence of an allegation that a basket of bad cockles had originated from Leigh; whether he is aware that the basket from which the cockles alleged to have caused typhoid were supplied was not owned by any cockler at Leigh, and that the cocklers at Leigh observe the regulations necessary for the protection of the public as laid down by Dr. Klein; and whether he proposes to take any action in regard to this exercise of authority by the Fishmongers Company, in view of the loss inflicted on the cockle fishermen at Leigh.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) I have communicated with the Fishmongers Company on this subject, and find that they have taken the action referred to in consequence of their being satisfied that the cocklers at Leigh had not observed the regulations laid down by the company for the protection of the public. The company state that they have no information with reference to the basket of bad cockles referred to in the Question. I have no control over the company in the matter.

Stobs Camp.

SIR J. JARDINE (Roxburghshire): To ask the Secretary of State for War what arrangements were made by his predecessor in office at the time of creating rifle ranges at Stobs Camp for the safety of shepherds, farm servants, and other pedestrians using the public right of way and drove road crossing the slopes of Penchrise Pen from the River Slitrig to the Allan Water and Teviot Valleys; and whether the precautions provided by law in cases of dangerous proximity are applied at these ranges for the safety of persons using these ways.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) When firing is being carried out on the ranges danger flags and two look-out men are posted; the latter are in signal and telephonic communication with the firing points; and when persons wish to cross the range firing is stopped. No complaint has been received since the ranges were taken into use.

Empire Day at Malta.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that on Empire Day, Colonel Fortescue, of Pembroke Camp, Malta, had his full band, who are almost entirely Protestants, playing at a Roman Catholic fête at the Jesuit College in Malta; and whether, seeing that the bandsmen themselves were unwilling to attend these proceedings, he can say by whose authority and for what reason they were compelled to do so.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) No information has been received at the War Office as to the matters alleged in the Question.

Artillery Experts' Reports.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER (Croydon): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will lay upon the Table the Reports of Sir Frederick Stopford and other Artillery experts referred to by the Under-Secretary of State; and whether the entire approval of the Government's proposals with regard to the reduction of the Artillery expressed by these officers, extended only to the figures or to the principle of the changes.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) The answer to the first part of this Question is in the negative. The answer to the second part is in the affirmative on both points.

Militia Uniform Contracts.

MR. ANNAN BRYCE (Inverness Burghs): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, with the view of encouraging local industries, he will consider the question of placing at Inverness contracts for the furnishing of the Militia uniforms required in the Highlands, as has for many years been done by the Admiralty in the case of uniforms required by it for local use.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) Uniforms are not provided specially for the Militia but for the Army generally. Tenders for the supply of material and the making up of uniforms are open to the whole country. At the present time upwards of thirty contracts for clothing and clothing material are running in Scotland. It would not be practicable to arrange for independent local provision of uniforms for Militia battalions.

New Constitution for the Transvaal.

SIR HENRY KIMBER (Wandsworth): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether in the Letters Patent intended to be granted by the Government to the Transvaal giving it self-governing powers, there will be contained any power to His Majesty to revoke or alter its terms afterwards; and, if there be no such express power in the grant, is there any constitutional law by which such a grant once made can be derogated from.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) The Answer to both Questions is in the negative.

Native Prisoners in South African Mines.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Government of Natal have proposed to let native political prisoners to mine-owners and other employers; whether his attention has been called to the declarations on the subject made by Lord Carnarvon when Secretary of State; and if further communications on the matter have passed between His Majesty's Government and the Government of Natal since the assurances given by him to the House.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) The Natal Government have introduced a Bill permitting the employment of prisoners sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for any period exceeding three months by contract between the Government authority and any municipality, or public body, or company, or individual. It does not therefore apply specifically to political prisoners. I have seen the statement of Lord Carnarvon. The Secretary of State is not aware that any assurances have been given that His Majesty's Government would interfere in a matter properly within the control of the Parliament of Natal and of the Ministers responsible thereto.

Cork Registrar of Title.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH (Fermanagh, N.): To ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland who is at present discharging the duties of registrar of title for the county of Cork, and at what, if any, rate of pay; who appointed such person; will he lay upon the Table a copy of the document under which such person was appointed; are fees charged to applicants for registration; and, if so, under what authority and to whom are same paid.

(*Answered by Mr. Cherry.*) Mr. Henry Wright is at present discharging the duties of registrar of title for the county of Cork pending the passing of the Bill now before Parliament. He is not receiving any special salary in respect of those duties, but is in receipt of the salary appointed for the office of Clerk of the Crown and Peace for the East Riding of the County Cork and City of Cork for the performance of the duties of those offices, including local bankruptcy. The Lord Chancellor is unable to recommend the payment of any salary to Mr. Wright as local registrar of title, nor would the Treasury assent to any such payment to him. Mr. Wright was appointed in succession to Mr. Standish O'Grady, but the law officers of the late Government advised that his appointment was irregular, as Mr. Wright was not qualified under the statute regulating the performance of the duties of the office, and the present Lord Chancellor takes the same view. I have no objection to laying upon the Table a copy of the document purporting to appoint him if the hon. Member should move for it. As regards the latter portion of the hon. Member's Question, no fees are charged for first registration in respect of purchases completed through the Land Commission since the 1st January, 1892, Section 23 (1) (b), of The Local Registration of Title (Ireland) Act, 1891. With regard to purchases completed before that date, fees are charged to all such applicants as did not apply for registration before the 1st of January, 1893, Section 22 (2). Fees are charged for all subsequent dealings with registered land under Section 8 of the Act and Rule 11 of the Consolidated Rules of 21st December, 1891, 20th December 1893, and 24th August, 1896. All fees are taken in stamps, which are purchased from the Inland Revenue. The insurance fees which are payable under Section 92 of the Act are placed to the credit of the trustees of the Insurance Fund.

Ballysadare Foreshore.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH: To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that a farmer named M'Gloin recently recovered damages for trespass against a fisherman named Cavanagh for mooring his boat in Ballysadare Bay, county Sligo, at a place marked as foreshore upon the Admiralty chart, and upon which it was proved the tide ebbed and flowed at all ordinary tides; and will he inquire as to the facts from the coastguard officer who gave evidence for the defence, and direct that the coastguard shall be watchful to prevent claims arising by user of foreshores by the farmers whose lands abut on the bay so as to secure to the fishermen their privileges of landing boats and nets on the shores vested in the Crown.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) I have asked the coastguard officer to report on all the matters mentioned in the hon. Member's Question, and when I have received the Report I shall be glad to communicate with the hon. Member.

Loss of the "Horace."

SIR SEYMOUR KING (Hull, Central): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been drawn to the case of the sinking, on the 17th May last, of the sloop "Horace," by collision with the steamship "Zero," in the River Humber, resulting in the death of Harold Grimbleby; why no Board of Trade inquiry has been held; and whether he has received a request from the parents of the dead man for an inquiry to be held.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) A request for inquiry has been received from the representatives of the relatives of the man who lost his life by the collision between the sloop "Horace" and the steamer "Zero." Depositions were made by the masters of both vessels before the Receivers of Wreck and an inquest was held at Hull. As the collision was found not to be the fault of the "Zero" and the master of the sloop has no certificate, the Board of Trade would not be justified in incurring the expense of a formal inquiry under the Merchant Shipping Acts. I am advised that the master of the "Zero" attempted to manœuvre his vessel into position so as to lower his boat on the spot where the men were expected to be, and only desisted from putting his boat in the water when he saw the sloop's boat with the survivors in her. But the coroner stated after his inquiry that it would have made no difference if half a dozen boats had been launched.

Leixlip Mails.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR (Kildare, N.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that the outgoing mails from Leixlip, county Kildare, leave at 6 p.m. and 4 a.m.; and whether he could make such a rearrangement of mail departures as would enable the people of that district to send replies to morning letters by a mid-day mail.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) I have called for a report on this subject and I will send the hon. Member an Answer in due course.

The Stanley Revision.

MR. STEADMAN (Finsbury, Central): To ask the Postmaster-General whether the Stanley scheme for improvements in the postal service included the payment of double time for Sunday duty to the staff; and, if so, when it is proposed to put this part of the scheme into effect.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) No change has been made or proposed in the rate of payment for Sunday duty.

Central Telegraph Office—Telegraphist's Complaint.

MR. STEADMAN: To ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that a telegraphist, named Evershed, in the Central Office, London, applied for an exchange from night duty for one month, commencing July, on the ground of illness of his mother, and of the fact that he himself had barely recovered from a long period of sickness, and that he provided a competent substitute; whether seeing that although he furnished a medical certificate showing he was unfit for night duty, the Deputy Controller compelled him to perform the work and declined to accept the substitute, he will investigate the circumstances, and explain why the request for an exchange was refused.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The telegraphist in question had been allowed to exchange from night duty so freely that he had not performed any night duty for several years. It was not considered desirable that a particular officer should be thus indirectly exempted from night duty in permanence, and further substitution was therefore refused, after it had been ascertained by medical examination by the chief medical officer that there was no valid reason of health to prevent this officer performing night duty.

Belfast Overseer's Promotion.

Mr. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Postmaster-General if his attention has been called to the memorial of January, 1905, regarding a promotion made the previous month to the class of overseer in the Belfast office; if he is aware that the postmaster of Belfast received several deputations of men who were passed over, and that when a second promotion was made to the overseers, class in February, 1905, the postmaster of Belfast assured these men that he knew of no reason, considering their record and work, why they should not be promoted, and assured them that had they not pressed their protest against the promotion made in the previous December they would not have had to complain of the promotions made in the following February; will he say whether he has received reports regarding these matters; and, if not, will he order an inquiry into the whole question.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) I cannot review cases of promotion decided by my predecessor eighteen months ago.

Belfast Telegraphists' Complaint.

Mr. SLOAN: To ask the Postmaster-General if his attention has been directed to complaints made by the telegraph staff at the Belfast office regarding a smoke nuisance for which the proprietors of the Grand Central Hotel are responsible; and whether, seeing that assurances given by the hotel people that the nuisance would be abated have been totally disregarded, will he say what steps it is proposed to take in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The circumstances appear to be as stated. Further steps are being taken for the abatement of the nuisance complained of.

East Finchley Telephone Exchange.

Mr. NIELD (Middlesex, Ealing): To ask the Postmaster-General whether any steps have yet been taken to establish a Post Office telephone exchange at East Finchley or Finchley (Church End); when it is likely that the exchange will be ready for work; and will he consider the advisability of admitting intending subscribers, pending the completion of an exchange at Finchley, to the systems of neighbouring exchanges at the ordinary rates current.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) Plans were prepared some time ago for the extension of the telephone service to Finchley, and the establishment of an exchange at Church End will be proceeded with as soon as the necessary wayleave consents have been received from the district council. I fear that it will not be possible, pending the establishment of the exchange, to give residents at Finchley circuits to another exchange at ordinary rates; but I propose to open public call offices in the district at an early date, and these will I hope tend to minimise the inconvenience until the exchange is ready.

Hampstead Telephone Exchange Employees.

Mr. NIELD: To ask the Postmaster-General whether a large number of men, formerly engaged in connection with the constructional work of the Post Office telephones have recently been discharged owing to slackness of work; and whether a substantial reduction has been made in the employees of or connected with the Hampstead Exchange on this ground; and whether this is due to any falling off of subscribers to this Exchange or generally throughout the telephone service of the northern suburbs.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) In the last two months thirty-two workmen have had to be paid off in the Hampstead district in consequence of the completion of the main duct work on which they were employed. There is no falling off in the number of subscribers to the Hampstead or other telephone exchanges in the northern suburbs.

Torquay Election—Corrupt Practices.

SIR JOHN KENNAWAY (Devonshire, Honiton): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether it is the practice of the Public Prosecutor in instituting proceedings to rely upon an ex parte statement made by the complainants or their solicitor, or to take any, and, if so, what steps to verify the charges made; whether any, and, if so, what steps were taken by the Public Prosecutor to inquire into the facts of the case alleged against Mr. Blackler, who was recently prosecuted at the Exeter Assizes on a charge of corrupt practices at the Torquay election, and against whom the grand jury found no bill; and whether any machinery exists, in a case such as that of Mr. Blackler, for providing for the costs of the accused out of the public funds.

(*Answered by Sir John Walton.*) The Attorney-General answers this Question at the request of the Home Secretary. The director of public prosecutions makes such inquiries as are practicable in all cases submitted to him. In the case of Mr. Blackler, the statements of the witnesses were taken by a firm of solicitors, known to the director, and in whom he had confidence, also an opinion of counsel was forwarded to him advising that in his opinion there were grounds for proceeding under Section 2 of 46 and 47 Vic., c. 51. This afforded evidence which in the judgment of the director justified a prosecution. Process was applied for and granted. The accused when before the bench offered no defence or explanation. The magistrates, eleven in number, committed him unanimously to take his trial at the assizes. I am aware of no machinery providing for the payment of the costs of accused persons who may be acquitted by the verdict of either grand or petty juries out of public funds.

Imprisonment in Default of Paying Fines.

MR. CAMERON (Durham, Houghton-le-Spring): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, whether, during 1904, 107,625 persons were sent to prison in default of paying fines; and, if so, whether he is prepared to effect such alterations in the law as will give such persons the right of claiming a few weeks' grace before conviction, when they give *bona fide* and satisfactory addresses, or can produce reasonable security.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) The number of persons received in prison in default of paying a fine during 1904 is correctly stated by the hon. Member. The law contemplates time being allowed defendants to pay the fines imposed on them, and only last year a circular was issued from the Home Office to all courts of summary jurisdiction urging that full effect should be given to the merciful provisions of the law. I have no reason to doubt that the considerations urged in the circular are generally borne in mind, and that a person with a settled home is rarely or never refused time for the payment of a fine; but if information is given me of any case in which they have been disregarded, I will have inquiry made. It should be remembered that while 107,625 persons were received in prison during 1904 in default of a fine, the total number fined was 550,490. Both figures, I may add, include many cases where the same person was fined several times during the year, and therefore appears several times in the registers of the courts or of the prison.

South African War Stores Scandals.

MR. HIGHAM (Yorkshire, W.R., Sowerby): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury, in connection with the inquiry of the Royal Commission on the scandals connected with the purchases and re-sales of stores in and after the late South African War, how many clerks are engaged upon the audit of the accounts; what fee per day is being paid for each clerk to the firm which permanently employs these clerks; when the audit began; and when it is expected to terminate.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) The work to which the hon. Member refers, which was undertaken by direction of the Royal Commission on War Stores in South Africa, was not so much an audit of accounts as an inquiry by a firm of chartered accountants into the accounts of the War Office with reference to transactions during and after the war.

The accountants began their work on July 29th, 1905, and concluded it, by submitting a report to the Royal Commission, on March 19th, 1906. The number of professional clerks employed by the firm was thirty from July to September, and forty from October onwards, with an addition of twenty clerks supplied by the Civil Service Commissioners for the more mechanical work. These numbers were gradually reduced as the inquiry drew to a close. The fees stipulated for by the firm were at the rate of three guineas a day for chief clerks and one and a half guineas a day for other professional clerks, but owing to the unexpected length of time occupied by the work, an abatement was made on the settlement of the account by which these rates were somewhat reduced.

Liverpool Victoria Legal Friendly Society.

MR. WHITEHEAD: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether his attention has been called to the efforts being made by the officials of the Liverpool Victoria Legal Friendly Society to convert that society into a company under the Companies' Acts, and thereby change the character of the undertaking; whether he is aware that the persons insuring in that society, numbering about 3,000,000, consist mainly of people of small means who insure their children; and whether the Registrar of Friendly Societies can take steps to secure that these persons shall have an opportunity of being heard and of having their views considered (either through attendance and voting at meetings or otherwise) before any such conversion is authorised.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) I would refer my hon. friend to the Answer which I gave to a similar Question by the hon. Member for Barrow-in-Furness, on the 24th ultimo.

Income-Tax Repayments.

MR. SIMON (Essex, Walthamstow): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether his attention has been called to paragraph 120 of the Report of the Departmental Committee on Income-tax of last year, referring to the pressure under which claims for repayments are dealt with at Somerset House; whether he is aware that claims of this nature involve still more extreme pressure upon the local offices; whether he can state the number of first claims for repayment dealt with by local surveyors in the same period of pressure as is referred to in the above paragraph; and, if not, whether he will cause this information to be provided; whether he is aware that during this same period of pressure local surveyors have also to provide for the large expansion of work caused by the earlier delivery of schedules of unpaid amounts of Income Tax as provided in the new Regulations issued by the Board of Inland Revenue in 1904; whether frequent and heavy overtime without pay is performed by the clerical staff in these local offices during such periods; and whether it is proposed to take steps to relieve the pressure in these offices corresponding to the steps recently taken to relieve the pressure at the head office at Somerset House.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) The number of first claims for repayment received at Somerset House, after being dealt with by the local surveyors in England and Wales, between 1st March and 30th June, 1906, was about 40,000 (a slight decrease as compared with the number of the preceding year), an average of 163 such claims for each of the 246 surveyors' district. Speaking generally, it is a fact that the work in surveyors' offices is heavier in the winter and spring than in the summer months, but there is no reason to suppose that the clerical staff, which has been largely increased in recent years, is insufficient to meet the demands upon it, nor are there any good grounds for supposing that frequent and heavy overtime without pay is performed by the clerks at the busy periods of the year. The surveyors are in the habit of applying for overtime allowances for their clerks in times of pressure, and all applications received are fully considered and dealt with on their merits.

School for Training Pupil Teachers at Oxford.

DR. MASSIE (Wiltshire, Cricklade): To ask the President of the Board of Education whether he is aware that one of the schools proposed to be used in the scheme for training pupil teachers in Oxford is held in a private house and was opened only a few months ago, and that the head-mistress holds an elementary school teacher's certificate only; that the use of this school will introduce, for the first time in Oxford, sectarian controversy into the training of pupil teachers, the school being an institution of an extreme sectarian type, objected to by a large class of ratepayers; and whether he proposes to take any action in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) As I stated on 30th July in reply to a Question on this subject, the Board of Education have not recognised any particular schools for the purposes referred to, but are awaiting special Reports by their inspectors, and other information, before any decision is arrived at. I will see that the various matters referred to by the hon. Member are borne in mind, and that no scheme is sanctioned which will recognise inefficient provision or needlessly arouse controversy.

Hampshire Rivers.

MR. W. D. WARD (Southampton): To ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether any other, and, if so, which rivers in Hampshire will be brought under the management of the Avon and Stour Conservancy; and, if no decision has at present been reached, whether there is prospect of a decision being reached at an early date.

(*Answered by Sir Edward Strachey.*) No decision has yet been come to with regard to the application of the Avon and Stour Board of Conservators for an extension of their district, but we shall endeavour to arrive at a settlement of the matter with as little delay as possible.

Hagley and Clent Street Improvement.

MR. C. B. HARMSWORTH (Worcestershire, Droitwich): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether, having regard to the inconvenience occasioned by the refusal of his Department to sanction a loan of £435 applied for by the Bromsgrove Rural District Council in respect of private street improvement works carried out and completed in the parishes of Hagley and Clent, and to the fact that the plans and specifications for such works received the sanction of a court of summary jurisdiction, sitting at the court house, Stourbridge, he will consider the possibility of revising the decision of which complaint is made.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) A local inquiry was held on this subject by one of the inspectors of the Local Government Board, and it appeared that the works could not be regarded as satisfactory. I have carefully considered the matter, but I regret that I do not see my way to sanctioning the loan desired.

Indian Food Crop Yields.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Secretary of State for India if he will state how the yield of food crops per acre in each province in India for the year 1904 compares with the figures for the years 1880 and 1901.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Morley.*) Figures for 1880 are not available, as provincial estimates of the yield per acre of the principal crops were not framed until 1892. The latest volume of the Agricultural Statistics of India gives a comparative table of the estimates for the five years ending respectively with 1897 and 1902. I will cause a copy of the volume to be sent to my honourable friend if he desires it.

Coolnakisha Evicted Tenant.

MR. HAMMOND (Carlow): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if William Agar, formerly of Coolnakisha, Old Leighlin, Carlow, has any prospect of being restored to his former holding on Sir Thomas Butler's property.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Estates Commissioners inform me that they will have William Agar's application for reinstatement inquired into as soon as possible. The Commissioners understand, however, that Agar's former holding is in the occupation of another tenant. Proceedings for the sale of Sir T. Butler's estate have not yet come before the Commissioners.

Ferna Bridge.

MR. VINCENT KENNEDY (Cavan, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that the Myles O'Reilly Coat of Arms on the bridge of Ferna, county Cavan, is now placed upon a level with the roadway, and if left in this position will shortly be demolished; and will he, with a view to preserving this historic emblem, have it placed higher up upon the bridge, and thus remove it from danger of destruction and secure that it can be seen by passers by.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Local Government Board have no information upon this subject. The matter is one for the local authorities, to whose notice the Board, without delay, will bring the hon. Member's suggestion, which well deserves to be considered.

Irish Poor Law Commission.

CAPTAIN CRAIG (Down, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the great importance of the subject to the whole of Ireland, he can see his way to reconsider his decision regarding the constitution of the Irish Poor Law Commission and appoint to it an independent member of the medical profession who is thoroughly conversant with the whole principles, honour, and interests of the Poor Law medical profession in Ireland.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The hon. Member is under a misapprehension. No vacancy exists in the Irish Poor Law Commission, which has now practically completed its labours. The vacancy which the hon. Gentleman has in mind is in the Royal Commission on the Poor Law for the United Kingdom, and, as to that, I would refer him to the reply given by the Prime Minister yesterday to the Question of the hon. Member for West Waterford.

Drumgriffen Turbary Rights.

MR. HAZLETON (Galway, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state whether William Browne, Gardenham, Drumgriffen, county Galway, is entitled to rights of turbary under the agreement purchasing his holding from Major William W. P. Joyce, dated March 1st, 1905; whether he is aware that the purchase of this holding was conditional on such rights being secured to him; and whether the Estates Commissioners can take steps to see that they are so secured.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Estates Commissioners inform me that there are before them two agreements for purchase, signed by William Browne, dated March 1st, 1905. One of these relates to the purchase of one-fifteenth share of a turf bank, comprising altogether seventy-three acres. When the case comes before the Commisssioners for ruling, they will take all necessary steps to secure that Browne's share of this turf bank is properly vested in him.

Lavally Parish Committee.

MR. HAZLETON: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Congested Districts Board will reconsider their decision not to give a grant to the electoral division of Lavally, county Galway, for the purpose of a parish committee scheme; and whether he will consider the advisability, in case the Board decide to give a grant, of the nearest established committee administering the grant, thus avoiding the necessity of establishing a new committee for the electoral division which the Board consider inadvisable.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) This matter will be brought before the Congested Districts Board for further consideration at their next meeting on the 8th instant.

Irish Army Ordnance Labourers Pay.

MR. FIELD: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether a decision has been arrived at as to the increase of pay of labourers in the Army Ordnance Department in Ireland; and, if so, from what date will the increase take effect.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) The question is a large one. It is not at all clear that the wages of these labourers are below the market rate paid for the corresponding class of labour by private employers in Dublin, but the point is now under close investigation.

Army Hay Contracts.

SIR BRAMPTON GURDON (Norfolk, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether the hay and straw purchased for the Army are entirely home-grown; or, if not, what proportion is imported.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) The contracts do not contain any specification as to sources of supply, and accordingly it is not possible to give any definite reply to the Question. Most probably by far the greater part is home-grown.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

War Ship Tonnage.

MR. LUPTON (Lincolnshire, Sleaford): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if the aggregate tonnage of British war vessels of every class and type is equal to the aggregate tonnage of the war vessels of France, Germany, Russia, and Italy.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON, Dundee): I am informed that the aggregate tonnage of British war vessels of every class is 2,041,113 tons. The aggregate tonnage for France, Germany, Russia, and Italy is 2,708,461 tons. The Answer to the Question is, therefore, in the negative.

*MR. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that this Answer would have been equally true at any time of the last fifteen years, and that these tonnage comparisons are most misleading?

[No Answer was returned.]

*MR BELLAIRS: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that in obsolete protected cruisers we have over double the tonnage of the nations named in the question?

MR. ROBERTSON was understood to say that he had only to answer the Question put to him.

Tinned Meats for the Navy.

MR. ALDEN (Middlesex, Tottenham): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he can inform the House of the quantity of American tinned meat at present in stock at the Deptford, Plymouth, and Gosport Victualling Yards; whether this meat was to the order of the late Government; whether it is at present served out to the Navy; what is the intention of the Government with regard to its disposal; whether he will state the amount of jam purchased by the late Government which has recently been condemned at the Deptford Victualling Yard; what was the original cost; who are the contractors; and whether they can be held responsible.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: The quantity of American tinned meat at present in stock at the victualling yards mentioned is approximately 1,680,000lb. The bulk of this meat was purchased in 1903–04, when supplies of Australian meat were unobtainable owing to drought. Men serving in His Majesty's ships have for the present been allowed the option of drawing Australian or Argentine corned beef in place of American, but it has not been thought necessary to consider special measures for the disposal of the stock of American meat. As regards the last part of the Question, a quantity of jam, amounting to 269,000lb., has been reported as unsuitable for issue, and the matter is now under investigation. The prices paid for this jam range from 28s. 7d. to 34s. 5d. per cwt. In these circumstances I do not feel in a position to give the names of the firms concerned.

MR. LUPTON: How long has this jam been in stock?

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I should think about two years.

H.M.S. "Montagu."

MR. BELLAIRS: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether two of the ships' companies employed in the attempt to salve the "Montagu" have not been able to go ashore or obtain leave for over two months.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: Leave will be given to these ships' companies as soon as the work on the "Montagu" permits.

MR. BELLAIRS: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the Admiralty will now bring to an end the expenditure on the attempt to salve the "Montagu;" whether he is aware that the battleship "Duncan," in the abandoned attempt on July 23rd, struck the ground twice and was imperilled by the tide race; whether one cruiser and one destroyer employed at various times in the salvage operations have grounded; whether a lighter was sunk; and whether he has any further information of casualties to the Navy in connection with these operations.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: The question of further attempts to salve the "Montagu" will be decided after the next Spring tides. The "Duncan" touched ground once only, the damage being very slight; she was at no time imperilled by the tide race. The only other casualties of any importance which have occurred in the operations are the loss of a lighter, which has since been recovered, and the loss of two ships' boats.

Torpedo Boats.

MR. NIELD (Middlesex, Ealing): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty how many of the eighty-seven torpedo boats figuring in the recently issued Return are upwards of fifteen years old; how many are capable of attaining in practice the speed of a modern battleship, and how many are armed with the obsolete 14-inch torpedo; and what is the number of torpedo boats and destroyers building and projected for the chief naval Powers.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: Of the eighty-five torpedo boats now on the list fifty-five are upwards of fifteen years old. These might be expected to attain a speed of from seventeen to eighteen knots. Of the remaining thirty, seventeen could probably reach twenty knots and thirteen over twenty-three knots. Sixty-four of these boats are armed with 14-inch torpedoes, but the torpedoes are of types which are not considered obsolete. The number of destroyers building for Great Britain is eighteen, and fourteen are included in the programme of new construction for this year. As regards the other great naval Powers, the position is as follows. France: Under construction, fourteen destroyers, thirty torpedo boats. Projected, eleven destroyers, eleven torpedo boats. Germany: Under construction, fourteen destroyers. Projected, four destroyers. Russia: Under construction, sixteen destroyers. Italy: Under construction, four destroyers, fourteen torpedo boats. Projected, ten destroyers, fifteen torpedo boats. United States: Under construction, no destroyers or torpedo boats. Projected, three destroyers. Japan: Under construction, twelve destroyers.

Naval Canteen Inquiry.

MR. BOWLES (Lambeth, Norwood): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the promised inquiry into the abuses of the naval canteen system has been instituted; whether it is now proceeding; whether it proposes to hear any evidence before coming to a conclusion; and whether, before its conclusions are acted upon, this House will be afforded some opportunity of considering them.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: A Committee has been appointed to inquire into the system of naval canteens, and it will take such evidence as may be necessary. It is probable that any proposals which may be formulated by the Committee will be tested experimentally in some fleet or squadron, and the hon. Member will have the usual opportunity of bringing up the question in the House on Navy Vote 2.

Sheerness Reserve Division—Firing Practice.

MR. BOWLES: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he has now completed his inquiry into the manner in which quarterly firing practice was carried out by the Sheerness Reserve Division in April last; whether, in order to comply with the admiral's orders, H.M.S. "Vindictive" fired the whole of her 6-inch heavy gun ammunition in ten minutes, while only two ships were permitted to use a proper range for this purpose; whether the responsibility for this waste of training and ammunition lies, by King's Regulation, upon the rear-admiral commanding the division; and, if so, what steps the Admiralty have taken to enforce this responsibility and to ensure that such waste shall not recur.

MR. EDMUMD ROBERTSON: As the result of the inquiry now completed, it would appear that the hon. Member has been misinformed, and that there is no foundation whatever for the suggestion that there was any waste of ammunition, or that the firing practice was in any way hurried.

Battleship Construction—Wages at Portsmouth.

MR. J. WARD (Stoke-on-Trent): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what are the regulations in force as to extra pay to workmen employed in the construction of battleships at Portsmouth working in confined spaces; and whether wing compartments are treated the same as double bottoms, so far as extra rates are concerned.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: Workpeople engaged in cleaning and painting double bottoms or working in confined spaces, are paid 1½d. an hour in addition to their ordinary rate of pay while so employed. Wing compartments are treated in the same way as double bottoms where the conditions as regards space, nature of access, and ventilation are the same.

Shoebury Shell Dangers.

MR. WHITEHEAD (Essex, S.E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether further inquiries have now been made by the War Office into the statement brought to his notice last month, that on the 4th June a shell from Shoebury fell within twenty yards of a party of nine who were fishing in the bawley "Edgar," from Leigh-on-Sea; whether he is aware that prior to the matter being brought to the notice of the War Office, Sergeant-Major Gunnett had already been to Leigh-on-Sea to interview the skipper of the bawley "Edgar," with reference to the incident, and had ascertained all the details; and that those responsible for the firing still allege that the incident did not take place; and, if so, can he state why Sergeant-Major Gunnett visited Leigh to interview the skipper before any complaint or allegation had been made to the War Office.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. HALDANE, Haddington): A Court of Inquiry will be held to investigate fully the alleged incident. As regards the visit of Sergeant-Major Gurnnet to Leigh which took place on the 20th June, I may point out that my hon. friend gave notice of his Question on the 18th June and that the attention of the Commandant of the School of Gunnery was drawn to it on the 19th June.

Newtowngore Ex-Soldier's Pension.

MR. T. SMYTH (Leitrim, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he will reconsider the case of Thomas Henry Bryson, formerly of the Royal Engineers and now of Newtowngore, County Leitrim, who enlisted on 29th December, 1877, and is in possession of the Zulu medal, with the only clasp given for the war, and is disabled with rheumatism, which he contracted whilst on foreign service; and whether, seeing that his pension is only 1s. per day, while other pensioners who served in the the same war have 2s. per day, he will reconsider his case with a view to increasing his pension.

*MR. HALDANE: This man was invalided from the Royal Engineers after a service of five years, 332 days only, on account of rheumatism, which commenced at Chatham after he had served for just over a year and before he served abroad. His present pension of 1s. a day is the highest which can be granted to him under the regulations.

Curragh Camp Stabling.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether on the 3rd July last, sixteen polo ponies, the property of officers of the 19th Hussars, stationed at the Curragh Camp, were brought to and provided with stabling at the Marlborough Barracks, Dublin, till the end of the week; if so, whether the taxpayers are bound to provide free stabling for horses kept by officers for their own amusement; and if the taxpayers are not so bound, what steps does he propose to take to prevent a recurrence of the incident in question.

*MR. HALDANE: When Government stabling is temporarily vacant and not actually required for accommodation of Government horses, the private horses or ponies of officers may be accommodated provided that no expense to the public is thereby incurred.

MR. CLANCY: And is there no expense to the public?

*MR. HALDANE: None.

British Indians.

*MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Government will make further representations to the administrations concerned, to the effect that the exaction of a literary test in English from British Indians is unfair.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. CHURCHILL, Manchester): As at present advised the Secretary of State is not prepared to make representations on the subject to the Colonial Governments.

South African Murders—Rev. George Maddison.

*MR. REES: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Rev. George Maddison, a Wesleyan minister, of Johannesburg, who was assaulted by natives in the early part of this month, has died of his wounds; and what action is proposed for the protection of Europeans in South Africa.

MR. CHURCHILL: A statement to this effect has appeared in the newspapers, but I have received no official information. It is the duty of the local Government to afford all reasonable protection.

*MR. REES asked if this was not the third death by violence offered to a party of Europeans of which Mr. Maddison was a member, and Mr. Churchill requested him to give notice.

MAJOR SEELY (Liverpool, Abercromby): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies what are the number of white, yellow and coloured persons respectively who have been murdered by Chinese coolies in the Transvaal during the first six months of the year.

MR. CHURCHILL: I unintentionally misled the House the other day when in answer to a supplementary Question I said the majority of the murdered persons were whites. The number of persons murdered by Chinese coolies in Witwatersrand and Pretoria districts during the first six months of this year is:—

Whites - - - -	2
Coloured - - -	4
Yellow - - - -	21
Total - - -	27

Disfranchised Cape Colony Voters.

MR. HICKS BEACH (Gloucestershire, Tewkesbury): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies how many voters were disfranchised in Cape Colony after the war, and when these electors will regain their votes.

MR. CHURCHILL: According to a Cape official Return, printed in 1904, the number of persons disqualified from voting at Parliamentary elections owing to convictions for treason in ten districts principally affected by rebellion was 7,072. The sentence in the case of ordinary rebels was for five years. The next biennial registration takes place in 1907, and it is understood that the number of those who will not be able to be placed on the register then is inconsiderable.

Repatriation of Chinese Coolies.

SIR HENRY CRAIK (Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, of the Chinese coolies who applied for repatriation, a certain number are anxious to withdraw their application, but have been refused permission to do so.

MR. CHURCHILL: Instructions have been given that the cases of coolies who change their minds must be most carefully investigated by the superintendent, and a record kept. If he is completely satisfied that they wish to remain in the Transvaal they are not to be repatriated against their will. I am informed that their have been four such cases. There is no reason to apprehend that any have been refused permission to withdraw their applications.

Repatriation Notices.

MR. F. E. SMITH (Liverpool, Walton): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is satisfied that the terms of the amended repatriation notices are readily intelligible to the coolies employed in the South African mines; and how many of them have intimated a desire to avail themselves of the facilities thereby promised.

MR. CHURCHILL: The Secretary of State has no reason to suppose that the amended notice has not been understood. He has received no report as to the number of applications made under it.

Transvaal Civil Service.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON (Lanarkshire, N.W.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies what are the respective numbers of British and Boer civil servants at present serving in the Transvaal.

MR. CHURCHILL: I do not know what the numbers may be, nor whether such classification is possible.

Transvaal Bywoners.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can state the estimated number of bywoners in the Transvaal.

MR. CHURCHILL: I cannot undertake to make an estimate.

Transvaal Second Chamber.

MR. GIBBS (Bristol, W.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the High Commissioner will be consulted as to the persons to be nominated for the Second Chamber of the Transvaal Government.

MR. CHURCHILL: It is our practice to consult freely with the High Commissioner on all matters of public importance which concern the territories under his charge.

Manhood Suffrage in South Africa.

MR. GIBBS: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether manhood suffrage exists in Cape Colony or in Natal.

MR. CHURCHILL: No, Sir.

British Cotton Growing Association and the India Office.

*MR. REES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether he will present the correspondence between the India Office and Government of India, and the British Cotton Growing Association which has taken place since the presentation of C. 1982 of 1904.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. MORLEY, Montrose Burghs): The Government of India a few months ago published in India the correspondence which had taken place subsequent to the date referred to. I shall be happy to present it to Parliament if my hon. friend will move for it.

Indian Country Spirit.

*MR. REES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether he will communicate to the House the results of the deputation of Major Bedford, I.M.S., to investigate the avoidably noxious properties of common Indian country spirit.

MR. MORLEY: When the Report reaches me, I will consider whether the Papers can be presented.

Assault of Sergeant Maxwell at Allahabad.

*MR. REES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he has any information regarding the assault committed last month by natives of India upon Sergeant Maxwell at Allahabad.

MR. MORLEY: No information on this subject has reached me.

Bengal Tea Land Assessment.

*MR. REES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether the Government of Eastern Bengal proposes to increase the assessment of land under tea in the Surma Valley by 50 per centum; and whether, in view of the fact that the tea industry has suffered for years past from currency legislation, war taxation, high duties, and increased cost of labour, that prices are low, and the condition of estates in the Surma Valley unsatisfactory, he will cause inquiries to be made by the Government of India as to the justice of such increased assessment.

MR. MORLEY: I would refer my honourable friend to the Answer I gave to a similar Question in this House on the 31st July.† I have no reason to suppose that due regard has not been paid to the circumstances of the tea industry, and I hardly think it necessary to interfere with the discretion vested by the Law in the local Government.

The Opium Traffic.

MR. T. L. CORBETT (Down, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India what steps he has taken, or intends taking, to give effect to the unanimous Vote of the House of Commons against the opium traffic between India and China.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxii., 698.

MR. MORLEY: I would refer the hon. Member to the Answer I gave to a similar Question in this House on July 17th, as to the action which His Majesty's Government proposes to take in the matter, viz., first to ascertain exactly what the proposals and inclinations of the Chinese Government are, and secondly, to see whether they can in some way meet those views.

British Trade in Manchuria.

MR. LYNCH (Yorkshire, W.R., Ripon): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what steps are being taken by His Majesty's Government to safeguard and to develop British commercial interests in Manchuria, in view of the importance to this country of neutral markets on account of our Free Trade principles.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir EDWARD GREY, Northumberland, Berwick): His Majesty's Government understand that there are no longer any restrictions on the movements of foreign traders or merchandise in Manchuria. A Consul-General will be appointed to reside at Mukden, and there is also a Consul at Newchang. It will be their duty to see that British traders receive the equal treatment with the nationals of other countries to which they are entitled, and to afford them such assistance as they properly can. A few weeks ago Mr. Hosie, the Commercial Attache at the Pekin Legation, was sent specially to Newchang and Mukden to report on the position in Manchuria.

Disturbances in Persia.

MR. LYNCH: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has received any official information on the subject of the disturbances in Persia, especially as to whether any persons, and, if any, how many, have taken refuge at the British Legation; and whether he can state what steps are being taken by His Majesty's Government to bring about a better state of things in that country, in view of Great Britain's political and commercial interests there.

SIR EDWARD GREY: His Majesty's Government are being kept fully informed of the state of Affairs in Persia, and the latest telegraphic information received is to the effect that some 12,000 persons have taken refuge at the British Legation at Teheran. His Majesty's Government have urged upon the Persian Government the advisability of taking immediate measures to put a stop to this state of affairs by giving satisfaction to the reasonable demands of the refugees. We have been informed that the resignation of the Grand Vizier has been accepted by the Shah.

The Servian Regicides.

MR. BOTTOMLEY (Hackney, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what precautions have been taken, and what guarantees have been obtained, to enable the British Minister at Belgrade to avoid coming into contact with regicides; how the British Minister will be able to carry out his duties efficiently if he avoids all relations with regicides; and whether he will lay upon the Table of the House the correspondence relating to the renewal of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Servia.

SIR EDWARD GREY: His Majesty's Government have received from the Servian Government assurances, which they consider satisfactory, that His Majesty's Minister at Belgrade shall not be brought into contact with regicides. It does not seem necessary to lay any Papers.

Morocco Police.

*MR. ASHLEY (Lancashire, Blackpool): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Foreign Ministers at Tangier have power to use the police, which are being formed under European instructors in the coast towns of Morocco, to stop the public sale of slaves in those towns.

SIR EDWARD GREY: The European police to be formed in Morocco being under the Sovereign authority of the Sultan will not receive directions from the Corps Diplomatique at Tangier. His Majesty's Minister at Tangier is fully aware of the importance which His Majesty's Government attach to the issue by the

Sultan of stringent orders to the police in the coast towns for the suppression of the slave traffic.

*MR. ASHLEY put two supplementary Questions which were understood to have reference to the appointment of inspectors and was referred to the General Act of the Algeciras Conference.

European Land Owners in Morocco.

*MR. ASHLEY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the recommendations of the Algeciras Conference, approved of by the Sultan of Morocco, have in any way altered the conditions under which Europeans can obtain titles to land in that country.

SIR EDWARD GREY: I beg leave to refer the hon. Member to Article 60 of the General Act of the Algeciras Conference, which has been laid before Parliament. It lays down that in conformity with the right recognised as belonging to them by Article 11 of the Madrid Convention, foreigners shall not, except for proper reasons, be hindered from acquiring land throughout the whole of Morocco, while "in the ports open to trade, and within a radius of ten kilometres round such ports," the consent of the Sultan's Government is granted "in a general manner, without such consent having henceforth to be obtained specially in respect of each purchase."

In reply to a supplementary Question, Sir Edward Grey said the Act would not have a retrospective effect, and consequently would not apply to land sold at Tangiers before it was passed.

Disquietude at Bengazi.

MR. J. M. ROBERTSON (Northumberland, Tyneside): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, in view of the recent disquiet at Bengazi, and the reported refusals to allow European travellers to pass through that district, he will consider the advisability of the Commission engaged on the delimitation of the frontier at Tabah being employed to delimit the Tripolitan frontier.

SIR EDWARD GREY: A proper delimitation is desirable, but His Majesty's Government do not consider the present moment favourable for extending the scope of the Commission now engaged on the Sinai frontier.

Mecca Pilgrims.

MR. J. M. ROBERTSON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the conveyance by sea of Egyptian pilgrims from Egypt to Arabia is made a monopoly of the Khedival Steamship Company, while natives of other countries are allowed to sail from the same ports by other lines; and whether Sir Auckland Colvin, formerly financial adviser to the Egyptian Government, is the chairman of the company in question.

SIR EDWARD GREY: The Foreign Office are not in possession of any information on the matter, which is one that primarily concerns the Egyptian Government.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): Will the right hon. Gentleman make inquiry? This matter has been going on for years.

SIR EDWARD GREY: If any evidence is brought to my knowledge of the matters injuriously affecting British ships I will inquire.

MR. J. M. ROBERTSON: And other ships also. Is it permissible to give a monopoly for the benefit of English shipping to the exclusion of all other shipping?

SIR EDWARD GREY: I presume the interest of the shipping of the other countries will be safeguarded by their own Governments, should anything be done by the Egyptian Government which they deemed to be prejudicial to those interests.

Seamen's Remittances—Deductions.

MAJOR SEELY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can see his way to remit that part of the charge of threepence in the pound, levied on the remittance home of British seamen's wages from Hamburg and other foreign ports, which is now retained by the British Consuls in those ports.

SIR EDWARD GREY: I understand that arrangements have been come to with the Treasury which will enable us to give up the part of the charge referred to, which amounts to twopence in the pound.

Transvaal Constitution.

MR. GIBBS: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies when the Letters Patent will be issued; and when the new Transvaal Constitution will come into effect.

MR. CHURCHILL: No precise date can yet be fixed for the issue of the Letters Patent, nor a date when the new Constitution will come into effect. Everything will be done to expedite the matter, and an Order in Council has been passed for preparing the list of voters by adding the fresh voters who will become entitled under manhood franchise. I should expect that the elections will be held not later than the beginning of next year.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked whether the Letters Patent would contain any restriction on the importation of munitions of war into the Transvaal?

MR. CHURCHILL: No, Sir. I do not think there will be any departure from the ordinary practice in the case of instruments of this character.

MR. LYTTELTON (St. George's, Hanover Square): When will further Papers on this subject be laid?

MR. CHURCHILL replied that they would be out shortly. They were being gone through.

Death Duties.

MR. THORNE (West Ham, S.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what amount of death duties has been paid into the Exchequer each year during the past six years.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. ASQUITH, Fifeshire, E.): I would refer my hon. friend to the table on page 79 of the Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue for the year 1904–5 (Cd. 2033), which gives the Exchequer receipt of each of the eleven years from 1894–5 to 1904–5. In 1905–6 the amount paid into the Exchequer was £12,970,000.

Discipline in the Church—Cost of the Report.

SIR J. JARDINE (Roxburghshire): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he can state approximately the cost of the publication of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Discipline of the Church of England, including the volumes containing the evidence.

MR. ASQUITH: The total cost of printing and paper is about £2,050.

Collectors of the King's Taxes.

MR. BOWLES: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether collectors of King's taxes are required by the terms of their appointment to give all their time to the duties of their office; whether they are permitted to combine with those duties the ownership and conduct of house, beer, coal, and other agencies; and, if so, whether it is held to be in the public interest that information obtained in the course of public duty should be used by these officers to further their private concerns.

MR. ASQUITH: Collectors of taxes are not required to give their whole time to the duties of their office. They may engage in other avocations, including those mentioned. The use of information obtained as a collector of taxes for the furtherance of private interests would be regarded as a serious breach of official trust, and would be appropriately dealt with if brought to the attention of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, or of the General Commissioners of the District, as the case may be.

German Gipsies.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he is aware that eight families of German gipsies, numbering seventy-five persons, led by a Bavarian named Peter Goi, arrived last March at Leith from Hamburg, and have since been a source of inconvenience and expense to the local authorities and people of Glasgow, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Hull, York, Leeds, Wakefield, Barnsley, Sheffield, and Manchester, as well as to the intervening districts; if he can state who was responsible for the admission of these aliens; if he will reimburse the areas concerned the costs to which they have been put by the laches of the Immigration Department of the Home Office; and how soon he will rid the country of these foreign caravans under the powers conferred upon him by the last Parliament.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. GLADSTONE, Leeds, W.): The bands of German gipsies referred to by my hon. and gallant friend presumably form part of those who landed in Scotland, as he says, in March, April and May. When it became apparent that the traffic in these aliens was being organised so that they could escape inspection I took steps, as announced to this House on May 10th, to secure that any further arrivals by the steamship line which was carrying them should be subjected to inspection. Those steps were successful in preventing any further arrivals. The admission of these aliens was not due to any failure on the part of the officials engaged in administering the Aliens Act, and that Act gives me no jurisdiction to deal with them.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: How are we to get rid of these wretched people?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am afraid no action can be taken unless people interested provide money for their passage to the Continent.

London Ambulance Service.

SIR W. J. COLLINS (St. Pancras, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will state what action the Home Office has taken, and proposes to take, in reference to the application of the London County Council for statutory powers to establish, or aid in establishing, an efficient and rapid ambulance service in London for dealing with cases of accident and sudden illness in the streets and public places.

MR. GLADSTONE: I have been making inquiry as to ambulance service in London and elsewhere, and I think it would be well if a conference were held at the Home Office between the parties mainly interested for the purpose of informal discussion, and I hope the hon. Member may be able to take part in the conference. Possibly it may be desirable to appoint a small Committee to take evidence and report.

Rejections of Aliens.

MR. LUPTON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if his attention has been called to the case of Zalman Wein, a political refugee from Russia, who was refused permission to land by the officials administering the Aliens Act, also to the cases of Moses Enighorn, Itzig Levin, Sarah Kamisar, Cham Sharogrofsky, Yankel Truse, Jacob Pollack, Sinuha Tusman, and other similar cases all occurring this month; and whether in view of the denial of the right of asylum in these cases, will he say what steps he proposes to take.

MR. GLADSTONE: All these cases were dealt with in my Answer on the 30th July † to the hon. Member for the Loughborough Division of Leicestershire, and I have nothing to add to that Answer. Both that Question and this were based upon newspaper statements which have been found to be inaccurate in many essential particulars.

Imprisoned Suffragist.

SIR WILLIAM BULL (Hammersmith): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is now prepared to recommend the release of Mrs. Jane Sparborough, one of the suffragists sentenced to six weeks imprisonment on 6th July, in view of the fact that she is not a leader of the movement, and that her only offence appears to have been her reference to the word "Featherstone" under Mr. Asquith's window at a time when all the crowd had dispersed.

MR. GLADSTONE: I am not prepared to make any recommendation in this case. The prisoner can obtain her own release at any time by obeying the order of the Court, and in any case her sentence will expire on the 14th inst.

Hindustani Interpreters for London Prisons.

MR. ALDEN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, in any of the London prisons, there are interpreters who can speak Hindustani; failing this, whether there are Government interpreters at the docks who might be sent to the prisons in case of need; and, if so, how many.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxii., 431.

MR. GLADSTONE: There is no Hindustani interpreter in the London prisons. The few Hindustani prisoners who are received can almost always speak enough English to make themselves understood: but if necessity should arise, the Prison Commissioners would procure the services of an interpreter.

Merchant Shipping Laws in the Channel Islands.

SIR W. J. COLLINS: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department what reply has been received from the Channel Islands authorities in reference to the question of extending the provisions of the Merchant Shipping Laws of the United Kingdon to those islands.

MR. GLADSTONE: I have so far been engaged in correspondence with the insular authorities on the subject of their law and practice relating to navigation and the certification of pilots. But I do not think they will object to pass legislation providing that every master of a ship must be properly certificated, and I am about to propose to them officially that this should be done.

River Tay Pilots.

MR. WILKIE (Dundee): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he is aware that by the regulations of the Trinity House, Leith, no one can be licensed to act as a pilot for the River Tay unless he has had at least three years service at sea in a square-rigged sailing vessel; and will he explain why two persons have been appointed who have not this length of sea-service while others have been refused.

THE PRESIDENT of the BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE, Carnarvon Boroughs): I am aware of the requirement referred to in the first part of the Question. The Trinity House, Leith, informs me that they are unaware of any licences having been granted to persons who have not had the requisite sea-service, and if the hon. Member will give me the names of the two pilots to whom he refers I will make further inquiry in the matter and will let him know the result.

MR. JOYCE (Limerick): Seeing that steam has so prominent a part, will the right hon. Genteman see that their sea-service is equally divided between steamers and sailing vessels?

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I will look into the matter.

Railway Carriage Doors.

SIR WILLIAM BULL: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether, bearing in mind the number of accidents that arise on our railways from insufficiently fastened carriage doors, he will take steps to compel the various railway companies to attach an outside bar or fastener on every railway carriage, as is done on continental trains, an exception being made in the case of local traffic.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: The Board of Trade are advised by their technical officers that the provision of such an appliance as that referred to by the hon. Member would not be desirable, inasmuch as it would tend to prevent the free egress of passengers from the carriages of the train in cases of emergency. The Board have, however, from time to time been in communication with the railway companies in regard to the use of inside handles to the carriage doors, and they have recommended the abolition of such handles on all trains other than suburban trains. The matter is not one, however, in which the Board have any powers of compulsion. It is believed that the greater proportion of the accidents caused to passengers by falling from trains are probably due not to the insufficient fastening of carriage doors, but to the doors being improperly opened by persons in the carriages.

Electric Light Undertakings Audit.

MR. T. DAVIES (Fulham): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether, having regard to the ultimate purchase by the local authorities within the period fixed by Parliament, in pursuance of the powers given him under the Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation Acts, granted by Parliament to companies in the administrative county of London, he will appoint, as auditor of the accounts of such undertakings, the auditor of the Local Government Board, who already audits the electric lighting accounts of the boroughs holding Orders within such area, or whether he will take steps to assimilate the two systems of audit in order to secure a uniform and reliable basis of comparison.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I beg to refer my honourable friend to the Answer given on July 31st† to a similar Question which was asked by my hon. friend the Member for Camberwell. If my hon. friend has any suggestions which he desires to make on the subject of audit I shall of course be very happy to consider them.

Seamen's Remittances—Deductions.

MAJOR SEELY: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he can see his way to remit that part of the charge of threepence in the pound levied on the remittance home of British seamen's wages from Hamburg and other foreign ports which is now retained by the Board of Trade.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: This matter is still under consideration, but I hope to be able to inform my hon. and gallant friend of the decision before the House rises.

West Ham Burgess Roll.

MR. THORNE (West Ham, S.): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been called to a public notice issued by the West Ham overseers stating that certain persons who occupy certain parts of houses and pay their rent to other persons residing in the same house were lodgers, and not entitled to be registered as householders, and have been omitted from the burgess roll as occupiers for the ensuing year; and whether the Local Government Board has any power over the overseers to compel them to place the names of all persons occupying parts of houses on the burgess roll, even if they pay rent to persons residing in the same house, in accordance with the Devonport appeal case.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. JOHN BURNS, Battersea): I have seen the notice referred to, which states that in consequence of a decision given by the West Ham revising barrister last year, the overseers have omitted from the list of voters persons occupying part of houses and paying rent to other persons resident on the premises. The notice, however, informs all such occupiers desiring to be registered either as householders or as lodgers that they may claim to be so registered, and that all such claims sent in to the assistant overseer for registration before the 20th instant will be laid before the revising barrister. I understand that the overseers consider that the circumstances at West Ham are different from those in the Devonport case, and that at West Ham the sub-tenant is in most cases under the control of the landlord, and is in fact a lodger. The correctness of the view taken by the overseers will no doubt come before the revising barrister in connection with claims made by persons affected. The Local Government Board have no control over the overseers in the matter.

Manitoban Harvest and the Unemployed.

MR. FELL (Gt. Yarmouth): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been called to the great harvest in prospect in Manitoba and to the appeal for 20,000 men to help to gather it; and whether he will in connection with the committees under the Unemployed Act supply the men to do at any rate a part of this work instead of farming at Hollesley Bay or other farm colonies.

MR. JOHN BURNS: I have considered the suggestion of the hon. Member, but it does not appear that I could render any effective assistance with regard to it.

Tuberculous Outbreak at Ipswich.

MR. PARKER (Halifax): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been drawn to the Report of the Ipswich Board of Guardians Farm Committee, dealing with the question of tuberculosis in the cattle of the workhouse farm; and whether, in view of the fact that after a report from the medical officer of health and two veterinary surgeons two animals were slaughtered and eight others have since then been condemned as unfit for food, and also all milk from the farm prohibited from being consumed in the workhouse, he will order a similar investigation to be made in the case of all workhouse farms and other farms which will supply milk to the workhouses throughout the country.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clxii., 681.

MR. JOHN BURNS: I am in communication with the Ipswich Board of Guardians on the subject of the Report referred to.

West Ham Unemployed.

MR. THORNE: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he will at once consider the advisability of making a substantial grant from the Government's grant of £200,000 to the West Ham Distress Committee, in consequence of the poverty in the borough caused by the want of employment.

MR. JOHN BURNS: I am giving consideration to the subject of the distribution of the grant, but I am not at present in a position to make a payment to any particular distress committee.

Parliamentary Grant for the Unemployed

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green S.W.): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been drawn to the desire expressed by the chairman of the London Central Unemployed Committee that before the adjournment of the House in August they may be able to lay the foundation of their next winter's work; and, in these circumstances, will he inform the central committee as soon as possible what sum he proposes to place at their disposal out of the Parliamentary grant.

MR. JOHN BURNS: The subject of the distribution of the grant is receiving my attention; but I cannot at present say when I shall be in a position to state what amount will be placed at the disposal of the central (unemployed) body.

Poplar Union Audits.

MR. PICKERSGILL: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been drawn to a statement given in evidence at the Poplar inquiry that the accounts of the Poor Law Guardians of Poplar had been regularly audited by Government auditors, and that on no occasion had they drawn attention to any contract or price as improper or improvident; and whether he will consider the advisability of securing a more efficient audit by auditors instructed to call attention to such matters as part of their duty.

MR. JOHN BURNS: I understand that a statement to the effect referred to was made at the inquiry. I propose to consider whether any further instructions should be given to the auditors, together with other matters arising out of the inquiry, when the Report of the Inspector has been received.

Penny Postage to the United States.

MR. MORTON (Sutherland): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he has had a substantial offer with a bank guarantee to cover the loss for three years, if any, of establishing penny postage between Great Britain and the United States of America; if so, will he say whether he has accepted that offer; and, if not, will he explain why.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON, Tower Hamlets, Poplar): The correspondence in regard to this matter has already appeared in the Press.

MR. MORTON: But why did you refuse to accept this guarantee?

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: Perhaps I had better read the letters sent with regard to it. (The right hon. Gentleman then read the letters referred to.)

MR. MORTON: But you take similar guarantees with regard to telegraph work.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: Yes, but that guarantee is given by individuals or localities which require special facilities that would involve a loss to the Exchequer. This is an entirely different question—one affecting two nations.

MR. LUPTON: Still, it would be a great convenience to the public.

Stornoway Mails.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General, in view of the fact that during the last nine years the letters delivered and posted at Stornoway have almost doubled, whilst during the same period the parcels delivered and posted have far more than doubled, will he consider the expediency of arranging for a faster boat to be placed on the Stornoway mail service, the subsidy for which has remained unchanged for a great many years.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: Although the amount of correspondence for and from Stornoway has increased, it is still very small compared with the cost of the mail service; and I should not be justified simply for postal purposes in incurring the heavy additional expense involved in order to secure the employment of a faster steamer on the service.

Cape Colony: Duty on Catalogues.

MR. WALROND (Devonshire, Tiverton): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he has any information to the effect that a Customs duty of 7d. is being charged on each catalogue and price list entering Cape Colony; and, if so, why such information has not been given to the public, thereby saving inconvenience to the numerous firms doing business with Cape Colony.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: Information has recently been received that a duty of the kind has been decided on; but in reply to inquiries for full particulars it is stated by the Post Office of the Cape Colony that in view of difficulties which have arisen the whole question of the taxation of printed papers sent to the Colony by post is being reconsidered by a Colonial Customs Conference. The result of this Conference is to be communicated to me by telegraph at the earliest opportunity, and in the meantime I am without the information necessary for the issue of a notice on the subject to the public.

Newcastle-on-Tyne Postmen's Grievances.

MR. HUDSON (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if his attention has been called, by petition or otherwise, to the alleged grievances of the postmen of Newcastle-on-Tyne respecting the introduction of drill qualification as a necessity for appointment to the position of assistant inspectorship of telegraph messengers; and whether he can say if ordinary postmen of service will be allowed to occupy those positions.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: A memorial on this subject has been received from the postmen at Newcastle-on-Tyne. The question raised is one which affects the whole country, and not Newcastle alone, and is under consideration.

Post Office Uniform Contracts.

MR. ANNAN BRYCE (Inverness Burghs): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether, with the view of encouraging local industries, he will consider the question of placing at Inverness contracts for the furnishing of the uniforms required for post office officials in the Highlands, as has for many years been done by the Admiralty in the case of uniforms required by it for local use.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: Tenders for uniform clothing are invited every three years, by advertisements appearing in Scottish as well as English newspapers. The present contract was made this year, and no tender was received from Inverness. The next opportunity of tendering will be in 1909. It would not be expedient to make separate contracts for different localities.

Telegraph Poles—Creosoting Contract.

MR. ANNAN BRYCE: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether all the posts imported from the Baltic into Scotland for use as telegraph poles are landed and creosoted at Methil, in Fifeshire; whether he is aware that Inverness would, so far as cheap transit by rail and canal to the north and west of Scotland is concerned, be a better port of landing than Methil; whether he is aware that a creosoting plant exists at Inverness; and whether, therefore, he will consider the advisability of landing and creosoting at Inverness such portion at least of the Baltic posts as are required for use in the north and west of Scotland.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: Telegraph poles are not this year being creosoted in Scotland. Poles for use in Scotland have in previous years been creosoted at Methil, but the tender received for this year for the work was not satisfactory. It is known that, at Inverness, as indeed elsewhere in Scotland, there is creosoting plant, and it will be considered whether when the time comes for inviting tenders for next year, the work could profitably be done there.

Windward and Leeward Islands Mails.

MR. MITCHELL-THOMSON: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General, whether, having regard to the loss and inconvenience caused to merchants and planters and others connected with the Colonies of British Guiana and the Windward and Leeward Islands from the absence of regular mail facilities since the abandonment of the West Indian mail contract on 30th June, 1905, and having regard to the fact that the Royal Commission which visited the West Indies in 1897, of which the right honourable the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was a member, emphasised in their Report the importance of the establishment of cheap and frequent means of communication between the different islands, and having regard to the fact that the Lords of the Treasury, in a Minute dated 14th June, 1890, recognised in how large a manner the convenience and business of the West Indian Colonies depended upon the punctuality and absolute regularity of their communication with Europe and with each other he will state what steps it is proposed to take to remove the present cause of complaint.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: The question of providing regular mail facilities in the West Indies is receiving careful consideration, but I am not yet in a position to make a definite announcement on the subject.

Stornoway Post Office,

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he will state when it is proposed to proceed with the erection of a new post office at Stornoway, which was sanctioned some time since.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: The original plans for the Stornoway office required modification, and the revised plans are now under consideration. The provision of a new office is a matter of urgency, and I hope that the building will be begun soon.

Post Office Savings Bank Frauds.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Postmaster General if he will state how many Post Office Savings Bank depositors have been defrauded during the current year under the new system of payment on demand; and has the amount lost by such depositors been made good by the Department.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: During the current year, fraudulent withdrawals on demand have been made from the Savings Bank accounts of 39 depositors, the amount in each case being necessarily less than £1. The total loss was £35 8s. 7d. This has been made good by the Department, except in sixteen cases, where the depositors elected to give a discharge, the amount so made good being £21 1s. 7d. The total amount withdrawn on demand during the same period was about £1,700,000, and the number of withdrawals over 2,000,000.

MR. J. WARD: When the right hon. Gentleman says the loss was made good by "the Department," does he mean the Post Office, or the Post Office officials who were unfortunate enough to make the payments?

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I think in this case it was the Department, not the employees.

Education Ballots and Inquiries.

MR. HICKS BEACH (Gloucestershire, Tewkesbury): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Education upon whom the cost of ballots and public local inquiries under Clause 4 of the Education Bill will fall.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Mr. BIRRELL, Bristol, N.): The cost of public local inquiries will be borne by the local education authorities. The question of the ballots will be dealt with in the regulations for ballots which, as promised, are being prepared and will be in the hands of Members on Saturday morning.

Regent Street.

MR. FELL: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether it is proposed by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to rebuild Regent Street with a colonnade on each side; and, seeing that the original colonnade in the Quadrant was removed, as it was found to be objectionable and to render the shops too dark, and that colonnades are out of place in this dull climate, and are never built now even in the city of Paris, whether he will give this proposal his most serious consideration before agreeing to it.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. MCKENNA, Monmouth, N.): I understand that there is no intention of rebuilding the street with a colonnade.

Licence Compensation.

*MR. CHARLES ROBERTS (Lincoln): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether his attention has been drawn to the judgment delivered by Mr. Justice Kennedy in the case of Ashby's Cobham Brewery, prescribing that compensation authorities, in fixing the amount of compensation payable in the case of refused licences, must have regard to the particulars of the amount of trade done on the premises; whether the Inland Revenue would be willing to state any particulars known to them of the amounts of either spirits or beer supplied for a given period to any premises the licence of which has been refused, if any compensation authority asked them for the information in such a case; and whether, in order to assess the annual value of all licensed premises for purposes of income tax under Schedule A, the Inland Revenue intend to adopt the same method of ascertaining their real value as is prescribed by Mr. Justice Kennedy for ascertaining the value in cases of compensation.

*MR. MCKENNA: The judgment is engaging the attention of the Board of Inland Revenue. The Inland Revenue have no information in regard to the business done in particular houses which would enable them to supply details of the kind likely to be of use to compensation authorities. The Answer to the third part of the Question is in the affirmative—in so far as rests with the Board, and in so far as they may be able to obtain the necessary information which under the existing circumstances they do not possess. The assessments are, however, actually made by the general commissioners of each district and not by the Board.

MR. CHARLES ROBERTS: Surely some of the information could be obtained from the stock-books, which licensed victuallers have to keep and which are open to inspection by officials of the Inland Revenue?

Richmond Park.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works if he is aware that the speed limit in Richmond Park is constantly exceeded, to the danger and inconvenience of the general public and to the injury of the roads; and, if it is found impossible to deal with offending motorists, will he consider the advisability of closing the park to motor traffic.

*THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. HARCOURT, Lancashire, Rossendale): I am aware that the speed limit in Richmond Park is sometimes exceeded: from the fact that 44 motorists have been summoned and fined within the last three months the hon. Member will be satisfied that I am taking steps to deal with offenders. I am not at present prepared to consider the advisability of closing the park to motor traffic: it depends, however, on the conduct of motorists themselves whether some such step may not become necessary.

Cheshire Cheese.

MR. A. L. STANLEY (Cheshire, Eddisbury): I beg to ask the Chairman of the Kitchen Committee whether the Cheshire cheese supplied in the dining-room of the House is invariably the product of Cheshire, or whether it is an American or Canadian imitation; if the latter, whether he will undertake that Members asking for Cheshire cheese shall be able to obtain the same.

MR. JACOBY (Derbyshire, Mid.): In reply to the hon. Member's Question, the purveyors to the Kitchen Committee guarantee that the Cheshire cheese supplied by them is a genuine article, and is the produce of Cheshire.

Mr. A. L. STANLEY: Will the hon. Gentleman instruct the waiters in the refreshment room not falsely to inform Members that the cheese which is called Cheshire comes from America?

Mr. JACOBY: I think the hon. Member mistakes the statement with regard to Canadian Cheddar, which is given with the one shilling dinner, as applying to Cheshire cheese.

Mr. STANLEY: I have not mistaken Cheddar, which is the product of an alien county, for Cheshire, which is a county in which I take a little interest. The Cheshire cheese, I was informed, was really a Canadian or American imitation of the genuine article.

Mr. JACOBY: Then the hon. Member was wrongly informed.

Wye Salmon Fisheries.

Mr. WEIR: I beg to ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether he is aware that in 1901–2 a bye-law was passed by the Wye Board of Conservators, and sanctioned by the Board of Trade, which prohibited under heavy penalty the use of the drift net in the commercial salmon fisheries of the Wye in Herefordshire for the fixed period of four years from that date; is he aware that, although the operation of this bye-law has proved disastrous to the fishermen formerly engaged in the salmon fisheries, the Wye Board of Conservators have re-enacted the bye-law for a further period of three years from 16th August of the present year, and have applied to the Board of Agriculture for confirmation; will he state whether he has received any petitions or memorials praying that his sanction will not be given to such bye-laws; and, if so, will he lay them upon the Table of the House before coming to a decision.

Sir EDWARD STRACHEY (Somersetshire, S.): We have received from the Wye Board of Conservators an application for the confirmation of a bye-law prohibiting the use of the drift net in inland waters for a further period of three years. Certain communications have been received objecting to the confirmation of the bye-law, which will be fully considered by my noble friend before coming to a decision, but it would be contrary to practice to lay them on the Table.

Sutherland Piers and Harbours.

Mr. MORTON: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he will consider the necessity of getting a grant of money for the improvement of the piers and harbours in Sutherland, so that the fishermen may be able to carry on their work without undue risk and danger.

The SECRETARY for SCOTLAND (Mr. Sinclair, Forfarshire): Under Section 4 of the Congested Districts (Scotland) Act of 1897 money is available for these purposes, and the Board have made grants in any case where, after inquiry, they were of opinion advantage commensurate with cost would ensue.

Sutherlandshire Steamboat Services.

Mr. MORTON: I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he will consider the advisability of establishing a regular steamboat service between Lochinvar and Thurso and intermediate ports in Sutherlandshire.

Mr. SINCLAIR: The proposal of my hon. friend will be laid before the Congested Districts Board, but I have further to inform him with regret that a steamer which ran during the recent spring fishing season from Loch Clash conveying fish from ports on the West Coast of Sutherland proved an almost total failure.

Dunblane.

Mr. MORTON: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether he has received from the town clerk of Dunblane a list of offences, that are committed in Dunblane, and of which frequent complaint has been made to the Scottish Office that they are not being dealt with, and if he has had frequent letters and copies of correspondence submitted to him on the want of the services of the police for the Dunblane Police Court; and whether he proposes to take any action in the matter.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. SHAW, Hawick Burghs): I answered a similar Question to this yesterday.†

Killafee Evicted Tenant.

MR. T. SMYTH (Leitrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the Estates Commissioners have received an application for reinstatement from an evicted tenant named Dominick Maguire, residing at Killafee, Carrigallen, county Leitrim; and if an inspector will be sent down to inspect the farm.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. BRYCE, Aberdeen, S.): The Estates Commissioners inform me that they have received from Dominick Maguire an application for reinstatement, and will have the matter inquired into by one of their inspectors in due course.

Costrea Evicted Farm.

MR. T. SMYTH: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state what the Estates Commissioners intend doing with an evicted farm in the townland of Costrea, Mohill rural district, county Leitrim, on the Ruthven Estate, which formerly belonged to Patrick M'Loughlin, and contained about 34 statute acres, the rent of which was £22, raised about the year 1874 to £29, when the tenant had to take a lease for 31 years, owing to which the tenant could not avail of the Land Act of 1881, and asked the landlord for a reduction, which was refused, and the tenant was served with a writ for three half-years' rent; is he aware that in 1884 the farm was sold and was bought in on behalf of the landlord for £2; that later on in the same year the tenant was served with an ejectment and was afterwards decreed; and, seeing that possession of the farm was taken in November 1884, and has since been in the occupation of the estate bailiff, and that last December the Estates Commissioners sent down an inspector to inspect the farm, as the former tenant sent in an application for reinstatement, and that the estate is about being sold, will the Estates Commissioners get instructions not to sanction the sale, unless M'Loughlin gets the option of buying.

MR. BRYCE: The Estates Commissioners inform me that having inquired into the case of the evicted tenant and carefully considered their inspector's report thereon, they decided in May last that the case was not one in which they should endeavour to effect the restoration of the applicant to the evicted holding.

Ferns School, Wexford.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N).: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the work of erecting the proposed two new schools in the parish of Ferns, county Wexford, may now be proceeded with.

MR. BRYCE: The Commissioners of National Education assume that the Question refers to the applications for building grants for the Clologue and Ballindaggin schools, near Ferns. As the Commissioners have now been authorised to proceed with the consideration of applications for grants in urgent cases, the application in question with others of a like nature will receive early consideration, but the Commissioners inform me that they are not in a position to give an immediate authorisation to commence building in these cases. The Commissioners will, I have no doubt, expedite the matter as much as possible.

Irish Primary Education.

MR. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland when he intends to make any proposals to remedy the grievances put before him in connection with primary education in Ireland; and if he can give any indication of the nature of all or any of such proposals.

MR BRYCE: I am not in a position to add anything to the reply which I gave to the hon. Member's Question on this subject on 19th July.‡ The questions involved are most important, but they are also most difficult.

Royal Irish Constabulary.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether a policy of retrenchment in the cost of the constabulary force in Ireland has the approval of the present Irish Government; if so, what steps are being taken at present to carry it into practical operation; and if the Government, with a view to economy, will throw open the positions of district and county inspectors to intelligent, well-conducted constables who have gained their experience in the ranks.

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† See col. 1052.

‡ See (4) *Debates*, clxi., 408.

Mr. BRYCE: For the Answers to the first two inquiries I beg to refer to my reply to the Question of the hon. Member for the Birr Division on Tuesday last.† The reply to the concluding inquiry is that every alternate promotion to the rank of district inspector is given to men who have risen from the rank of constable, and promotions to county inspectorships are made from the district inspectors. No change in this respect is at present contemplated.

Mr. FLYNN: Will the right hon Gentleman consider the desirability of making more promotions from the ranks?

Mr. BRYCE: That Question will be considered with others.

Second Term Rent Appeals.

Mr. MURPHY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether in the several cases in which second term rents were fixed by the Land Commission since 1881 to the 31st March, 1906, the old rental was reduced from £2,690,762 6s. 1d. to £1,728,600 15s. 11d.; whether in all 14,790 applications to fix first and second term rents were undisposed of on the last mentioned date by the Land Commission and county courts in Ireland; whether he can take any steps for a speedy hearing of these applications so as to ensure that purchase transactions will be carried out on properly fixed rents; and whether he can give any explanation of the delay in fixing rents by the Land Commission in the cases mentioned.

Mr. BRYCE: The Question correctly states the facts as shown by the Annual Report of the Land Commission recently presented to Parliament. The Land Commission inform me that during the three months following 31st March last the number of fair rent applications undisposed of by the Commission was reduced by over 500. It is no doubt very desirable that the fixing of fair rents should proceed as rapidly as possible, and I have no reason to suppose that the Land Commission are not taking all possible steps to that end. There is every reason to anticipate that with the progress of land purchase the number of outstanding applications to fix fair rents will continue to diminish.

Irish Teachers' Salaries.

Mr. MURPHY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the number of teachers who, having completed a two years course of training in 1900, are now paid a higher rate of salary than £63 per annum, inclusive of capitation; whether he can also state the number of teachers who completed a two years course the same year and are now in charge of schools having an average of sixty or over and are paid at the rate of £63 per annum, independent of capitation; and what reasons are assigned by the Commissioners of National Education for this difference of treatment.

Mr. BRYCE: The Commissioners of National Education inform me that they are prepared to give the information asked for, but it will take some little time to prepare. From the wording of the second part of the Question, the Commissioners assume that the word "inclusive" in the first part should read "exclusive." The Commissioners also assume that the information is sought for in regard to male teachers only.

Irish Intermediate Board.

Mr. BRYCE asked leave to explain to the House, in view of the anticipation he had held out that the correspondence between Irish Government and the Intermediate Board of Education would be laid in a few days, that he had received a letter from the Secretary to the Board stating that as the members were scattered all over the country it would not be possible to hold a meeting to draft a reply to his last letter; and the correspondence therefore would not be ready for some time. There was every desire on the part of the Government to publish the correspondence at the earliest possible moment consistent with fairness to the Board.

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† See col. 722.

Newcastle (County Down) Foreshore.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether Lord Annesley holds a lease of the foreshore at Newcastle, county Down, Ireland; and, if so, can he say why others, who have made similar applications, have been refused, and on what grounds.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Lord Annesley holds a lease from the Board of Trade of certain foreshore at Newcastle, county Down. Without knowing the special applications to which the hon. Member refers as having been refused, I am unable to state the grounds of such refusal, but all applications are considered on their merits, with special reference to the interests of the public. I may add that it is only in exceptional circumstances that the Board of Trade grant leases of foreshore to private individuals unless works are in immediate contemplation.

MR. SLOAN reminded the right hon. Gentleman that he had been in correspondence with the Board in regard to a particular case and he had personally brought it to his notice.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said the incident had escaped his memory; he would look into it.

Belfast Dock Accommodation.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the correspondence which has passed between Messrs. Harland and Wolff and the Belfast Harbour Commissioners with reference to the failure of the Commissioners to take the necessary steps to provide proper dock accommodation at that port; whether he is aware that Messrs. Harland and Wolff have stated that within the past seven months, owing to the lack of proper dock accommodation, repairs and work have had to be refused by their firm which has resulted in a loss to the city of Belfast of anything from £200,000 to £250,000; whether Messrs. Harland and Wolff, in view of the position matters are now in, have offered themselves to erect a dock if the Harbour Commissioners would supply the ground; and whether, in view of this loss to the trade and working population of the city of Belfast, he will take steps either by remedying the present exclusive franchise system on which the Harbour Commissioners are elected, or by other means, to ensure that so large a sum of money and amount of work will not continue to be diverted from the city of Belfast.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I understand from the Press that Messrs. Harland and Wolff have addressed the Belfast Harbour Commissioners substantially in the terms described in the Question, and that the Commissioners have replied that they are using every possible exertion to expedite the works in question, and that they are prepared to consider any definite proposal on the part of Messrs. Harland and Wolff for ground to build a graving dock themselves. The Commissioners, whose constitution is fixed by Statute, consists of the Lord Mayor of Belfast *ex officio* and twenty-one members elected by a constituency of shipowners and ratepayers voting by ballot, and the Board of Trade have no power without legislation either to vary that system of election or to compel the Commissioners to take the steps suggested by the hon. Member. I fully recognise the great importance of this matter to the trade and industries of the city of Belfast and I will communicate with the Harbour Commissioners on the subject.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware there is a strong feeling in the North of Ireland in favour of assimilating the Harbour franchise with the Parliamentary franchise. Will he consider that?

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I have had no representations to that effect.

Belfast Stock Exchange

MR. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he can state if the Dublin Stock Exchange is incorporated or has a regular exchange; and whether the Belfast Stock Exchange Association is incorporated or has a regular exchange.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: The Dublin Stock Exchange, Limited, is registered as a company in Dublin under the Companies

Acts and carries on business there. The Belfast Stock Exchange does not appear to be so registered.

MR. MACVEAGH: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the Belfast Exchange consists of a small ring of stock jobbers who never served an apprenticeship to the business. Would it not be in the public interest to hold an inquiry?

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I have received no information officially.

Howth Harbour and Ireland's Eye.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he will state who is responsible for seeing that dangerous rocks on the coast are marked by buoys or light; and, if any authority is responsible, whether he will direct its attention to the unsafe condition of the sunken rocks between the mouth of Howth Harbour and Ireland's Eye.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: The Commissioners of Irish Lights are responsible for lighting and buoying the coast of Ireland, except within the limits of jurisdiction of local lighthouse authorities. As it is doubtful whether the place where it is suggested by the hon. Member that a buoy should be placed is or is not within the limits of the Howth Harbour Lighthouse Authority (the Commissioners of Public Works) I have called the attention of both the General and the Local Lighthouse Authority to the allegation as to the unsafe condition of the sunken rocks.

MR. CLANCY: Has the right hon. Gentleman received any reply?

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Not yet.

Cork Post Office Overseers.

MR. A. ROCHE (Cork): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether overseers in the telegraph department of the Cork Post Office frequently act in the capacity of instrument operators; and, if so, whether a like system obtains in the Dublin General Post Office.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: Neither in Dublin nor in Cork are overseers regularly employed on instrument work, but it is their duty to be ready to assist at any point where there is special need of their services.

Cork Telephone Operators.

MR. A. ROCHE: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether his attention has been drawn to the probability of vacancies occurring in the female operators' staff attached to the telephone department of the Cork Post Office in the immediate future; and, if so, will such vacancies be open to competitive examination and due notice given as to date of examination.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I am not aware that vacancies are probable in the near future, but in any case I have no reason to substitute open competition for the present method of appointing telephone operators at Cork.

Cork Telegraph Staff.

MR. A. ROCHE: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether, with a view to ascertaining the numerical sufficiency or otherwise of the telegraph staff at Cork, he will grant a Return of the waits recorded in that office as having been given to officers in communication with it during the month of June, 1906; and whether, pending such Return, the contemplated reduction of the Cork operative staff will be deferred.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: The question of the amount of force required in the telegraph department of the Cork office is now under consideration, and the point mentioned by the hon. Member will be looked into in connection therewith; but I do not think that any advantage will be gained by such a Return as that asked for by the hon. Member.

Killarney Postmen's Loads.

MR. MURPHY: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether any arrangement could be made to relieve the postmen at Killarney from the work of carrying very heavy loads of mails from the post office to the railway station, which is a considerable distance.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I will cause inquiry to be made on the subject and will inform the hon. Member of the result.

Dublin Ordnance Survey Staff.

MR. CLANCY: I beg to ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether Mr. John Fagan, late of the Ordnance Survey, Dublin, who was recently, after eight years service, discharged on reduction of the establishment, has been refused the gratuity provided for in such cases by the rules; and, if so, will he explain why.

SIR EDWARD STRACHEY: Under the Treasury regulations temporary civil assistants on the Ordnance Survey are only eligible for a gratuity on discharge or retirement if they have completed seven years service after sixteen years of age. This condition is not fulfilled in the case of Mr. Fagan, and I regret therefore that it is impossible to recommend him for a gratuity.

The County Magistracy.

MR. BRIDGEMAN (Shropshire, Oswestry): I beg to ask the Prime Minister by what process the Lord Chancellor has ascertained the political views of the existing justices of the peace; whether, in view of the fact that the Lord Chancellor regards the preponderance of Conservative magistrates as a great evil, it is proposed to impose a political test upon those who may in future be proposed for appointment as magistrates; and, if so, what method will be adopted to carry it out.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Stirling Burghs): The fact that existing justices of the peace in the counties are by a a very great majority Conservatives is notorious and has never been disputed. What the Lord Chancellor regards as a great evil is this great disparity, and he would equally deprecate a similar disparity on the other side. The question in regard to a test is evidently not put seriously.

MR. BRIDGEMAN: How does the Lord Chancellor propose to make the disparity less without a test?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I should think by redressing the balance of political opinion as well as he can.

MR. BRIDGEMAN: How is he to find out?

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: There is no difficulty in finding out that which is notorious.

THE TRADE DISPUTES BILL.

MR. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe) asked whether the Government, in order to finish the Committee stage of the Trade Disputes Bill to-morrow, would carry the sitting if necessary beyond eleven o'clock.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes, Sir. I take a hopeful view of the case; but if the Committee stage of the Bill be not finished by eleven o'clock, we shall continue the sitting until it is.

STATUTE LAW REVISION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Lords Amendments to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

CENSUS OF PRODUCTION [EXPENSES].

Committee to consider of authorising the payment, out of moneys provided by Parliament, of any expenses incurred for the purposes of the Census under any Act of the present session to provide for taking a Census of Production (King's Recommendation signified), to-morrow.—(*Mr. Whiteley.*)

LIGHT RAILWAYS BILL.

Order for Second Reading [October 23rd] read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MAJOR SEELY (Liverpool, Abercromby), in moving that the Bill be read a second time that day three months, said he would, in the fewest words possible, describe the present constitution of the Committee of Defence, and the changes which he respectfully submitted to the House should be made in that body; also the present drawbacks and the advantages of the proposed change. The present Committee of Defence was formed upon the lines laid down by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean and the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition. He thought that was a true historical statement of fact. In 1894 negotiations took place between all those interested in the matter and between the two right hon. Gentlemen mentioned. A letter was written in February, 1894, suggesting that it was necessary for the safety of the Empire that there should be some such body set up. Under a Liberal Government a Committee of Defence was formed. That Committee, however, had no continuity in policy for it kept no continuous record. It was not until 1903 that the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition propounded, first at Liverpool, and then in the House, a scheme for a great Council of Imperial Defence. It was not necessary to remind the House how great were the issues involved in that Committee. However much we longed for peace we could not retain it except by a readiness for war, and this readiness could only be obtained by co-operation throughout the Empire. In 1903, the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition made a statement to the House the result of which was the adoption of a Resolution to the effect that, in the opinion of the House, the ever-growing interests of the Empire demanded the establishment of a Committee of Defence upon a permanent basis. After discussion, and with unanimous approval, a Committee of Defence was founded. This Committee was not quite the same as the one they had at present, but he ventured to assert, with great respect, that neither of them fulfilled the purposes they were designed to serve. What he would suggest was that they could not have a proper Committee of Imperial Defence unless that Committee included, not only representatives from the Colonies and India, but also representatives of the great political Parties in this country. He was aware that this proposal was somewhat novel to the House, but he would endeavour to show that it was not novel in other countries of the world. This England of ours, which had most complicated problems to deal with—greater far than any continental nation, the United States, or Japan—was the only country where great matters of Imperial stategy and defence were the sport of Party politics. We were the one country of all others where all must co-operate, —Liberals, Labour, and Tories alike—if we meant to maintain this great Empire under its growing burden of taxation and armaments. The *modus vivendi* with regard to the present Committee seemed to differ from that of the previous Committee. As he understood it the Prime Minister summoned from time to time the Secretary of State for War, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and two representatives of the Services, bringing with them experts. In addition, two members had been co-opted as permanent members, viz., Lord Esher and Sir John French, gentleman who were fully cognisant of all matters of defence. He had made some inquiry into the methods which prevailed among foreign nations who had far less reason for such Committees than we had. He found that in Russia they had followed England's example and instituted a Committee of Defence somewhat on the same lines. In Germany there was no Committee of Defence unless it was the Bundesrath which also included representatives from all parts of the Colonies. In that case the Emperor was supreme and the Prussian Minister of Defence was the chairman. In France a committee had been formed upon our own lines in April of this year. That consisted of the Prime Minister, as chairman, the Minister for War, the Minister for the Colonies, and the Financial Minister. The President had power to preside over the Committee whenever he thought desirable. He (the speaker) had now dealt as far as possible with the arrangements made by foreign Powers for the purposes of defence, and he would point out to the House that whereas all of them were governed under a party system none of them allowed the party system to completely control questions of imperial defence. After endeavouring to show what was our present system and how dangerously it differed from those of every other country he would ask the attention of the House to some other special dangers which beset us in following our present policy. The present system was to the last degree wasteful, inasmuch as there was nobody to advise each party, and they bid against each other, and made proposals involving large expenditure upon the Army and the Navy. He believed that half the burden we bore was owing to the competition of political parties as to who should produce the best scheme. It made for extravagance, and what was more, it made for confusion and ignorance in the public mind, and tended to produce war. Most people in the country could not understand questions of Army administration and could not follow the system of Army corps. They said it was too complicated, and puzzled by the complication and the differences of experts, they gave up the effort to understand our system of defence. Arrogance was the prime cause of war, and arrogance was the child of ignorance. There was no curb under the present system upon warlike enthusiasm, and this tended to produce war. Our party system made the co-operation of the Colonies in this matter well-nigh impossibe, because they resented being the plaything of English political parties. Party Government might be a good thing, and was a good thing within these islands, but a party caucus was a bad thing with which to govern the Empire, and we came up against this bed rock difficulty when we went to our Colonies and asked for their co-operation and contributions. He thought a new plan ought to be tried on the lines he had indicated. No doubt the Leader of the Opposition would say that the first difficulty was foreign policy, upon which strategy depended. To that he would reply that, since Lord Salisbury made his famous speech about the wrong horse, foreign policy had been removed entirely from the realm of party politics. This, therefore, was a peculiarly favourable moment to attempt the plan he advocated. It might be held, again, that one party might be for economy and the other for extravagance. Here, again, this was an opportune moment, for everything that had happened since the beginning of this new Parliament had shown how great was the agreement of parties on the broad lines of policy in regard to economy. The constitutional difficulty, he admitted, was the greatest difficulty. The responsibility of the Cabinet must be maintained. But the Committee of Defence was not, and would not be, an executive body and the centre of power. It would be consultative and advisory, and he urged that it was vital to make that source of information and advice as wide as possible. The right hon. Gentleman himself had said that the Committee of Defence, when it came to a decision, did not bind itself or the Government or its successors, but was a source of information common to both parties. That being so, Cabinet responsibility remained, as it was absolute and complete. He believed much good might come from some such scheme as he had advocated. Its advantages were manifest. First of all, there was the advantage of economy if we had a continuous policy based upon a continuous source of knowledge, because we should not fly from one policy to another and a party would not waste millions of money in order to dish the other party. Such a scheme would also make for peace and render Imperial co-operation, which had broken down again and again, possible. He was convinced that the Empire could not continue unless it was held together by some bond, and there were only two—mutual profit and mutual sacrifice.

For various reasons the profit basis was inapplicable for the moment to this Empire. There remained the community of sacrifice. If we could bring the Colonies to co-operate with us in the defence of the Empire he was convinced that they would not shrink from responsibility, and there would then be an end to these senseless bickerings as to whether the Colonies had, or had not, subscribed enough. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now,' and at the end of the question to add the words 'upon this day three months.'"—(*Major Seely.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

SIR GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend) said it was not the first time he had risen in this House to support the views of his hon. friend. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had said that the present Defence Committee, although a useful one, was not quite so effective as it might be, and had pointed out the process by which the Defence Committee had risen from its embryonic stage to its present and effective operation. Lord Rosebery recorded his idea that in regard to defence there should be no parties but only one great Parliament representing the general interests of the United Kingdom and the Empire. If that idea did not take with the British people, and this idea on the other hand became effective, he still believed that Lord Rosebery and the two right hon. Gentlemen on the front Opposition Bench who were responsible for the Committee of Defence had done great service to the Colonies and the Empire in this regard. But our Colonies as well as the present Opposition in Parliament ought to be represented on the ideal Committee of Imperial Defence. It was most essential that the Colonies should be admitted to the councils of the Empire. A good deal had been said about the non-contribution by the Colonies to naval defence. But the House ought to know the position of the Colonies. It was true that the Colonies had had no education in matters of defence until the last fifteen or sixteen years. It was only about fifteen years since that Australia began to contribute to the Navy. Canada had not contributed at all to the Empire's defence until this year, when she had taken over the fortress at Halifax, and had become responsible for that, which had previously been a burden borne by the United Kingdom. The reason why the people of Canada had not contributed before was because they were a continental people and had no idea that their produce had to be protected on its way to this country. The statesmen of Canada had not been educated to contributing to Imperial defence. He was told by a right hon. Gentleman in Canada only recently that all the Powers in Europe were vieing with each other as to which should have the largest army, and that it was simply national glorification. But he pointed out to the right hon. Gentleman that if Canada wanted to have markets for her productions in China or Japan and prevent the interference with that open door by Russia or some other Power we must have sufficient power behind us to enforce our claims. The right hon. Gentleman admitted there was a good deal in his argument. He could assure the House, however, that the change of public opinion in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand upon this question within the last ten years had been enormous. He appealed to the Prime Minister to consider very carefully whether it would not be well to invite colonial Parliaments to appoint permanent representatives to the Defence Committee. If the Colonies were admitted, members of both great political parties at home must be admitted, and the Government should have no fear in entrusting the larger secrets of policy to the Opposition which might confront them at any particular time. There was such a high patriotism in the House of Commons that this confidence was never likely to be abused. So far as the Colonies were concerned it was absolutely necessary that there should be constant evidence from the Colonies and India. They had something like it in the Council that advised the India Office. There should also, so far as foreign Powers were concerned, be a knowledge that should be common to statesmen on both sides. He believed economy would be greatly increased if a general knowledge of policy, which must more or less lapse when a Government went from office into opposition and lost its hold on the entire policy, were extended to the statesmen of the Opposition. There must necessarily be a loss to the country owing to the fact that right hon. Gentlemen who sat on the front Opposition bench were without information which would enable them to see the direction of the policy of the Government. They could not admit the Colonies unless they admitted the representatives of both Parties. They ought not to admit the representatives of both Parties unless they admitted the Colonies, or they would be without that great scheme of co-operation which he believed was the idea underlying the action of his right hon. friend as the Prime Minister of the time in establishing and inaugurating this Committee of Defence. If that were done they would have gone a good way towards lifting the Departments concerned with foreign and colonial affairs, and the Navy and Army, out of the sphere of acute controversy. He did not believe there was a single Member in this House who enjoyed controversy so much that he would not be willing for patriotic reasons to sink Party for the moment in order to secure freedom from those acrimonious debates which brought governments into difficulties, and, after all, served no purpose in Parliamentary life. Unless they had in Parliament ideals they would get nowhere. Many ideals that had been considered impossible had become in the end practical schemes. He believed this one would come to pass sooner or later, and he supported his hon. friend in pressing upon the Government the advisability of accepting his view.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (City of London): The question raised by the two hon. Gentlemen, everybody will admit, is of the supremest interest and importance to the well-being of the Empire. Obviously both the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite and my hon. friend have been equally animated by a single-minded desire for the welfare of the Empire as a whole. They have not been advocating any mere Party question, and they have not looked at the subject under discussion from any narrow standpoint. The hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite surveyed the rise and growth of the existing Committee of Defence, which he told us had been of great interest to himself and others, and he mentioned the right hon. Member for the Forest of Dean, who has been very keenly anxious to see some machinery tried for dealing with these great subjects. Twelve years ago, as the hon. and gallant Gentleman reminded us, the subject was in its infancy. I do not know that my ideas have undergone any fundamental change. It is the fact that since then the Committee of Defence, not precisely on the old lines, was established during the period when I was in office. I am not sure that the character of that Committee is even now perfectly understood by the House or by the public. I do not, in the first instance, regard it as in any sense an alternative either for Cabinet rule or Cabinet responsibility. The Cabinet of the day is and must remain responsible for the whole policy of the country, whether it be connected with the size of our armaments, the management of our Colonial affairs, or the direction of our foreign policy. But I go further than that, and say that the Committee of Defence cannot really be dissociated to the extent my hon. friends imagine from the Ministers of the day who are directly responsible to this House. The hon. and gallant Gentleman told us that in making the Prime Minister head of the Defence Committee we were violating the practice which had been universally observed in foreign countries, because, he argued, the Prime Minister of the day is a Party leader, the head of a Party opposed to another Party, and if you put him at the head of the Defence Committee without the co-operation of the other Party you make that Committee what the Cabinet by common avowal is, and must be, a Party organisation. The Committee ought, on the contrary, so runs the argument, to be above Party. I would ask, in the first place, whether it be really true that foreign nations have been able to eliminate this element of the Party system from their Defence Committees. I gather that we are to a large extent the initiators of this policy, and that other countries have followed in our footsteps, if I may say so—a great compliment to the work we have endeavoured to carry out. But in following in our footsteps have they been able to avoid what the hon. and gallant Gentleman regards as a grave danger and serious evil? I am not sure that he has made out his case on that point. There is no exact parallel between the position in the United States, for example, or the French Republic, and the position of the British Prime Minister. Neither is there any exact parallel between the position of so carefully constitutional a Monarchy as ours has become and any foreign Monarchy I know of. It is rather dangerous to make comparisons where an exact parallel is not possible. I will venture to suggest two things. I do not believe the President of the United States can avoid having a Party side to his duties—he is elected by a Party. He has, of course, great national obligations which overpower the Party aspect of his position, but I imagine it is never wholly and absolutely eliminated. On the one side, then, there must remain some Party element in the position of the President of the United States, and on the other, am I not right in saying that the position of Prime Minister of this country is not wholly Party? I do not believe any Prime Minister has ever considered himself as merely a Party leader. He is a Party leader, he fights for his Party, and in the nature of the case indulges in the day-to-day polemic of Party warfare; but every Prime Minister is and must consider himself as the representative, not merely of his Party, but, for the time being, of the country as a whole. This is an aspect in our affairs which the Opposition of the day are quite ready to acknowledge, and which we are anxious to see as far as possible maintained. It would, I think, be a great travesty of the British Constitution to say that the Prime Minister of the day is merely a Party leader, and I do not think it is an accurate representation of any Party Government to say that the President of this or that Republic can wholly remove himself from Party ties. The second comment I have to make is that, as far as my judgment and knowledge go, the hon. and gallant Gentleman has exaggerated the Party aspect of the Committee's work. He told us that one great cause of the increasing cost of armaments in this country or France is the rivalry between two Parties, each of which comes into power resolved to find some scheme different from that of its predecessors, and better, but which it costs a great deal of money to put in operation. I believe that would be an entire misrepresentation of the attitude of successive Governments. I am not going to minimise any differences there may be on questions of armaments on the two sides of the House; but, depend upon it, there never was a Government in the world who wished to spend money simply for the purpose of preparing some brilliant and popular change in order to eclipse what their rivals had done, and to claim some special credit for it. There may be some Gentlemen in this House who may be under the impression that sometimes gets abroad, that Governments like expenditure. No Government does. There may be extravagant Governments, or Governments that are accused of extravagance; but there never has been a Government in the world which liked spending money, because nothing is so embarrassing to a Government, or produces such internal friction in a Government. Nothing produces such difficulty in this House or such unpopularity in the country. Let hon. Gentlemen put it out of their minds that any Government would be so absolutely idiotic as heavily to burden their finances, not for something that is of Imperial importance, but merely in the hope that it will produce popularity on the platform. I, therefore, venture to say that inasmuch as no Government indulge in expenditure merely for the sake of expenditure, you do not avoid expenditure by putting members of the Opposition, whether Radical or Unionist, on the Defence Committee. Then comes the question, how are you going to work this extended body? As I conceive the Committee of Defence, it is a body summoned by the Prime Minister to assist him in dealing with matters that are outside the purview of any single Department, and it is his business to decide the heads of what Departments and what experts are to be summoned to a meeting of the Defence Committee. It is quite true that the Parliamentary heads of the Army and Navy and the experts of those two Departments must be summoned, because almost every question of Imperial defence and strategy closely touches both of them. But it is not always necessary to summon, for instance, the Foreign Minister, who is perhaps the hardest worked of all Ministers. If some matter arises which touches him, of course he comes. It is the same with the head of the Colonial Office. To always summon the heads of all the Departments to the meetings of the Defence Committee would be a waste of time and labour. There is that elasticity in the constitution of the Defence Committee, as I conceive it, by which the Prime Minister may decide for himself whose advice he will ask for as occasions arise. That being the constitution of the Defence Committee, so far as this country is concerned, the question comes, what is its relation to the Colonies? Of course, I think the Colonies should have at command a place on the Defence Committee, and that place is open to them as the Defence Committee is now constituted.

MAJOR SEELY: They will not come.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: But they have come. We had a Minister from Canada who gave us most valuable information on certain aspects of the military defence of Canada. I remember also that the Australian Colonies consulted us on matters of defence, and we were able to give them assistance for which they were very grateful. I quite agree that the representatives of the Colonies would not come habitually. There is no need that they should come habitually. Remember that the interest of the great self-governing Colonies in the question of Imperial defence is largely naval; and if they are assured that we are keeping up an adequate Navy, so far as we are concerned we protect them from all over-sea dangers which they have to fear. Of this I am confident, however you may model or remodel your Defence Committee, you will never induce the Colonies to give us here complete control over the military forces which they maintain and for which they pay. We must accept facts. There is no use kicking against the pricks. We must adapt our military system to what is the ultimate constitutional necessity of the Empire. That of course, makes it less important that the Colonies should have permanent Members on the Defence Committee; but if ever an emergency arises in which they wish to co-operate with us the Defence Committee, as at present constituted, can adopt the means precisely suited to meet that emergency. Therefore, I am not at all sure that the gains which the hon. and gallant Member anticipates from his proposed reconstitution of the Defence Committee are at all likely to be attained by it, while the change itself would carry with it evils of a special character. The hon. and gallant Gentleman desires that the Leader of the Opposition should once a week sit among the Ministers of the Government to which he is opposed and share their most intimate counsels and some of the most difficult problems with which they can concern themselves.

MAJOR SEELY: I hope I may explain that that was not my suggestion at all. That position, of course, would be ridiculous. What I contemplated is that the Leader of the Opposition should sit on the Defence Committee, say every three months, not to discuss details as to single battalions or single ships, but questions of great Imperial strategy.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. and gallant Gentleman does not quite apprehend the character of the work done by the Committee of Defence. It never discusses single ships or single battalions. These are questions for the First Lord of the Admiralty and the War Secretary. Even when we determined to make a change in Army armaments, deciding that there should be two types of guns—18-pounders and 15-pounders—the matter never came before the Committee of Defence. It was decided by the Cabinet on the advice of the War Minister and the experts of the Department. The question intimately concerned Imperial defence in one sense; but it did not belong to the class of questions which, I think, can with advantage be brought before the Defence Committee. If the great problem, as I conceive it to be, of the defence of the North-West frontier of India should arise, you could not deal with it by itself. It could only be dealt with in co-operation between the Home Government and the Indian Government. Therefore, it comes, in my view, within the purview of the Defence Committee. I can well understand also that the Defence Committee might be asked to consider or reconsider such a problem as the two-Power standard for naval defence, for it is a question that touches so many interests that it cannot properly be regarded solely as a naval question. The Committee of Defence never has been, and never ought to be, concerned with the small matters of Departmental administration. But does not the hon. and gallant Gentleman see that it would be impossible to work his system under which the Leader of the Opposition is to be called in by the Government every three months to discuss big questions of Imperial defence and strategy? Just consider what the position would be if I were called in for consultation by the Government during the past six months. There is no doctrine more clear than that it is the gravest mistake to diminish the amount of your regular forces until the expansible Army on which you have to rely in the event of a sudden struggle for national existence is in working order. The Government take exactly the opposite view. They are sanguine that they will be able to find an expansible Army.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. HALDANE, Haddington) indicated dissent.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Well I can only read their speeches in our three Parliamentary debates as meaning that the Government have absolutely resolved that the Regular Army is to be largely diminished, although they have not got anything like an expansible Army. Suppose I had been present at the discussion of that great question, I should have urged on the Defence Committee what I am now urging. I should be able to cross-examine the members of the Council and the right hon. Gentleman. We should not agree, and I should come down to the House armed, illegitimately armed, with all the information which I had been able to extract from them and their experts. I should be in a false position, and I feel quite sure they would be; and I do not think for a moment they would have accepted any person on the Committee, knowing that his views differed so profoundly from their views; who would have every chance of forging weapons in their inner councils by which to attack them. Supposing I had been present during the last few months when naval policy was under discussion, and finding that the Prime Minister did not hold the two-Power standard in the same sense that I do, which I believe is the fact. The two-Power standard of naval strength as I understand it, is that we ought to have a Navy equal to deal effectively with any two Powers that can be brought against us. In my view that means a Navy not strictly and mathematically equal to two other great naval Powers, but a Navy with that margin of safety without which you could not with serenity enter on a struggle on which the very existence of the country depends That is not the view of the Prime Minister. His view, as I understand it, is that the idea that France and Germany would ever combine against us is so remote that you may put it out of account. That is an interpretation of the two-Power standard absolutely different from the way I look at it, and one most menacing to the safety of the country. The idea of imagining that international friendships are of so permanent a character that you may put aside absolutely the idea that your friend of to-day may not be your enemy to-morrow is not an adequate basis of national defence. I say you must go beyond mere probability. If you ask me my opinion upon foreign relations, I should say it is most improbable that we should be at war with France and Germany combined in the next two or three years; yet I say, nevertheless, that to put ourselves at the mercy of a coalition of those two Powers, even if it be an improbable contingency, is insanity from the point of view of Imperial defence. But that is the view of the Prime Minister. And how is it possible that people who differ so fundamentally as he and I upon that question could possibly come to any useful agreement sitting round a table? The Government have given two absolutely inconsistent accounts in the two Houses of why they have diminished their shipbuilding programme. In this House the explanation vouchsafed had something to do with The Hague Conference, and for the rest it was entirely based on the opinion of the Naval Lords, of which no account was really given. It appears from the statement of the First Lord in another place that the diminution was not concerned with The Hague Conference, but that the Admiralty were not satisfied with some of their plans, and they wanted to try further experiments. They were two quite different accounts. On this Question of the two-Power standard we have reached a fundamental difference between the two sides; and if the Prime Minister's views are shared by his Party, I say a more dangerous policy than that now initiated in regard to the Navy has never been made before, and it is one which I believe, when the country understands it, the country will not readily endorse. Had I been asked to go to Whitehall when this question was under discussion, who knows but I might have been so eloquent on the two-Power standard, or so strong on the question of getting your expansible Army into a fit state for fighting European

Powers before diminishing your Regular Army, that I might have persuaded even His Majesty's Government? But in soberer moments I should think it extremely improbable that I should have been able to move them by any counsels I could give them. The position is one into which no Leader of an Opposition ought to be put. The reasons I have put forward make me doubt the practicability of such a plan. We have to work this country on the Party system. I have never disguised from myself the inevitable dangers which are inherent in that system, but neither have I declined to recognise its great advantages. I believe a strong and homogeneous Government, even though I differ from it, is better than a weak and hybrid Administration; and, though I honestly admit I do not think the Party system is working well at this moment in the best interests of the Empire, I do not believe it will be improved by any admixture in its councils of an Opposition element, even if it be as patriotic, single-minded, and able as we may hope some Oppositions are.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Stirling Burghs): My hon. and gallant friend who introduced this subject, if I may use a homely phrase, has caught a Tartar. He proposed in the most amiable and non-Party spirit to make a certain alteration in the constitution and practice of the Committee of Imperial Defence, and the right hon. Gentleman has made this amiable non-Party Motion the occasion for a vehement, sustained, and argued attack upon, first, the military, and then the naval policy of the Government. Of course everything is lawful on the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill, but it is rather hard on my hon. and gallant friend that his innocent proposal should be made the vehicle for a speech of that kind. I do not want to use strong epithets, but I could repeat something of what I have said before in regard to some parts of the right hon. Gentleman's speech. I will deal in the first place with the Committee of Imperial Defence. I have never been strongly prejudiced in favour of the Committee of Imperial Defence. I was always afraid it might get beyond its proper bounds, that it might interfere with the responsibility of the Cabinet and the Ministers charged with the two great Departments, and that, therefore, the results might be unfortunate in the interests of the country. I confess that I have modified my opinion in this respect, and I think that these dangers and evils have been avoided.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Hear, hear.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: When we came into office I found a certain amount of trepidation—so strong had been the opinions I had expressed about the Committee—lest there should be some interference with its action and an alteration of its powers. But I said to those who approached me on the subject that it was to continue exactly as it was until I found practically what its working was, and if we had any reason to alter it we should do so; if not, we should do our best to continue it efficiently. My experience of this Committee has been most satisfactory. I think that my hon. and gallant friend a little mistakes its proper function, and from a greater part of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman its creator and author, he seems also to have mistaken its function. The Committee of Imperial Defence is an opportunity for the Government to fortify itself with regard to the naval and military policy and the general defence of the Empire by the direct opinion of the best experts in the two services. The naval and military authorities meet round a table with the members of the Government and discuss all the technical questions which are brought before it, but it has nothing to do with policy, nothing whatever to do with the naval and military policy on a large scale. To my mind it has nothing to do with the question of what is the standard of two or three nations we should be equal to. What they have to supply is the information how we can best equal these if we wish to do so, but it is the political Members of the Cabinet who have to determine the policy of the country, with the expert assistance and the technical knowledge necessary to carry out that policy. Therefore the right hon. Gentleman, if he had been fortunate or unfortunate enough to be summoned to one of our meetings, would not have been asked whether he agreed with me that some standards laid down for the Navy are excessive and possibly in their nature absurd. He would not have been asked to agree with the Secretary for War as to whether the reductions in the Army could safely be made with the prospect which is before us of being able to create, expand, and develop a force sufficient for the defence of the country. Those are questions of high policy with which the Cabinet deals, but which are beyond the ken, in that stage of them at least, of the Committee of Imperial Defence. The right hon. Gentleman also would have been in this position. He would have been among men who had a very easy means of knowing what the opinions of the right hon. Gentleman were, because the discussions of the Committee under the last Government, and the conclusions to which they came on one subject after another, are recorded and are open to us for examination; so that we have a perfectly sufficient knowledge of what the right hon. Gentleman's views were last year and the year before. My hon. friend thinks that an advantage would be obtained by adding to this Committee other people, either Members of Parliament or peers, who did not belong to the Party in power, and therefore had no direct Ministerial responsibility, and perhaps ultimately introducing also members representing the Colonies and other parts of the Empire. The Colonies and the other parts of the Empire have been consulted and can be consulted fully whenever it is their desire or in the public interest that they should be consulted. To constitute them members of this body would, I think, be a somewhat singular course to take; and I am strongly of opinion that the best course you can take to secure the very best men is to give them direct responsibility, and that the opinion of any person, however illustrious and however capable he may be, if brought into a Committee of that kind without official responsibility, is not of so much value as the opinion of those who, though in the receipt of public money, are from the position they occupy bound to do their best in the public interest. I therefore do not agree with my hon. friend that this Committee requires to be supplemented by such aid. But the right hon. Gentleman has taken this opportunity to launch some observations against our conduct within the last week or two in respect to the Army and Navy. With regard to the Navy, he says that he and I would find ourselves totally at variance as to the standard we should set up for the shipbuilding under the Admiralty. He refers to my criticism upon the two-Power standard at the present moment. I do not say that the two-Power standard is not sometimes a very reasonable thing, but when the two Powers you take are the two Powers who are perhaps more likely to be antagonistic to each other than any other two Powers you can find on the continent of Europe, when you know that we are in close relations of friendship with one of these Powers, recently established and improved by public instruments, when we know also that we are on excellent terms both with the people and the Government of the other Power; when we know further that if these two Powers are building ships fast they are building them against each other, to suggest that we should take these two Powers as the test and criterion of how much money we should expend on our Navy and what strength the Navy should be is, I think, to use a phrase already used, what may be called a preposterous idea. I go further and say that, if you examine the present strength and the existing proposals of these two Powers, they will not support the increase which is sometimes advocated for our Navy. Even if you take that as your test, if you examine both the character of the ships and the rate of their building and the other elements which go to support that view, I say that they will not bear out those large ideas of advance that are entertained in some quarters. No; we have done nothing with regard either to the Army or the Navy which has weakened at all the practical strength of the country for defence. It does not follow at all that because you do not build, because you drop an ironclad out of your programme, that you are below the strength required for your purpose. Though the two-Power standard is a convenient standard it is not everything, and we ought to consider what the requirements of the Navy are, just as we consider what the requirements of the Army are, and see that we have a sufficient Army and Navy for those requirements. That is the business of the Admiralty and the War Office, and the distinguished sailors at the Board of Admiralty, and the distinguished generals who advise my right hon. friend. I do not think that it is any part of the duty of the Committee of Imperial Defence to meddle with and pronounce an opinion on the general policy of the Government either in naval or military matters. I think it can give the Government, as it does, with great effect and success and with the most perfect loyalty the best technical advice on all professional matters which the officers summoned to it are so well qualified to give. I do not think the right hon. Gentleman was justified in the attacks he made upon us, or in the use of some of the phrases with regard to our relations to the other Powers. When he conjured up the idea that, after all, friendships and alliances might not last long, and that we must be always ready for an eventuality in all circumstances—when he said that at the present moment, I do not think it was the kind of thing which is likely to conduce to the best interests of this country or of the peace of Europe. I admit that the right hon. Gentleman has often shown himself a strong advocate of peace, and I do not wish to insinuate that he has any evil designs on the peace of Europe or against our friendship with other nations. But there are some things about which it may be said that the less they are talked about the better, some hints almost amounting to threats made by public men which had better be left unsaid. He was guarded in his language, but his general tone implied that I was entirely wrong in my supposition and hypothesis that a combination of these two Powers in open warfare against us was an impossible contingency. I think it is unfortunate that he implied that there could be this combination. It is on that ground that I have interfered in the debate, which, as far as it concerns the action and constitution of the Committee, I would much rather leave to my right hon. friend.

*SIR J. JARDINE (Roxburghshire) said he had to ask he House to come down from the high level to which debate had been raised that afternoon to an ordinary question of administration. He referred to the leasing of the Ceylon Pearl Fisheries. He did not think any apology was needed for bringing this question before the House inasmuch as Lord Elgin had washed his hands of the responsibility for it and they had been informed by the Under-Secretary for the Colonies that there were great defects in the procedure, and after a series of questions they had been told by the Under-Secretary that it would be an advantage if they could refer to the late Colonial Secretary, who was at that time the candidate for St. George's, Hanover Square, and who now was the actual Member for that constituency. His remarks would be more a criticism of the past Government than a criticism of the present, because Lord Elgin said that the business was practically finished when he took office, and that he had no course open to him in accordance with the precedents of the Colonial Office, but to bring to a conclusion what had almost approached a settlement. The Colony had called in tones of burning complaint for some alteration of this contract, which had caused a great loss to the revenue of the Colony. The fisheries had been leased from 1906 for twenty years at an annual rental of £20,660 which was far too low. In 1904 the net profits were £61,000; in 1905 they were £153,000; and in 1906, the first year of the lease, they were £89,000, the average of four years being about £80,000. Why, it was asked, had the rent been fixed so low when these enormous profits were being earned? It had been alleged that an average had been taken over twenty years; but of that period eleven years were barren and belonged to the time before the Government of Ceylon had taken the fisheries in hand, employing for that purpose Professor Herdmann, a learned expert on pearl fisheries, and Mr. Hornell, another marine biologist. The costly investigations and the organised system adopted by the Government had some years ago eliminated uncertainty from the fisheries, and converted them into an industry as valuable as any of the municipal enterprises in this country which were so jealously reserved for the public benefit. The Colony also spent £10,000 on Mr. Dixon's highly successful machine for separating the pearls, and Mr. Hornell's dredging was reported as successful. So that Governor Blake on June 14th, 1905, wrote to the late Colonial Secretary as follows—

> "There seems no reason to apprehend a failure of the annual fishery in future years."

Again in November, 1904, the Government Agent telegraphed that Mr. Dixon's machine prevented loss or damage to the pearls and was working well. The negotiations for a lease of the fisheries began in 1904, but how the scheme originated had never been explained.

However, in December, 1904, the Blue-book showed the late Colonial Secretary negotiating with Sir J. West Ridgeway and a syndicate of financiers. A suggestion had been made that it was necessary to get a firm of high financial standing to come in and take up the matter. The syndicate consisted not of the people of Ceylon, who were interested, nor the great traders of this country, nor of the people of India, but of what was called the South African clique. They called up only £1,687 10s. They spent £200 on obtaining the concession, £106 on registration, and £110 on preliminary expenses —£416 in all—and during the progress of these secret negotiations they actually sold what they had got for £11,000. An increment of that sort gave an indication of what the real commercial value of this concession was. That profit ought to have gone to the Colony and not to this Gulf syndicate. A short time after, a limited company, the Ceylon Pearl Fisheries Company was formed. It was registered on March 3rd, 1906. That company had a capital of £165,000, of which £86,000 was paid up. It was a significant fact that no prospectus was issued either of the Gulf syndicate or the Ceylon Pearl Fisheries Company. Time went on and the arrangements were made and the lease was sent out. He was not conversant with the practice of the Colonial Office on those matters, but it appeared from the Blue-book that the Ordinance which made the lease legal was drafted in the Colonial Office, as was also the lease of the concession, and they were sent out to Ceylon with the intimation that they should be passed by the Legislative Council of the Colony. The intention to lease these valuable fisheries was not advertised in any way, and this secrecy was one of the matters the public of Ceylon complained most seriously about. The intention was unknown in the great centres where merchants most do congregate either in this country or Scotland or the great centres of the East from which people were attracted to the pearl fisheries in Ceylon. There were many Scottish firms of high financial standing on the shores of the Indian Ocean in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Rangoon, and Colombo—one might almost say from China to Perim—and had it been known it would have resulted in the real financial value of these fisheries being ascertained by competition and tender. But there was no invitation given to anybody to tender, and the matter was entirely unknown to everybody save the limited number of persons who formed the syndicate. One could not refrain from asking the question: Why was this valuable property allowed to go in this way? Why was it leased at all when it was paying so well? The people of Ceylon would have preferred to have kept it themselves, as he could show from the great complaints that were published in the newspapers. It might be said that it would be difficult for the Government to manage such a thing, and that they had better grant a lease than undertake to manage these fisheries, but that was not the view taken by the independent members of the Legislative Council or the public officials in Ceylon, who had invested in the shares, nor by the firms with German names—Derenberg, Albu, Neuman, Friedlander, Mosenthal *et hoc genus omne* who make up the limited company. If it were said that they could not test whether the bargain was a good one until twenty years had passed, there were three tests that seemed to show that the bargain had been entirely and tremendously to the advantage of these people who obtained the concession. The first was that £11,000 had been intercepted by the Gulf syndicate even before the company was formed; the second was that the 6 per cent. ordinary £1 shares in the limited company with only 10s. paid up were now selling at 20s. and 22s., and the third was that the 1s. deferred shares were, after a profit of £21,000 had been made, to get as much dividend as the 10s. men. And so these 1s. shares were changing hands already for 11s. or 12s. This was the market valuation; and an old poet had told us that—

> "The real worth of anything
> Is how much money it will bring."

What seemed to him a departure from the ordinary rule was made by this secrecy in the framing of the Ordinance, while the proposal to lease was given no advertisement of any kind, and in that way this unbusinesslike procedure was the cause of what seemed a great injury to the Colony. As there was no rent ascertainable by the ordinary competition of commercial men the Colony, for the next twenty years, would be making great losses. These South African magnates would probably make more out of the pearls than they would have made out of the gold in the whole of South Africa to the great injury and disgust of the Crown Colony of Ceylon.

MR. LYTTELTON (St. George's, Hanover Square) observed that the hon. Gentleman had drawn a very gorgeous picture of the future of this industry. Whether it would be realised—he trusted it might—was a matter of pure speculation. While he was Secretary of State his concern was to see, firstly, whether it was desirable that there should be a lease of these fisheries; and secondly, if it were expedient to have a lease, that the very best possible terms were obtained for it. Throughout the course of this session, various innuendoes derogatory to the honour of Sir West Ridgeway, had been made in the course of sporadic questions addressed to the Under-Secretary for the Colonies. As Sir West Ridgeway was unable to defend himself, it was desirable to state that there was a misapprehension with regard to his position, and that he was not Governor of Ceylon at the time of these negotiations. On the contrary, he had left Ceylon more than a year, and he was scrupulous not to give anyone any opportunity for saying he influenced the Government with regard to the negotiations. The negotiations were carried on in Ceylon entirely by Colonel Foss. It was in February, 1905, that the Ceylon Government suggested to the Imperial Government as a basis of discussion that £15,000 a year for twenty years would be an adequate and proper basis for discussion. It was not until the August following, after careful thought and assisted by the experts at the Colonial Office, that he, as Secretary of State, sent an ultimatum that the rent which the Ceylon Government had fixed at £15,000 should be raised to £20,000—an increase of nearly 30 per cent. As the House knew, that was after more negotiations recommended to the Ceylon Government for acceptance, and on February 8th, 1906, after the present Government had come into power the Second Reading of the Ordinance took place in Ceylon. The negotiations went on for several months more, and it was not until February 16th this year—long after he had left the Colonal Office and the present Government had come into power—that the Third Reading of the Ordinance in Ceylon was sanctioned. While it would not have been in good faith had Lord Elgin receded from the negotiations after they had reached that stage, if there had been anything in the slightest degree improper or in any sense fraudulent on the part of the syndicate or anybody else it would have been wrong to have continued the transaction. But that was not suggested even by the hon. Gentleman opposite, who said the deal was improvident. No one could possibly impeach Sir West Ridgeway's conduct, because, with full knowledge of all these facts, the Government appointed him Chairman of their African Commission—a position which demanded not only the highest integrity, but also the highest wisdom and prudence. As to why this matter was not put up to tender, there were two very substantial reasons. It was not the practice of the Colonial Office and other State departments to put concessions of this sort up to public tender, because, if they did they either had to accept the highest tender, and perhaps get an undesirable person to deal with, or, if they rejected the highest tender, they had to enter into awkward explanations. Rightly or wrongly, it was not the practice of the Colonial Office in such cases to put these concessions up to tender. In this case there was an even more conclusive reason. The Government of Ceylon and the Colonial Office were not able to ascertain the terms upon which they were willing to grant a lease until months and almost years of negotiations and after these protracted negotiations it would have been a breach of faith to put the bargain up to tender. He would give the authorities who had been in favour of the course taken. In the first place, the Government of Ceylon were anxious not to retain this property in their own hands. They expressed that desire through the Governor and the executive council unanimously, having been required by himself and by his successor, Lord Elgin, to vote not as officials but as they thought right on the merits of the case. The officials of the Legislative Council were given a free hand in the matter, and they voted to the extent of two-thirds in favour of this concession. It was quite true that some of the members of the Council were paid members, but they were left absolutely unrestricted in giving their opinions. They were men of the highest standing and character, and he did not regard the acceptance of pay for public service as absolutely disentitling those who received it from giving a straightforward and unbiassed opinion on questions submitted to them. It was incorrect to say that no native members voted in favour of this plan. Outside the official members there voted for it not only the representatives of the Chamber of Commerce and of the general European committee, but the representative of the Cingalese provinces. The one-third who voted against it consisted of Colombo representatives and natives. After months of consideration, he himself approved of this bargain, and all his expert advisers at the Colonial Office, and, what was perhaps more important to hon. Members opposite, Lord Elgin after he came into office approved it in a despatch, some part of which he thought should have been read in answer to the questions which had been asked.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. CHURCHILL, Manchester, N.W.) asked what the right hon. Gentleman meant by that remark.

MR. LYTTELTON said he meant what he said. In the course of these sporadic questions, in which, he understood, allegations of bad faith were being made, it would have been better not to withhold the expressed opinion of the present Secretary of State.

MR. CHURCHILL thought the right hon. Gentleman's complaint against him was undeserved, as the despatch had been published in the Blue-book and had been laid upon the Table of the House.

MR. LYTTELTON said it would have been better, considering the imputations that were being made in certain quarters, that a few lines, at any rate, of the despatch should have been read to the House in order to have dispelled the imputations when they were first made. Lord Elgin wrote, on 9th May, this year:—

> "In the present instance I am not called upon to say more than that the lease appears to me to have been drafted with a sincere desire to safeguard to the utmost the property and interests of the colony. It may be true that the development of the fishery upon a scientific system offers good prospect of a greater return in the future than has been obtained in the past, and affords at least the hope that the barren cycles which have been so common in the past will not recur to the same extent. But the operations necessary to that end are, as you are well aware, of a highly technical and experimental character, and I am very doubtful whether any machinery which could be set in motion by the Government would be suited to develop processes at once so doubtful and so delicate. In twenty years time the Colonial Government will receive back the fishery, not only intact, but in the most perfect state to which commercial enterprise and scientific methods can raise it, and in the meanwhile a regular and substantial payment is assured upon which the Government of Ceylon can count with certainty in their financial arrangements. Twenty years are, no doubt, a considerable period in the lifetime of individuals; but if within that time all the resources that science can contribute towards systematic development of the fisheries will have been applied and thoroughly tested, the period will not, I think, be regarded as excessive or unfortunate in the history of a fishery which has lasted for more than 2,000 years."

That was the deliberate judgment of Lord Elgin. With all this weight of authority he had cited, the responsibility of any Secretary of State would have been very grave in rejecting a lease of this kind. But he did not wish to shelter himself behind authorities. What were the merits of this case? For 100 years the net produce of this fishery had averaged £10,000 a year, and for the last twenty years it had averaged £20,000 a year, including the biggest year ever recorded. The rent obtained was £20,000 a year—not a bad beginning—and the company had come under obligations to spend, if reasonably required, 3,000,000 rupees on the fishery during the currency of their term, to do nothing which was injurious to the fishery, and not to fish at all during the last three years of the term if necessary and desirable. These things were matters of certainty, and it was an administrative advantage for the Colony to be able to make their financial calculations with certainty. It was hoped that by scientific cultivation the fishery would prosper, but that cultivation must be constant and continuous. This fishery it was hoped would prosper more when the large development expenditure which was provided for had been made. The Under-Secretary for the Colonies would sympathise with this because he had always been a great advocate of economy, and had distinguished himself as an economist and a critic of Governments for their lack of economy. For many years not a single pearl was obtained. That was said to be due to the terrible play of wind and tide upon the banks on which the oysters matured. It was therefore suggested by the scientists that the oysters when a year old should be transplanted from the exposed banks to banks less exposed. But that transplanting would cost a lot of money, a fact which operated on the minds of the Legislative Council in deciding to lease the fishery. Another scientific suggestion was that large quantities of matter should be brought from a distance with which to stiffen the banks on which the oysters were bred so as to resist the operations of wind and tide. Suppose that tons of this matter were cast into the sea year after year and the result was fruitless? He could well imagine the lecture which the Under-Secretary as an economist would administer in these circumstances to the Legislative Council if the fishery were retained in their hands. In his own experience the golden promises of scientific men had been too often falsified for him to place any great confidence in them. At any rate, it was certain that the expenditure to be made on the improvement of the fishery could not have any good results for two or three years. So much for the hopes held out by the scientists. What was the estimate of business men? In the year 1903 or 1904 this concession was offered to four of the largest firms in London at a rent of £12,000 a year. They all refused it on the ground that it was too speculative.

MR. CHURCHILL: When was this?

MR. LYTTELTON: Before the offer was ultimately accepted. I believe in 1903. These firms——

MR. J. HENDERSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): Name one firm.

MR. LYTTELTON: The names of the firms are—Rothschild, Sir Ernest Cassel, Wernher Beit, and one other whose name has escaped me.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy, Burghs): Were they in possession of the same facts as have subsequently been brought out?

MR. LYTTELTON said that was a very pertinent question. He did not think they had before them the whole of the facts which were put before the Colonial Office. But it was important to bear in mind that the rent of £12,000 which these four great houses refused was afterwards increased to £20,000. There were also the important considerations that in addition there was to be a large expenditure on the scientific cultivation of the fishery, and that there was ample security against injury to the fishery during the whole of the period of the lease. The only other charge advanced against the transaction was the secrecy in which it was alleged the matter was kept. There was absolutely no foundation for that statement either in Ceylon or in this country. References to the proposal were frequent in the Ceylon newspapers in March, 1905. Since that time references to the proposal were frequent. He quoted from the *Ceylon Mail*, which had now joined the Under-Secretary, to show that the offer to the syndicate was a fair one; and said that as regarded the supposed secrecy the terms were perfectly known so far back as November, 1905, and were the subject of discussion so far back as March in that year. He knew that Members of this House held different views as to what the function of the capitalist was. He knew that some Members thought that all capitalists ought to have a millstone tied round their necks and be thrown into the sea, but in a condition of things such as prevailed in this instance where the Government had to administer fisheries from which there were exceedingly capricious and uncertain results, where one had to make a large annual expenditure and where the revenue was uncertain, that was the moment when the capitalist was eminently suitable to step in to the assistance of the Government. The capitalists might win or lose in the actual working of the lease, and nobody could deny that this was a speculative transaction, but, whatever happened, the whole result of the speculation would be in the hands of the Government with absolute security at the end of twenty years time. Whether the arrangement was right or wrong the future alone could prove.

MR. CHURCHILL (Manchester, N.W.) said that the House would be convinced that whether the right hon. Gentleman judged rightly or wrongly, he had at any rate given the most careful consideration to the question, and possessed himself most thoroughly of the facts. He did not disagree largely with many of the arguments which the right hon. Gentleman had used, but he felt it his duty to the House of Commons also to submit to their consideration the other side of the argument. He thought both sides were simply stated, and he thought that they should be balanced one against the other. It was a very difficult and complicated question, and no one he thought could be blamed severely for taking one particular view or the other. The right hon. Gentleman appealed a great deal to authority. He quoted various experts, he quoted the Legislative Council of Ceylon, and he quoted a despatch which was printed in the Blue-book, to which he should presently refer. For himself he did not propose for the moment to refer to authority. He would only submit one or two reasonable considerations which he thought must force themselves upon anyone who gave a careful consideration to the details of this transaction. The House was well aware that the basis of the lease was that Ceylon was to receive £20,000 a year from the syndicate, and that the syndicate bound itself to spend £10,000 a year upon the development of the fisheries subject to certain restrictions, and it also bound itself to take over the fisheries, as to the value of which the opinions were very divided, for a term of years. It was always a nice question to say what were the proper functions of Government and what were the proper functions of private enterprise. He thought the House of Commons, or at all events this House of Commons, would be inclined to think that public ownership and control were better than private speculative ownership and control, other things being equal. The right hon. Gentleman had explained how he came to fix £20,000 a year. He said that an average of twenty years was the foundation of his lease, and that the Government of Ceylon would receive as much as they had been able to make for themselves by their own unaided exertions for the preceding twenty years. He was inclined to think that to justify in principle the transfer of property from the public to the private interest there ought to be some clear and substantial gain which should determine the decision. Now in the last twenty years there had been eleven or twelve barren years. But the last four years had realised a total, excluding the present year, of £330,000, or an average of about £80,000 a year. But the question was not dismissed when they said that the average profit during four years was £80,000 a year. The sum of £330,000 capitalised at 4 per cent. was something like £12,000 or

£13,000 a year, so that the fact was that the net profit for the last four years would have realised two-thirds of the profit which would be made under the agreement of the right hon. Gentleman during the next twenty years. The right hon. Gentleman went most carefully into the negotiations which extended over two or three years, and the delay had been very profitable to the Government of Ceylon. In consequence of the record fishery of 1905 the Government succeeded in raising the rent from £15,000 to £20,000. He had always heard that procrastination was the thief of time, but in this case procrastination seemed to him to have been particularly profitable. Turning to the future, the arguments seemed to him to show that the late Government were wrong in holding that the profits would be not more in the next twenty years than had been received in the last twenty years. Sir Joseph West Ridgeway obtained a survey by a professor who wrote a most elaborate report, contained in a volume which extended beyond the limits of an ordinary Blue-book, upon the Ceylon Pearl Fishery and the methods which might be taken to improve it. The information and the recommendations contained in that report gave scientific grounds for the belief that the pearl fishery would not only be equal to the fishery in the past, but would be better and more certain in its results. The professor indicated four processes, some of which had been referred to by the right hon. Gentleman, by which the fishery might be made more lucrative and more certain. These included the transplantation of oysters from exposed sands to sheltered beds, and he also spoke of what he called culture. That was the putting down of artificial beds to which the oysters might attach themselves. An ingenious process was also alluded to by which the pearl might be created in the oyster. He pointed out that with new scientific methods and delicate and complicated processes a better prospect was opened up than under the old crude method of diving under the water to bring up the oysters. There was another very pregnant factor which the right hon. Gentleman did not mention. He would give the right hon. Gentleman a reason which had led to the high value in the last four years of the fishery. During the last ten or twelve years there had been an immense appreciation in the price of pearls. It might be conceivably 100 per cent., and there was every reason to believe, surveying the general outlook of the world, that this appreciation would continue. The Continent of America and the great German Empire were producing every day numbers of wealthy people, and the demand for these objects of beauty was certain to increase with the expansion of civilization and with every development in the world. The fisheries in the future would be twice as valuable as they had been in the past, and yet we had bound ourselves not to take any further profit in future from all the resources of science and had cut ourselves off from all the improvement that would be effected in the value of the fisheries by the growing appreciation of the pearl. He thought that these were grave considerations when they were considering this lease on its merits. What was the position of the Government in regard to this matter? The whole tone of the right hon. Gentleman's speech was frank and manly, and he had come forward and taken the whole responsibility of the lease. When the present Government came into office the right hon. Gentleman had already written to the syndicate saying that he was satisfied with the conditions of the lease. He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman on this matter. If the Government had discovered anything in the nature of fraud they would have been justified in preventing this matter from going further. He was as convinced that there had been no fraud as he was convinced there had been little wisdom. In view of the fact that there had been no fraud it would have been a breach of faith on the part of the Government to go back from a bargain which had been definitely concluded only a few weeks before by the responsible head of the Colonial Office.

MR. LYTTELTON said the Legislative Council had not accepted it at that time.

MR. CHURCHILL asked if the right hon. Gentleman suggested that after having from the Colonial point of view expressed himself as entirely satisfied with the conditions, the present Government should have telegraphed out that the bargain must be thrown up. The right hon. Gentleman would accept the view that in the absence of anything in the nature of fraud they were not entitled, unless they were to commit an act of bad faith, to intervene in any way. In these circumstances they had tried in the Blue-book to make the best case. They had put forward the considerations which influenced the right hon. Gentleman and which undoubtedly told in favour of the course he adopted. They dwelt on the certainty of the revenues to Ceylon as against the risk, and upon the delicacy of the processes to be employed and the probable uncertainty of the success of the Government in dealing with those processes. They had pointed out that after twenty years had passed the fisheries would come back and all these doubtful experiments, although hopeful, would be in their concluding stage and we would have the benefit of the fisheries in a perfect condition. He considered that those arguments were perfectly valid and good, although it was not possible to consider them except in relation to other arguments which he had thought it his duty to bring before the House. He did not desire to make anything in the nature of an indictment against the right hon. Gentleman, but he must say it was a pity that the Legislative Council of Ceylon had not an opportunity in the first instance of affirming the principle of the lease. It seemed to him that in respect of the tenders, such a proposal as this ought to have been brought before the public in some official manner, in order that the various public bodies might have got into communication with the Colonial Office so as to arrive at the truth. Even if tenders had been called for, the Government was not pledged to take the lowest. The Government was always entitled to investigate the substance and character of the firms which tendered quite apart from and prior to any considerations of their claims upon their merits. He thought that the right hon. Gentleman did not sufficiently appreciate the possibilities of the future. It was a pity not to have waited a little longer in view of the remunerative results of the delay that had intervened, and it was also a pity that only within eight days of leaving office the right hon. Gentleman wrote the letter which concluded the transaction. Though he had drawn attention to some of the errors in connection with the lease, he was convinced that there had been no fraud, and that it was not necessary for anyone to put a dark interpretation on any of the transactions that had taken place. But some familiar names seen elsewhere had cropped up unexpectedly in connection with these fisheries. It might be that certain people had special aptitudes for finding out the possibilities in connection with precious stones or gold, and whose aptitudes led them almost by a subtle instinct to move to a point where profit could most surely be made. He thought that the Government in Ceylon, when they expressed the opinion that these fisheries were worth £15,000 a year, were expressing an honest opinion, and he thought that the right hon. Gentleman in all these negotiations had been animated by the most sincere desire to do right. He was bound to say that the tendering firm had acted in a perfectly straightforward manner. They had been perfectly honest, and, in addition, they had been extremely wise. He heard with very great regret indeed the aspersions made against the part Sir Joseph West Ridgeway took in this business. It was perfectly true that Sir Joseph West Ridgeway had ceased for a year to be Governor of Ceylon before he was in any way connected with any proposal in regard to the lease of the pearl fisheries. It had been suggested that Sir Joseph had utilised special information which came into his possession as Governor. He was informed that that was wholly inaccurate. While he was in Ceylon he had no communication with Professor Herdmann, and had no information as to his investigations except what was contained in the Report of the Royal Society. He left Ceylon in September, 1903, and it was not until June, 1904, that he was invited by Colonel Foss to join a syndicate to treat for a lease of the fisheries. He agreed only on two conditions—that the Colonial Office did not object and that the firm should be of high financial *status*. He believed the right hon. Gentleman would bear him out that in any conversation Sir Joseph West Ridgeway had with him on the subject of this lease, he made it clear that he proposed to have a financial interest in the affair. From his study of this question he was convinced that Sir Joseph acted throughout with perfect candour and integrity. His holding was a very small one—1,000 £1 shares and 1,600 1s. shares.

MR. LYTTELTON said he was informed that when the rent was raised Sir Joseph West Ridgeway reduced his holding by a half and advised his friends to do the same.

MR. CHURCHILL said it was a fact that when the rise in rent took place Sir Joseph West Ridgeway reduced his holding by one-half. There had been so much questioning upon this subject that he had thought it necessary and right to enter upon the question in detail with the representatives of the parties concerned and to make a frank statement of the case.

MR. MENZIES (Lanarkshire, S.) said that he had never made, and he hoped he never would make, any charge against the ex-Colonial Secretary that would give the slightest idea that there had been anything improper or any want of good faith on the part of the right hon. Gentleman. There had been nothing dishonest about the right hon. Gentleman's connection with this matter. He had acted to the very best of his ability. His complaint against the right hon. Gentleman was that he had not shown much business capacity in the matter. He believed that if such firms as Cassel, Beit, and Rothschild had had the same information as the other company the Colony would have had the benefit of £60,000 more per annum in its coffers. For a Colonial Governor, after his term of office had expired, to introduce a syndicate to the Government and then join it himself was a dangerous precedent. He had never supposed that the financial profit of this matter was anything whatever to Sir Joseph West Ridgeway. But was there any precedent for the action of Sir Joseph ?

MR. LYTTELTON said he understood that in the case of the Burmah mines the chairman of the company was Sir Lepel Griffin, who had only then recently returned from the Indian Civil Service.

*MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs) said as one personally acquainted with Sir West Ridgeway he entirely accepted what had been said as to his connection with this matter by the ex-Colonial Secretary and the present Under-Secretary, and he would add that his information was that the details of the transaction were well known to the commercial community of Colombo. But he would pass from that matter, as he thought it had been fully discussed, and would call attention to the position of British Indians in the Transvaal, where they laboured under disabilities which were greater than any endured under the most rigid caste system on the Malabar coast. Having said that everything possible should be done to alleviate the position of our British Indian fellow subjects in South Africa, he drew the line at bringing coercion to bear on the Colony, being convinced that they must be allowed to manage their own affairs, and that when there was a difficulty it could not be got over by urging upon the Colonial administrations sentimental considerations. Turning to the question of the Chinese Customs, according to the exceptionally well-informed correspondent of *The Times* alterations in the method of management had been made by the Chinese Government in spite of the assurances which had been given to the contrary. He asked for an assurance that the resignation of Sir Robert Hart had not been caused by such interferences on the part of the Chinese Government. He wished also to refer to the question of the increase in the Turkish Customs. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Foreign Affairs stated on Wednesday evening that he had succeeded to a certain position in regard to the increase of 3 per cent. which he was now bound to maintain. He submitted that in point of fact the present Government in December, 1905, formally consented to allow the Turks to include military expenditure in the Macedonian Budget. He would point out that Turkey had to face in Macedonia a heavy existing deficit caused by military expenditure, which was being paid out of the existing Turkish Customs, and if the right hon. Gentleman consented to a further increase of 3 per cent., it was possible and probable that the extra revenue gained would be applied to financing the scheme of the Baghdad Railway. If that was likely to follow as a consequence of the increase he thought we should not agree to it. But if that railway were constructed, it ought to be an absolute *sine qua non* that England should have control of the section between Baghdad and the Persian Gulf, and that the rest of the line should be under international control. This project, which was upon a commercial basis at present, by reason of the immense importance of this route to our trade, to our position in Persia, and to the defence of India, was likely to become of even more importance politically than commercially. No doubt the right hon. Gentleman might have very little to say on this subject, but what he wished to point out was that both in the House and in the country the very great importance of this question was entirely under-estimated. It was a question as important as the construction of the Suez Canal, and it would introduce greater changes into the future of the far East than anything that had happened since the Suez Canal was constructed. It appeared to him that the Foreign Office was in a position to treat this as an open question, and he hoped the Government would not consent to letting this 3 per cent. go, out of a hope that Macedonia might profit, which was doubtful. Any man who had visited the Turkish Empire would tell them that the abuses and the difficulties which often occurred between the different races which had been brought together under the Porte were due more to ethnical and local conditions than anything else, and that the Porte allowed them all to do pretty much as they liked, provided they kept the peace one with another. The importance of this question was very imperfectly apprehended both inside and outside this House. He hoped the matter would be treated by the Government in the same manner as Lord Lansdowne treated it when he laid down the doctrine that England must maintain the *status quo* in the Persian Gulf at all risks. In conclusion he trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would believe that he was not endeavouring to pry into the Foreign Office secrets by bringing this matter forward, and he believed the House would be grateful for anything the Secretary of State cared to say upon these points.

MR. JOSEPH WALTON (Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley) asked the House to turn its attention to the present situation as it affected our Colonial interests in the far East. Our Colonial interests in China were enormous. In approaching this subject, he was placed in a difficulty owing to the extraordinary fact that the Blue-book or report in regard to the foreign trade of China had not been published by the late Government since the year 1903. It was almost inconceivable in the year 1906 that a nation with more trade in China than all the other nations put together should not have the trade statistics of the greatest of all neutral markets in the world up to a later date than 1903. There were two or three important questions in the present situation in China to which the House might well give its attention. There was the question of the Chinese maritime customs. The Chinese Government had appointed Chinese officials at the head of the maritime customs. The House knew that many years ago the control of the Chinese maritime customs was placed in the hands mainly of European officials, at the head of whom was Sir Robert Hart as inspector-general. Various loans had been concluded between China and various European countries to the extent of £45,500,000, guaranteed on the security of the receipts of the maritime customs, which were to remain under the inspector-generalship of Sir Robert Hart or some other European, but they learnt through the correspondent of *The Times* that the Chinese controller who had been put at the head of the maritime customs by the Chinese Government had taken very active steps in the matter of control, and this after the assurance received from the Chinese Government in answer to the representations of the British Government that the control should remain in the hands of Sir Robert Hart. In 1899 we were told that so long as British trade was predominant in China so long a British subject should be controller of the Chinese maritime customs. He therefore asked the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to give the House so far as was consistent wth his office a statement of the position in China to-day. These Chinese officials had given orders that no statistical returns or reports should be published in future until they had received their official sanction. That simply meant the establishment of a Chinese censorship and the abolition of the excellent branch by which the Chinese trade had been known to the world. That was a most serious thing so far as British trade was concerned. It meant not only a breach of faith on the part of the Chinese Government so far as the guarantee for the £45,500,000 of loans was concerned, but also with regard to the war debt at the end of the rising in China, which was £64,000,000. But that was not the most important part so far as this country was concerned, because our commercial interests far outweighed any financial interest we might have in the Chinese loans. If the Chinese Government were not compelled to adhere to their engagements it would not be long before Chinese officials would be placed in control of every port through which British goods were sent and would inflict the most serious injury on our trade. Then there was the question of British interests in Manchuria. We learnt from *The Times* correspondent that the Japanese Government on the one hand and the Russian Government on the other were faithfully performing their pledges with regard to the evacuation of Manchuria, but we also learnt that through three ports in Manchuria, Japan and Russia were sending in goods without the usual import duties being imposed on them. At the present moment only the port of Newchwang was open to the trade of all nations. We knew that the military conditions had imposed on Japan the necessity of delaying somewhat the opening of Dalny and other ports to the trade of the world, but the House hoped to have to-day some indication from his right hon. friend that all these matters were receiving the careful attention of the Government and that before long the present conditions would be altered and we should have the open door throughout Manchuria for the trade of the world. The condition of things in Manchuria of late had been detrimental to the trade of this country. It was most alarming. In the last four years our trade in Manchuria had diminished by 4 per cent. whilst that of the United States of America had increased 120 per cent. and that of Japan by 300 per cent. This country would be the last to begrudge Japan some considerable commercial advantages as partial recoupment for the enormous sacrifices she had made to keep Manchuria open to the trade of the world. He thought it was only right to draw attention to the change in the position and the diminishing amount of British trade in Manchuria, relatively to the trade of our friendly competitors, the United States of America. It behoved the British commercial community to wake up, and to try to ascertain more fully the causes which had led American trade to develop so enormously in the last four years while British trade was diminishing in a country where there was no hostile tariff whatever to hinder the progress and development of British trade. He wished to refer briefly to the question of the non-carrying into effect of the Mackay commercial treaty concluded between this country and China. A communication had been received from seventy of the leading British merchants in Shanghai, calling the attention of the Government to the fact that China ignored the Mackay treaty, or rendered it ineffective in most of its essential points. He was quite aware that certain of its provisions were not to be operative until the other nations had given their assent to the treaty, but that did not by any means apply to the whole of the provisions. One of the provisions, for instance, was in regard to the removal of obstructions, and the making of improvements by the conservancy of the Wangpo River, which was provided for in the Protocol of 1901. So far as we knew, these improvements had not yet been taken in hand. He hoped to hear from the Secretary of State to-night that there was some prospect of this matter being speedily dealt with. Then there was the question of the uniform national coinage which the Chinese bound themselves to provide for. Years had gone by and, so far from a uniform coinage having been instituted, mints were set up over China which were issuing an enormous quantity of debased coinage, making "confusion worse confounded." This was acting most detrimentally to the commercial interests and real prosperity of China. He asked the Secretary of State whether he could give any opinion as to when we might expect that stipulation on the part of the Chinese Government to be given effect to. Then the abolition of the Likin was dependent upon the agreement of other nations with the treaty which we concluded. He hoped that there was some prospect of the other nations falling in with the treaty which he believed had already been agreed to by Japan, as well as ourselves, and that there was some reasonable hope that in the not remote future this system of internal customs in China which was a restriction and hindrance to trade would be removed. As to the question of the Imperial maritime customs of China, he did not contend that it could be expected that the Chinese nation, comprising nearly 300,000,000 of people, would for a long period allow the administration of their affairs, or even the development of their country, to be largely taken in hand by foreigners. He believed they would take it in hand themselves. He desired that they should do so, because he believed in China for the Chinese. But at the same time, we knew that they had not yet reached that stage. The Chinese had come under certain obligations, and they ought not to be left to their own sweet will until they had properly discharged them. The Mackay treaty included provisions as to the question of mining legislation. The Chinese Government undertook to look into the mining rules in operation in Great Britain, India and other places, and to select such as were suitable to the conditions of China. But so far as he understood, nothing had been done towards the fulfilment of that undertaking. Then there was the question of inland navigation regulations. The House knew with what a flourish of trumpets the Tory Party came down and told them it had come to an agreement with China for opening the waterways, so that British ships should take British goods to every riverside station in China. He was afraid that the prospect of enormously expanding our trade with China in that way had not been fulfilled. He should like to know from the right hon. Gentleman what progress, if any, had been made to secure that the agreement made by Sir Claude Macdonald, in 1898, would be fulfilled. There was no question that in the conduct of our relations with China we must take into consideration the fact that following the example set by our Japanese allies, the Chinese were bound to wake up. They were an intelligent, and in some directions an educated people, and we might rest assured that they would in the future exercise much greater power, influence and force. As to the question of railway concessions, he should like to know from the Secretary of State whether concessions were in danger of being lost to British concessionaires through their failure to fulfil properly their part in the agreements entered into with the Chinese Government. He considered that it was a great misfortune for this country not to have had the largest share in supplying the Chinese Empire, the greatest on earth, with a system of railways. We had taken a back seat altogether in the matter of laying down railways in China, whereas Russia, France, Germany and Belgium had forged ahead, supplying that great Empire with its railways. We had been told that British concessionaires had secured the right to build 2,800 miles of railways in China. He wished to know how much of that work had been done and what further amount of mileage still remained in the hands of British concessionaires. He believed that the Chinese nation ought to possess its railways. He believed in the state ownership of railways, but he saw no reason why European syndicates should not build the railways under proper arrangements by which the lines could be transferred to the Chinese Government as soon as it was in a position to take them over. The Chinese railways paid better than almost any other railways in the world. The only shares and stock in railways which he happened to possess that had increased in the last few years had been those which he held in Chinese railways, whereas the shares and stock of railways in this country and in other parts of the world had steadily gone down. There was no question as to the profitable nature of enterprise in a densely populated country like China. Why British investors and commercial people had failed to take an adequate share of the trade with China was really past understanding. In spite of all that Tory speakers had said in the last three years, he could only conclude that the trade of this country had been so very flourishing that manufacturers, having their order books full, had not looked for an increase of orders by enterprise in China. The fiscal system of this country, under which we had free imports, enabled us to compete successfully in great neutral markets like that of China.

And, it being a quarter-past Eight of the clock, and there being Private Business set down by direction of the Chairman of Ways and Means under Standing Order No. 8, further Proceeding was postponed without Question put.

BRISTOL CORPORATION BILL (BY ORDER).

Lords' Amendments considered :—

Lords' Amendments to the Amendment in page 27, line 21, agreed to.

Lords' Amendment in page 27, line 21, after Clause 49 insert Clauses 49a and 49b, the next Amendment, read a second time.

*MR. J. O'GRADY (Leeds, E.), in moving to disagree, said he wished he could move to omit all the Lords Amendments and leave the Bill to deal simply with dock matters alone, but he was told that was impossible, so he had no alternative but to confine himself to moving the Amendment he had placed on the Paper. There had been two Bills on this matter. There was the original Bill assented to by the city generally, which emphasised the principle that rateable value should not be made the consideration of representation in the city council, but that representation should be based upon the number of voters upon the register. The arrangement arrived at, although it increased the number of wards in the city from nineteen to twenty-two, did not disturb the total number of representatives, because nine members were taken from three wards in the centre of the city which were over-represented and allocated to the three new wards constituted by the re-arrangement. He thought everybody would agree that that was a very fair arrangement and was not objected to in the city generally. As a member of the Bristol City Council, he knew the local circumstances. The Bill was presented and then an opposition developed among the members of a political Party which had dominated the city for sixty years, but which had now lost control, hence the second Bill which was now under consideration of this House. He wanted to emphasise the fact that the House of Lords' Committee was in no sense to blame for anything in connection with this Bill. They simply heard the facts presented to them and they did their best in the circumstances. They were without bias in the matter. When this second Bill went back to get the assent of the council to the Lords' Amendments, the whole matter was set before the citizens and they protested vigorously against the change that had been made in the Bill by the Lords Amendments. He did not think he would be saying too much in asserting that the public meeting was packed. A whip had been sent round by the Party who had been responsible for the opposition, and an hour before the meeting was timed to begin it was filled with the partisans of that particular Party. He drew attention to the fact also that this meeting was held in a small hall which could hold not more than 300 persons. The Labour Party with which he had been connected for a long period of years in Bristol felt great offence at the way things had been carried out—offence that a compromise had been effected between two political Parties without consulting the men who were mostly interested—the working classes generally. The result of the changes made in the Bill by the Lords' Amendments was that a new ward was created in the centre of the city and three extra representatives and an Alderman were added to the council. As far as he knew the city, he thought that if this proposal were carried the representatives who would be sent to the City Council from that ward would be representative of one political Party from now to the crack of doom. The working men thought that the main principle should be representation based on the number of the voters upon the register. When the public found out the nature of the changes and how these changes had been brought about they held meetings of protest all over the city. Not only trade union organisations but the general body of citizens had expressed a strong protest against the action that had been taken and against the changes in the Bill involved by the Lords' Amendments. They even had the support of the Ratepayers' Association, which might in the nature of things have been expected to agree to representation being based on rateable value rather than on the voters' list. The Secretary of that Association had said that he thought no preference should be given to the educated or moneyed classes above the working classes. That was the whole gist of the protest he was now making. He trusted the House would take into consideration the protest of the citizens of Bristol. It might be asked how it was that they had not carried this protest to the House of Lords itself. They were, however, a poor Party and he understood that they could not be heard in the House of Lords except by counsel, and not having the money to go on with their protest in the House of Lords they had to do what they could in rousing interest in Bristol regarding this change. He hoped in these circumstances the House of Commons would disagree to the Lords' Amendment. They would have liked that part of the Bill to go through which related to dock matters at Bristol, but they had no alternative but to protest against this change by asking the House to disagree to the Lords' Amendments because they held that the gerrymandering which had gone on in this matter was not creditable to the men who had engineered the movement. He hoped the House of Commons would not stultify itself by agreeing to a proposal of this kind.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth disagree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. O'Grady.*)

*MR. W. H. DAVIES (Bristol, S.) said he wished to recognise the temperate way in which the hon. Member had proposed the motion. He had not a strong feeling in regard to the way in which the wards of Bristol should be arranged, and he could not understand the strong feeling which had been brought into this question. The Bristol Council desired that there should be a general rearrangement of the wards in order that the urban ratepayers should have a larger share and larger interest in the representation than before. When the Liberal Party succeeded in obtaining a majority in the Bristol Council one of the first things they did was to appoint a committee to consider this question. The desire of the Party was not to rearrange the wards in such a way as to give them a political ascendency. All the Liberal Members would have been opposed to that idea. When the Liberal Party obtained the ascendency after sixty years of Tory Government they divided the aldermen between the respective Parties. At the Committee appointed to consider the rearrangement of the wards both political Parties produced a scheme; that of the Liberal Party was adopted by a majority. When the question came up for consideration before the House of Commons Committee there was a difficulty about *locus standi* of the Conservative Party who were opposing. Ultimately an arrangement was arrived at that the Bill should go through as unopposed. Upon the sub-committee a gentleman was appointed who represented the Trades Council of Bristol, but he declined to serve. It was therefore not correct to say that the scheme was carried out without any consultation with the Labour Party, and he was sorry any difficulty had arisen, because they had always been very friendly in Bristol with their friends on the Trades Council and had found them good comrades and good citizens. He was very sorry to be in disagreement with them over this subject. The new scheme was adopted by the Council by a majority of sixty-five to seven votes, so that the scheme which was sanctioned by the House of Lords Committee was one approved almost unanimously by the Corporation of Bristol. Unfortunately, his Labour friends disagreed with the proposal, and petitioned to be heard before the Lords' Committee. They did not appear, and he was sorry they did not seem to know that they might have appeared in person to state their own case. It was assumed, therefore, that the opposition was withdrawn, or was not to be proceeded with. If they had appeared and established a strong case against the scheme, the promoters could have withdrawn that part dealing with the re-arrangement of wards. Now if the Motion succeeded, very important clauses would be lost to the city for this session, and as Chairman of the Docks Committee he was most anxious that they should not be lost. Their dock undertakings were most important, and they could not afford to emphasise political differences too strongly. The wards proposed under the present scheme were a great improvement on what existed to-day. The number of councillors and the number of ratepayers in each ward were more nearly equal than before. They were advised that they could not ignore rateable value in considering representation. The scheme was fair and equitable, and one that the House should pass. It was fair and just. He did not desire that the Liberal Party should exercise its majority unjustly against the Conservative Party, and he hoped his friends would be satisfied with the protest they had made and would now allow the Bill to go through.

MR. GIBBS (Bristol, W.) supported the Bill. The Conservative and Liberal Parties had agreed that some alteration in the scheme was necessary, and at the meeting of the town council that scheme was approved by a large majority. That meeting, he declared, was not packed. It was well advertised and the ratepayers had every opportunity of attending. This scheme involved less dislocation than the scheme originally proposed. It would confer great advantages on the labouring classes and he did not see why they should object to it. The present scheme of representation was absurd, and if this Bill did not go through the whole thing would have to be dropped.

*MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD (Leicester) said he had been called in as arbitrator in this matter and he was bound from his examination of all the details to agree with the conclusions of the hon. Member for East Leeds. In the interests of sound and honest representation in Bristol this scheme ought not to receive the sanction of the House. The Dock Clauses were accepted by the Labour representatives, and those who were responsible for these clauses ought to have been careful not to mix them up with highly controversial matters. The representation of Bristol was bad at the present time, but the present scheme was not fair. Not a single representative of labour committed himself in favour of this Bill. Their fear was that as a matter of fact the scheme contained between Clauses 44 and 55 did not give that foundation of permanency that was necessary. The first proposal made had the acceptance of the Labour Party, the second was opposed from the beginning. It was perfectly true that sixty-five councillors voted for the second scheme, and only seven against it, but five of those seven composed the small but solid phalanx of the Labour Party. Undoubtedly one provision of the Bill should be to provide that the rateable value should be taken into account as well as voting strength, but that provision had been stretched to an inordinate degree in the present scheme. The first scheme to which the Labour Party assented was brought before the people of Bristol with the blessing of the town clerk of Bristol upon it. As a result of alterations made in the second scheme the House of Lords Committee asked that a town's meeting should be held. With regard to the town's meeting he would not say it was packed, as the term had been objected to, but he would quote from the *Western Daily Press* report which stated—

> "A special whip had been issued through the Conservative Party, asking their supporters to assemble at the Guildhall at 12 o'clock, an hour before the time of the meeting, and endure

> the inconvenience of waiting. As a matter of fact great care was taken that the people who got inside the hall were in favour of the Bill."

He quoted from reports of the meeting to emphasise the point that the Lord Mayor of the City admitted that the hall was not large enough for the purpose of the meeting. The accommodation was only large enough for between 400 and 500 people, and the population of Bristol was 365,000. The town's meeting, as a guarantee that the city had an opportuntiy of deciding upon this important measure, was an absoulte farce. He would deal with the newspapers. As to the first scheme, the *Western Daily Press* stated—

> "If the city had twenty schemes it could not have a fairer one."

The other newspaper said—

> "We heartily dislike the new arrangements of the wards."

The case of the Labour representatives was not a party one. Hon. Members would perceive that this Bill had not been properly handled, and that certain things which cropped up into Clauses 44 and 45 ought not to have been there. If this House were going to hold an impartial judgment upon this matter they would accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for East Leeds.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.) said that after listening to the speech of the hon. Member for Leicester he had to confess that he should not care to go before him as an arbitrator, because he had not adopted an impartial attitude on this question. The meeting of citizens, to which allusion had been made, was held in the traditional meeting place of the Bristol citizens, which was the centre of civic life in the city. A great deal had been said about the first scheme that was brought in, apparently with the assent of all Parties, except the Conservatives, who, being left out, and having no *locus standi* made representations to the Home Secretary, and, in deference to their objections, the scheme was withdrawn. A great deal had been made of the fact that one of the sub-committee, a Labour member of the City Council, did not serve; but the fact was that he refused to serve because he could not get his own way. It was not fair to represent that the Labour Party in Bristol had no chance of putting their views upon the matter before the City Council. The only representations he had received on this matter came from one of the labour organisations of the city of Bristol some fortnight or three weeks ago, and he was convinced that if there had been any large section of the community he represented in this House who felt that their interests were jeopardised by this Bill some form of expression of their objections would have reached him. Supposing the scheme under the Bill came into operation, what would be the effect upon that part of Bristol which he represented? There were large suburban areas which needed representation upon the Council. The votes of something like 6,000 or 7,000 ratepayers were obliterated by the votes of a few hundred. The whole of that inaccurate and unjust representation was modified or done away with by this particular Bill. For the first time this part of the city would have fair honest representation in their local Parliament, and he hoped when the House went to a division the action of the citizens of Bristol and the decisions of the Corporation and the large interests concerned would be upheld.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL, Yorkshire, Cleveland) said the town of Bristol generally was most anxious to have this Bill, which contained many matters of far wider importance than the question of the redistribution of seats. He would have been glad to have had a Home Office inquiry into this question, but it was too late to re-open it now, the Bill having passed through both Houses. When the matter came before the Committee of the House of Commons it was found that both the promoters of the Bill and its opponents were ready to come to an arrangement and the House of Commons passed the Bill on that understanding. Then it was found that the Labour Party were not prepared to agree to the new arrangement. It was impossible for the House of Commons to enter into the merits of a local redistribution scheme of that character. It was far better, he thought, that these matters should be decided outside Parliament by a local inquiry.

But if they did come before Parliament, this House and the House of Lords, being unable to decide them by open debate such as that in which they were engaged, had delegated these matters to Committees, and those were the proper tribunals to settle them. When the matter was before the Committee of the House of Commons the Labour Party agreed to what was proposed. When the Bill was in the House of Lords it was then time for the Labour Party to state their case and ask for the alteration desired. However, the Labour Party did not appear. They made no representations to the Committee. They were apparently under the impression that they could only do so at considerable expense and by the appearance of counsel. That impression, however, was wholly erroneous.

A LABOUR MEMBER: What chance was there without the assistance of counsel?

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL replied that petitioners continually appeared on their own behalf before Private Bill Committees, and in a matter of this kind, which was in no sense a legal matter, a man with local knowledge would probably be able to state his case better than any lawyer. At all events, the Labour Party allowed the matter to go by default, and that being so, he thought the House would be placed in an impossible position if they were asked to decide now the justice or injustice of a scheme which had passed through Committee and been assented to by the Lords. There were four conceivable courses which could be suggested. They might strike out the whole of that part of the Bill, but the procedure of Parliament did not allow that. The Bill having passed Third Reading in both Houses, the only matters which were still open to debate were Amendments which might be disagreed with by one House or the other. They might put such Amendments into the Bill as would force the promoters to withdraw it altogether. But this was a course desired by no one. They might disagree with the Lords' Amendments and go back to the first scheme proposed. (4) They might agree with the Lords' Amendments and accept the second scheme as it was proposed in the House of Lords. The last two courses were the only two alternatives which would appeal to the House, and seeing that the second scheme secured much greater support in the town council, while they might regret exceedingly that no general agreement had been arrived at in the matter, the only course possible for the House to adopt was to agree with the Lords' Amendments and to reject this Motion.

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 44; Noes, 139. (Division List No. 300.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Brace, William
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Byles, William Pollard
Crooks, William
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Ffrench, Peter
Flynn, James Christopher
Gill, A. H.
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Hazleton, Richard
Healy, Timothy Michael
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Hudson, Walter
Jowett, F. W.
Kelley, George D.
Lehmann, R. C.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.
M'Killop, W.
Murphy, John
Nolan, Joseph
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Raphael, Herbert H.
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'rd
Shackleton, David James
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.
Snowden, P.
Steadman, W. C.
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Wilkie, Alexander
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. O'Grady and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Rt. Hn. Sir Alex F.
Agnew, George William
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Ashley, W. W.
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.
Balcarres, Lord

Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beach, Hn. MichaelHughHicks
Beale, W. P.
Benn,SirJ.Williams (Devonp'rt
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Bramsdon, T. A.
Brigg, John
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J.F.L. (Lancs.,Leigh)
Bryce,Rt.Hn.James(Aberdeen.
Burns, Rt, Hon. John
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Cave, George
Cavendish,Rt. Hn. Victor C.W.
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clarke, C. Goddard
Clough, W.
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Corbett,C.H.(Sussex,E.Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Craik, Sir Henry
Cremer, William Randal
Crossley, William J.
Du Cros, Harvey
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Emmott, Alfred
Essex, R. W.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Ferens, T. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Forster, Henry William
Fuller, John Michael F.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hedges, A. Paget
Henderson, J.M.(Aberdeen, W.)
Hill, Sir Clement (Shrewsbury)
Hills, J. W.
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Houston, Robert Paterson
Hyde, Clarendon
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jardine, Sir J.
Jones,William(Carnarvonshire)
Kekewich, Sir George
Keswick, William
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamont, Norman
Leese, Sir J. F. (Accrington)
Lever, W. H. (Cheshire,Wirral)
Lewis, John Herbert
Long,Rt.Hn. Walter (Dublin,S.
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald,J.M. (FalkirkB'ghs)
Mackarness, Frederic C.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
Maddison, Frederick
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Montagu, E. S.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Newnes, F. (Notts.,Bassetlaw)
Newnes, Sir George (Swansea)
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien,Kendal(TipperaryMid
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Paul, Herbert
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Pease,Herbert Pike (Darlington
Price, C.E.(Edinburgh,Central)
Radford, G. H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rees, J. D.
Rendall, Athelstan
Richardson, A.
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Rt.Hn. E. (Dundee)
Rose, Charles Day
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Scott,A.H.(Ashton-under-Lyne
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Stanley,Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sutherland, J. E.
Tennant,Sir Edward (Salisbury
Thomson, W.Mitchell-(Lanark)
Ure, Alexander
Valentia, Viscount
Verney, F. W.
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Ward,W.Dudley(Southampt'n
Weir, James Galloway
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whiteley,George (York,W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Winfrey, R.

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Howell Davis and Mr. Gibbs.

Remaining Lords' Amendments agreed to.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

Postponed Proceeding on Amendment to Question, "That the Bill be now read a second time," resumed—

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

*MR. ASHLEY (Lancashire, Blackpool) said that the principal reason for our taking part in the Algeciras Conference was to safeguard our Imperial interests and to further British trade in Morocco. That was perfectly justified when we considered that Great Britain supplied more than half of the imports, that we took more than a quarter of the exports and that more than one-third of the tonnage visiting the ports of Morocco flew the Union Jack. He thought anyone who had travelled in Morocco must acknowledge that there were in connection with agriculture and other branches of industry great possibilities. The country was perhaps the most fruitful in the whole of Africa. He congratulated the House upon the fact that our Government before the Conference at Algeciras came to an end, induced the delegates to make communications to the Sultan of Morocco on the subject of slavery. In reply to a question on July 10th last, the Secretary of State informed him that he had received information that the Sultan had given orders that children born free should not be sold in slavery.

That was a step in advance. If this country could interfere, as it did in the case of Turkey, with respect to affairs in Macedonia, he thought we might, as far as we possibly could without coming into conflict with other Powers, press the Sultan of Morocco to put a stop as soon as possible to the public sale of slaves in his dominions. He did not know whether many Members of this House had seen slaves in the flesh or seen a public sale of them. Some years ago, when travelling in Morocco, he went down a narrow lane in Morocco City and came upon an open courtyard, round which there were seated a number of Moors in their white dresses. He questioned his guide as to what was going on, and the guide confessed that it was the slave market, a place which as a rule Europeans were not allowed to see. It was a very pitiable sight. A slave was led round by the auctioneer, his teeth were looked at, and after a certain amount of competition, he was knocked down for £15. A woman and child were the last to be sold. They were born in slavery, and the owner had just died. The consequence was that all the personal effects of the deceased had to be sold. When they were offered for sale, he hoped that they would be sold together, but unfortunately, they were not. The child, four or five years of age, was sold to be taken in one direction, and the woman in another. He earnestly appealed to the Secretary of State to do all that he possibly could, without overstepping the limit which made combination with the other Powers necessary, to have the public sale of slaves done away with in Morocco.

MR. WALTER LONG (Dublin, S.) directed attention to some aspects of Irish affairs, and, in the first place, criticised the composition of the Railway Commission in that no representation had been given upon it to those who controlled railways in Ireland. The Chief Secretary had recently stated in reply to the right hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh, that apparently it was not the intention or desire of the Opposition to indict the Irish Government. He said at once in answer to that that in his judgment it would be folly for anybody in a Parliament composed as this was not to accept the fact that there was a change of Government, and that obviously, therefore, there must be a change of policy; and to attack the Government because they adopted a policy which in many degrees differed from that of the late Government would be a waste of time. It was the duty, however, of those who belonged to the Party opposed to the right hon. Gentleman not only to watch his procedure, and to criticise it, if necessary, but to maintain the principles in which they believed. The right hon. Gentleman gave a few days ago an account of his stewardship and took considerable exception to the action of his hon. friends on the Opposition benches for criticising some of the work he had done. He was bound to say there was great justification for the criticism they had passed upon many things. He would only mention three—the appointment of three Commissions. He would say nothing about the Trinity College, Dublin, Commission, except to express the hope that the latest suggestions made in regard to this subject would receive not only the attention of the Royal Commission, but also the sympathetic consideration of the right hon. Gentleman himself. The solution of that question would be found in the lines recently suggested. In regard to the other two Commissions, he was bound to say there was good reason for dissatisfaction among his hon. friends and those they represented in Ireland. In regard to the Railway Commission there had been no representation given at all to those who controlled and worked the railways in Ireland; the whole case of the railway interest in Ireland had been left in the hands of people who were concerned with the administration of English railways. He had had some experience of the management of English railways, and when in Ireland he had the opportunity of investigating the position of Irish railways. He believed there was such fundamental differences between the two systems and the conditions which surrounded them that if the Government were really desirous of doing justice to them, and if they wanted to command—as they ought to do—the confidence and sympathy of the people who worked those railways, they ought in common justice to give them representation of their own in order that they might have the opportunity to exercise some control over the conduct of the inquiry and of saying what the result of that inquiry was to be. He felt they had a great grievance in the fact that they had no representation. In regard to the Land Commissioners, there was justly a strong feeling amongst many sections of the community. They had never had from the right hon. Gentleman any justification for his dismissal of several Land Commissioners whose performance of their duties had been creditable, against whom no faults had been alleged, who had done their work satisfactorily, and who were summarily disposed of and their places taken by men whose credentials were no better than those of their predecessors, and who had not the same experience, having only a limited knowledge of the work they had to do. He regretted the right hon. Gentleman found it necessary so soon after his acceptance of office to make this change not because he regretted the appointment of new Assistant Commissioners, but because a great injustice was done to the outgoing Commissioners—men who had no reason to expect that they were going to be dealt with in this way. Action of that kind must produce a feeling of want of confidence and discontent which was not to the interest of the public service. His hon. and gallant friend had also taken exception to the action of the Irish Government in regard to the eviction of Mr. Ward at Loughrea, and the right hon. Gentleman in his reply had appealed to the right hon. and gallant Gentleman to say whether that interference should not have taken place and that bloodshed and trouble should have followed. There was nothing further from his right hon. and gallant friend's desire than that there should be any such consequence as bloodshed and trouble.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. BRYCE, Aberdeen, S.): I do not recollect having used those words, but the argument was that the alternative to the course that was taken would have been that, and I asked him whether he would have been prepared to accept that.

MR. LONG said he was only quoting from memory. Taking it that way, the result must obviously have been the carrying out of the eviction by force if there had not been this intervention. The officer who made the intervention acted under the authority of the right hon. Gentleman. What were the circumstances? A man was in occupation of a dwelling and was defying the law and refused to give up the premises to those who had the right to demand that they should be given up. The right hon. Gentleman justified his interference on the ground that by so doing he had brought about a peaceable termination of an affair which otherwise might have ended in bloodshed. As to how it would have ended they did not know. Many of these evictions in times past had led to terrible scenes. In this case what was going on? The man who occupied and declined to give up the house in question was at the same time taking part in measures which had for their object the inducing of some other people to give up their holdings for totally different reasons. He could sympathise with the Irish Government in their desire to avoid those terrible consequences which had more than once ensued from measures which were necessary for the enforcement of the law in Ireland, and it was not to this particular instance that public attention needed to be drawn. It was the results which followed an operation of this kind. He took the story as given by the right hon. Gentleman. He was quite sure it was correct. The story was that this intervention was carried out in a friendly way by an officer of the Irish Government; the man Ward was told hat if he did not give up the force of the law would be used and he therefore surrendered. That being so, Mr. Ward was entirely overcome by the law which took the form rather of friendly counsel than of vigorous action. What they would want to know later would be what was the effect of this particular action, not merely upon Mr. Ward, but upon the people of the whole district. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that it had been satisfactory, that the condition of the district was day by day improving; that the force of police required to maintain order was gradually being reduced, and under these circumstances so far as this particular instance in Loughrea was concerned there was no cause for anxiety. But there was cause for anxiety. The right hon. Gentleman had declared in the strongest terms that the Government meant to uphold the law. If it was true that Mr. Ward was one of those who brought influence to bear upon the occupiers of grazing farms in order to get them to give up their holdings so that the land might be made available for other purposes; if the land was obtained by improper means; if they allowed force of a moral kind to be exercised which ought not to be exercised, then they would be teaching a lesson in that district which would bring trouble. Although the Government would have dealt with a single incident they would have given encouragement to people who were only too readily inclined to take the lands within their reach and turn them to their own advantage. And the difficulties of the Government would consequently be far greater when they had a dozen cases to deal with than when they had a single case. Dealing vigorously with these cases not only settled the momentary difficulty but produced peace and quiet for some time. The right hon. Gentleman had said that there was too much law and too little liberty in Ireland. He did not know what was meant by that. He had always believed that the law was the greatest protector of liberty. In the law was to be found the best form of liberty. If there had been too much law and too little liberty there were some who feared that the phrase might be interpreted to mean that there had been too much latitude given to those who enforced the law and not enough to those who desired to interfere with the liberty of others in an illegitimate manner. There was a considerable minority in Ireland who suffered bitterly when the belief obtained that the law of the land could be disregarded and the law of private association was shown to be stronger than the law of the land, and compulsion which interfered with their ordinary business could be brought to bear on private individuals. The right hon. Gentleman knew perfectly well that there were many in the west of Ireland who believed that there was an undue interference with their ordinary business—the occupation and holding of farms and so forth. He would therefore urge upon him in the name of those on whose behalf he spoke the absolute necessity for exercising every possible vigilance in order to see that there was freedom not only for one class, but for every class, so that people should not be led to surrender their holdings or their business because there was some improper feeling against them or some desire to get land for other purposes than those for which they were using it. There was another practice which he thought was most improper, but which he admitted it was exceedingly difficult to deal with. It had been brought to his knowledge that there had been in existence a practice of circulating seditious literature among soldiers quartered in Ireland. Those who circulated this literature were very difficult to find. No doubt it was some wretched lad, and there was a great deal to be said against proceeding against people of that kind, but it was desirable if possible to proceed against the people who were the real source of the mischief. But these lads who assisted in the distribution of this literature did it knowing they were committing an illegal act, and he thought every step should be taken by the Government to check the practice, which was very improper and was directed against the forces of the Crown. He did not think it was beyond the power of the Irish police to step in in regard to such action, and he had no doubt they would do so if they knew they would be supported in any proper action. This literature was distributed to the soldiers, many of whom were young men, and the object was to make them false to the terms of their enlistment, and to make them believe that they were in a degrading service. He hoped the Government would put down this disgraceful practice. He also wished to draw the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the correspondence which had passed between the Irish Government and the Board of Intermediate Education with regard to the action of the latter body. A great deal of interest was taken in this question by people of all classes, not confined to those with whom he generally acted. The correspondence he believed had not been published at present, at all events he had not seen it, but he thought it was most desirable that it should be in the possession of the public, in order that those who were interested might know the facts. When he left Ireland there were in progress a great many schemes connected with harbour, pier and railway development. He believed that the very best thing that could be done for Ireland was to carry out these works of internal and coast improvement, and he earnestly hoped that whatever schemes the right hon. Gentleman had in his mind with regard to the future government of Ireland he would not let them interfere with the equally if not more important question of the development of the resources of the country. He regretted that the carrying out of these schemes should have been temporarily arrested. So long as the policy of the Government was the maintenance of the law and the development of the resources of Ireland, the Chief Secretary would find no hostile critics on that side of the House. The right hon. Gentleman had exceptional opportunities which were not enjoyed by his predecessors, and he believed that these powers were given to him not so much in view of contentment prevailing in the present but in a confident hope and expectation for the future. It was not, however, for them to deal with these proposals until they came before the House in a practical form, and therefore it was not their desire to indict the Government or challenge their action. It was their duty to watch their policy and see what the results of that policy were. All they said was that if the right hon. Gentleman was going to do justice to Ireland it must be justice to all classes and not justice to one only.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N.) said that in view of the short time at their disposal he would curtail his remarks as much as possible, as others wished to speak. There had been absolutely no crime in Wexford of any sort or kind, since 1878 and the magistrates were invariably presented with white gloves at the Assizes, and under those circumstances it was perfectly ridiculous that it should be proclaimed under the Peace Preservation Act. There was no necessity for it. It was an insult to the county, and he asked the Chief Secretary to repeal the Proclamation. With regard to the fishing industries, he blamed the system that existed under which these important industries were neglected rather than the Chief Secretaries who preceded the right hon. Gentleman. In 1902 he first drew attention to this matter, and the then Chief Secretary said he would make inquiries. In 1903 he was told that those inquiries were proceeding, in 1904 that they were approaching a satisfactory conclusion, and now in 1906 the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary said no inquiries had been made. Upon the last occasion, about eighteen months ago, when he brought this matter forward the then Chancellor of the Exchequer said that if the Chief Secretary would bring him a perfected plan he would not find the Treasury wanting, yet nothing had been done. Except the assistance given in regard to the harbours at Arklow and Wicklow nothing had been done. He believed the fishing industry was the largest industry in Ireland; there were more men engaged in it than there were agricultural labourers in the country. The Government had given a large sum for the agricultural labourers and he thought the time had come when they should do something for the fishermen. If the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would pay a visit to the eastern and southern coasts and see these fishermen and realised the possibilities of the fishing industry, he was sure he would be converted to their views. With regard to the fishing boats supplied to the congested districts, he saw no reason why they should not be built in Ireland. He believed they could be built as cheaply there as elsewhere, and he hoped in future that they would not be built on this side of the Channel.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) said he recognised the difficulties which the Land

Commissioners had to contend with, and the great responsibility cast upon them, and he had no desire to criticise them, unduly but he wished to direct his remarks to two or three particular points. One was the lack of energy with which the Land Commissioners in Ireland tackled the all-important questions of grazing lands, the evicted tenants, and the labourers. He drew attention to two cases which had occurred during the last fortnight, in one of which 160 acres were sold to a man who already held a large tract of land, with the result that thirty or forty families were unable to secure land. In the second case a man already owning over 100 acres secured some further 300 acres. It seemed that to those who had much, much was to be given. He desired the Chief Secretary to urge the Estates Commissioners to use their powers of acquiring untenanted land for the purpose of restoring evicted tenants. It was futile to think of settling the Irish land question by the mere transfer of land from a certain number of landlords to a certain number of tenants if they did not above all things deal with the congestion in the west and other parts of Ireland. The plain and palpable intentions of Parliament three years ago were that the evicted tenants should be reinstated as far as possible and the grazing lands divided amongst the industrious population.

MR. GORDON (Londonderry, S.) asked for information as to what course the Government proposed to take in regard to the Bann drainage. Sir Alexander Binnie brought in a report some months ago which by the people in the district was regarded as a very practical way of dealing with the question. The cost was estimated at £75,000, and he thought if the Chief Secretary could see his way to give some practical relief the best form it could take would be to contribute a substantial sum towards the cost of carrying out Sir Alexander Binnie's scheme.

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.) urged the Chief Secretary to give his attention to the question of the Irish fisheries. There was a large coast to protect and they had very little help from the Admiralty in the matter. He thought the right hon. Gentleman might certainly press upon the Admiralty the necessity of providing gunboats to assist the only two boats they now had for the protection of the coast. Referring to the duties of the Estate Commissioners with regard to tenancies, he regretted that the circular issued by that authority had not been more favourably received by the landlords. In many places the landlords looked upon the action of the Commissioners as an attempt to intimidate them. The Estates Commissioners had endeavoured to carry out a settlement with regard to tenancies, and he thought the landlords should be particularly glad to have the opportunity of handing the land over, especially when the price offered was far larger than they could ever have hoped to have got under the Act of 1903. The representative of the landlord said that he objected to the Inspector reporting to the Estates Commissioners in regard to these farms. The Inspector thought that he had no power to insist on inspection if the landlord objected. It would be a monstrous state of things if it were possible for such a landlord openly to defy the wish of Parliament, and he was perfectly sure that the Estates Commissioners, when the case was brought to their notice, would make it clear that this landlord could not trifle with the wish of Parliament. From an executive point of view, it was desirable that the Chief Secretary should make a statement on the subject. These people had lived in the hope that they would be restored to the farms and to the houses they themselves built, and it would have a disastrous effect on the peace and the condition of the locality if they were to be told now that they had no hope of being restored to the farms.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR (Kildare, N.) said he was not surprised to hear the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Dublin make the characteristic speech which he had delivered. It was full of the cry for repressive measures. He was bound to make that speech, having regard to the place and the people he represented. He himself wished to enforce the demand made by his hon. friend the Member for Wexford. There was absolutely no use for the Crimes Act in Ireland. It was an Act passed many years ago for the purpose of dealing with an exceptional state of things which had ceased to exist. The right hon. Gentleman who was at present responsible for the Government of Ireland had established for himself the character of a philosopher. When the late Mr. Forster was asked to make permanent the Coercion Act of 1882, he absolutely refused to do so, stating that he would not be the man to hang up a sword of Damocles for anybody but himself to take down. Mr. Forster had confidence in himself, but none in his successors. The present Chief Secretary now found himself in possession of such a sword. He could hang it up or take it down at pleasure. He trusted that he could show the right hon. Gentleman some reason why he should take it down for the last time and throw it away. Writing on the subject of civil liberty, the philosopher Paley said—

> "A law being found to produce no sensible good effects is a sufficient reason for repealing it, as adverse and injurious to the rights of free citizens, without demanding specific evidence of its bad effects. This maxim might be remembered with advantage in the revision of many of the laws of this country, and amongst people enamoured to excess and jealous of their liberty it seems a matter of surprise that this principle has been so imperfectly attended to."

He thought that principle might be attended to by the right hon. Gentleman at present. He had taken the trouble to make out a comparative statement of crime in Ireland, England and Scotland. If he were to quote the figures, though he did not intend to occupy the time of the House in doing so, he thought hon. Members would wonder at the amount of money spent on police in Ireland, where there was a comparatively small amount of crime, as compared with the amount of money spent on police in England and Scotland where there was an enormous and increasing amount of crime to be dealt with. A reduction of the police force in Ireland had been promised from time to time, but he doubted whether that was going on apace. He trusted that what he now said in regard to the Crimes Act would not be said in vain, and that the right hon. Gentleman would see his way to have it repealed.

Mr. BRYCE said he would not enter in detail into the points which had been raised. Some of the questions could only be answered by entering at considerable length into the way the law was administered. The hon. Member for Wexford had objected to the maintenance of the Peace Preservation Act and had denounced the proclamation of the County of Wexford. It reminded him of a parallel case when, thirty years ago, he visited Iceland and had difficulty in getting quarters in the capital town. The authorities said that, as the gaol had not an occupant, they would be only too happy to give him quarters there. The question of the Peace Preservation Act was engaging his attention, and during the course of the autumn he would consider the whole subject fully to see whether the proclamation of a certain number of counties could be withdrawn.

Mr. JOHN O'CONNOR: Will you repeal the Act ?

Mr. BRYCE said he would consider the whole subject. On the subject of the fisheries he regretted as much as the hon. Baronet that the industry of line fishing was diminishing. It was diminishing all over the United Kingdom, it was diminishing on the east coast of Scotland, on the Moray Firth, and on the Aberdeenshire and Kincardineshire coast. This was largely owing to the growth of trawlers, and therefore the hon. Baronet must not suppose that the diminution was confined to the North of Ireland. He would do what he could to encourage the fishing industry, but why should not the hon. Member if he thought the subject had been inadequately dealt with by the Department tender evidence to the Committee who were sitting on that subject, and say what could be done for the promotion of fisheries in that part of the country. As to the provision of gunboats the Admiralty was very chary in giving gunboats for the protection of fisheries, and even the Secretary for Scotland found great difficulty in getting help from the Admiralty. They had two boats which were engaged in the work, and these he thought were sufficient. A trawler might escape now and again, but he did not think much harm was done. The hon. Member for North Cork had called attention to grazing lands and evicted tenants, and had brought up a case in which he did not think justice had been done. His complaint was that the Estates Commissioners were not sufficiently energetic in getting hold of untenanted land. He once travelled in company with the Estates Commissioners some years ago and they talked a great deal about the subject. He could assure the House that the Commissioners were exceedingly anxious to carry out the duties thrown upon them, and they were anxious to get hold of untenanted land and divide it up for the benefit of the people. They were by no means friends of the large grazing ranches. Now and then it was not possible for them to avoid leaving a certain amount of untenanted land in the hands of some person in the neighbourhood, but speaking generally the Estates Commissioners were not selling land to large holders. Sometimes they had to make a bargain to get other advantages, but they were doing what they could to break up grazing farms and put them into the hands of men who would use for them for agricultural purposes. The hon. Member had referred to congestion, other than in the congested districts. There were parts of Ireland where that evil existed. The hon. Member knew that the attention of the Government had been called to this point. They had lately appointed a Commission to deal with the question, and it was part of the reference to that Commission to inquire whether there were not outside the areas now scheduled as congested other districts practically in the same position which ought to have special treatment accorded to them, and to ascertain how much untenanted land there was which could be made available in whatever part of Ireland for the relief of congestion. He hoped the hon. Member would see that the importance of the subject was fully realised by the Irish Government who were endeavouring to do all they could in the matter. He assured the hon. Member for East Waterford that the Government were doing all they could to meet the cases of the evicted tenants. The six new inspectors were busily investigating cases and advising the Estates Commissioners as to lands available where they could be placed. The inspectors could not trespass on lands where the owner did not desire their presence, but the Estates Commissioners would have their attention directed to such cases and would exercise their jurisdiction when the lands came to be sold to impose such conditions in regard to untenanted land as would be salutary and beneficial for the neighbourhood and the small people who desired to acquire land. He had no complaint to make against the tone and spirit of the remarks made by the right hon. Member for South Dublin. His speech was in no way acrimonious, and it did not make any unfair charges against the Irish Government. He quite understood the right hon. Gentleman's wish that schemes to which he was attached should, from time to time, be debated in this House, and that the attention of the House should be called to anything that might be described as a dereliction of duty on the part of the Government. He did not think, however that the right hon. Gentleman had shown that the Government had departed from the admirable general maxims that he laid down. The right hon. Gentleman spoke first of the appointments to the different Commissions by the Government, and said, what he (Mr. Bryce) was very glad to hear, that if the Royal Commission sitting at Trinity College, Dublin, was able to arrive at any solution that would satisfy Irish public opinion on the long-vexed University question, which had been a trouble to British Parliaments beyond the memory of anyone now sitting in the House, he and he believed the Opposition would support it.

MR. WALTER LONG: No, I did not say anything in regard to the Opposition. The only matter I was referring to was the latest suggestion that had been made, and which I hoped would receive the attention of the Commission and the attention of the right hon. Gentleman. I have only read of the suggestion within the last forty-eight hours, but I think it is a solution which everyone will rejoice in.

MR. BRYCE: I thought the right hon. Gentleman was speaking of the Leader of the Opposition and himself desiring to see a solution of this question. He certainly said it was outside of Party politics and in that I, of course, agree with him. Continuing, the right hon. Gentleman referred to the Commission on Irish railways. It had been said that there was a feeling among a certain number of people connected with the railways that the Commission was a menace to them. He could not understand how that feeling arose. The only result of the Commission would be, he was quite sure, beneficial to Ireland. He trusted that it would be found possible to work the Irish railways more economically and effectively than they were at present worked. That would lead to greater efficiency and would result in better dividends to the shareholders. He hoped, therefore, that the Commission would be able to suggest more economical methods of working based on English experience and the development of the branch line system. He had never heard any suggestion from Irish railway companies that they should have any representatives on the Commission. The Commission consisted of gentlemen who had held high places in the railway world. The Chairman, Sir Charles Scotter, was a member of the Commission which sat upon Irish railways twenty years ago and knew the Irish railway system thoroughly. He did not think that in any way the interests of the Irish railways could be threatened or imperilled by the Commission which had been appointed. The Commission could do nothing but good, and he hoped that the groundless apprehensions to which expression had been given would be dismissed from the minds of those who held them. As regards the Land Commission, also referred to by the right hon. Gentleman, he would not go again into the justification he made three months ago. The accounts he had received from those who had to deal with the new Assistant Commissioners, and those whom they served, were to the effect that they were better men and were doing their work more efficiently than their predecessors. He thought, therefore, that the substitution of these five new men had been amply justified in the result, and he repeated what he had said on a previous occasion, that politics had nothing whatever to do with the appointments, because the authorities had not the slightest knowledge of the political opinions of any one of the Assistant Commissioners. Referring to the Loughrea dispute the right hon. Member for South Dublin had confined his criticism to the suggestion that if any intervention on the part of the Government in that dispute were to encourage in any way intimidation or disorder or any interference with private life that would be unfortunate. He (Mr. Bryce) quite agreed, but he had no reason to believe that it would have that effect. Loughrea was a part of Ireland where disorder might be said to be more or less endemic. He could not say that even now the condition of the place was altogether satisfactory, but he believed the condition would be a great deal worse but for the last intervention. A very serious conflict, which would have resulted no doubt in serious bloodshed, was only averted by the action of the Under-Secretary. It was most fortunate that he had such an Under-Secretary. The Irish Government had in no way departed from the principle they laid down from the first, viz., that they had been endeavouring to give to every private person all the protection possible, whether by way of police protection or by prosecution of offenders where the offence was one which could be made the subject of prosecution. Where there had been any attempts at intimidation, action had been taken. The Attorney-General for Ireland authorised him to say that no case in which there was sufficient evidence to justify a prosecution had been brought to his notice without his ordering a prosecution. The Irish Government believed that it was its first duty to enforce the law whenever it could. There were, however, means of bringing intimidatory force to bear upon individuals with which the law could not deal. Wherever there was a prospect of enforcing the law there the Government would not neglect their duty. The right hon. Member for South Dublin referred to the distribution of seditious literature among soldiers in Ireland. He (Mr. Bryce) had heard of no such distribution. There had been a few instances in which attempts had been made to distribute anti-recruiting leaflets, but they were very few and it had been found impossible to discover the perpetrators. The particular case the right hon. Gentleman mentioned must have been exaggerated or based upon some idle report, because the police were very careful to give information from time to time on all offences that came to their knowledge, and they had not reported any such case. The right hon. Gentleman had asked that the correspondence between the Irish Government and the Intermediate Education Board should be published. No one desired that that correspondence should be published more than he (Mr. Bryce) did. He had hoped to have it published before now, as he said a few days ago. The position was this, that the members of the Intermediate Board did not desire their part of the correspondence to be published, and the Irish Government had therefore refrained from publishing their part because they felt it would not be fair to do so if the Board did not publish their replies. If the right hon. Gentleman represented the Board——

Mr. WALTER LONG: Certainly not. I have only raised the question in the interests of those who want to have the fullest information in regard to it.

Mr. BRYCE said his own personal wish would be to publish the correspondence to-morrow. He had it almost all in print and it could be published at a day's notice. He agreed with what the right hon. Member for South Dublin had said as to the importance of schemes for the development of harbours and railways in Ireland, but the right hon. Member of course knew that money was necessary for these purposes. It was, moreover, very difficult to decide which of a number of schemes for improvements throughout the country should be selected, and the greatest care was needed in the administration of the money the Irish Government had at its disposal. One of the projects for which there was a great demand was the drainage of the River Bann. There was nothing nearer his heart than to secure the carrying out of that project. The Irish Government were going to communicate with the county council to see what help they could give, and to discover whether any means could be found by which the water power of the Bann could be utilised for industrial purposes which would repay some of the cost of the project. He would do his best to bring about a solution far too long delayed. The House would be glad to know that in Ireland generally there was freedom from crime and disorder. The reports of Judges who had attended the assizes where most hopeful. The aims that the right hon. Gentleman had stated in his concluding sentences to be his were those of the Irish Government; and he hoped that even if the methods by which the Government proposed to attain the ends that they had in view were different from those favoured by the right hon. Gentleman he would recognise that it was the wish of the Government to secure equal justice to all classes in Ireland, to render Ireland powerful and prosperous, and to see that respect for the law went hand in hand with that large measure of liberty and self-government which they hoped the country would enjoy.

Mr. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith Burghs) complained that there had been only one day for Scottish Estimates. There was one important point which he wished to bring before the notice of the Secretary for Scotland and that was the administration of the Central Board which controlled Scottish affairs. A great deal was needed to strengthen the Central Board, and he asked the Secretary for Scotland if he would institute an inquiry into the working of the Board. He was confident that a good many of the smaller Boards could be made more effective by amalgamation. The right hon. Gentleman himself had proposed to absorb the Congested District Board in a land commission. The Board of Agriculture in Scotland was an admirable Department, but there were other Boards which might be amalgamated. For instance, the Prison Board and the Lunacy Board might be amalgamated. It would be as great an advantage to have the Board of Education moved to Edinburgh as it would be to have the Board of Agriculture moved. The Local Government Board no doubt did admirable work, but it was not properly equipped to carry out legislation. In his opinion one of the greatest benefits that the people of Scotland could have would be a strong departmental inquiry into the working of all these different Boards, into the possibility of having the representative element introduced, and into the advisability of amalgamating the Boards where possible.

*Mr. MORTON (Sutherland) said there was no doubt that these Boards were working most unsatisfactorily, and it was unfortunate that the Secretary for Scotland was not their master. Parliament could not get near these Boards. Mr. Gladstone said on many occasions between 1886 and 1892 that it was all very well to have good laws, but things could not be got to work right unless there was good administration also. They wanted in Scotland good administration. What he complained of was that there had been only two or three hours this session for the discussion of Scottish affairs. There were a number of social questions affecting Scotland which the present Government were pledged to attend to and which must be attended to. The Prime Minister had said that one of the great things needed was the colonisation of our own country. Many parts of Scotland wanted colonising. Millions of money were wasted each year in foreign countries which should have been saved for the benefit of Scotland, and to enable Scotsmen to live in their own country. The main roads wanted attending to and the steamboat service to be developed. New harbours were required. [Cries of "Divide," and laughter.] Hon. Members sneered at him for trying to do something for his constituents. He was not going to sit down, however, but was prepared, if necessary, to sit all night. To his repeated Questions as to the suppression of illegal trawling he had had no satisfactory Answer. Some of the cruisers that were engaged in this work were not doing it properly, and, therefore, somebody ought to go and see that they did it properly. He had asked more than once to be allowed to see what these cruisers were doing, but had been refused. That refusal was proof of his assertion that the work was not being properly done. As to education, he was afraid that the pupil teacher system was going to be done away with without the House being consulted. He hoped that the Prime Minister would next year treat Scotland at least as well as he treated Ireland in the matter of opportunity for discussion. At present there were millions of money voted without discussion. It was a scandal and a shame that that should occur in a civilised country of this sort, and there ought to be found time and means for the thorough discussion of the expenditure of money before it was voted.

The SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member must not go into this matter on the present occasion.

*Mr. MORTON, continuing, said he hoped the Secretary for Scotland would show more backbone and be master of all the Boards that were ruining Scotland as similar Boards had ruined Ireland.

The SECRETARY for SCOTLAND (Mr. Sinclair, Forfarshire) remarked that no one knew better than the hon. Member who had just spoken that the Government regretted as fully and deeply as he did that more time could not be given to Scottish business. The volume of business of the House was increasing yearly, and the Government had not yet had time to carry out their purpose of lessening the labours of the House in matters of detail. It was not in order on that occasion to discuss legislation, but he might say that in the legislation they had promised the Government had given substantial evidence of their desire to deal with the present evils in Scotland. The hon. Member for the Leith Burghs had alluded to the question of the Boards. Personally, he would like to have more experience before he expressed any definite opinion as regards the work of these bodies. As a matter of fact, in the legislation introduced by the Government they were now attempting to deal with three of the existing Boards. There were four Boards that remained, and he was prepared to admit that it was quite possible that more economical and better government might ensue from some different arrangement with regard to their working. These were the Lunacy Commissioners, the Prison Commissioners, the Fishery Board, and the Local Government Board. He would greatly like to enter into the discussion of several of the points raised by the hon. Member for Sutherland, but he dared not at that late hour. He would only throw out the remark that it seemed to him that while on the one hand there was no definite charge of inefficiency or extravagance that could be brought against the Boards——

*MR. MORTON: I have made such a charge and I stick to it.

MR. SINCLAIR: On the other hand, he was prepared to admit that improvement might follow upon inquiry or legislation based upon such an inquiry. His humble opinion was that the difficulty did not lie with the Edinburgh Boards, but in the fact that Parliament could not under present arrangements afford to give sufficient time for the administration and control of Scottish business and those responsible for it. He was not sure that the elective principle with regard to these Boards would not weaken the control of Parliament itself. This was a large subject and he would not enter upon it that night. He hoped that some real advance would be made in the directions indicated.

MR. MURPHY (Kerry, E.) rose to continue the debate.

MR. GEORGE WHITELEY rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question, "That the Question be now put," put, and agreed to.

Question, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question," put accordingly, and agreed to.

Main Question put, and agreed to:—Bill read a second time, and committed for To-morrow.

CENSUS OF PRODUCTION BILL.

Census of Production Bill,—Order for Committee read, and discharged:—Bill committed to the Standing Committee on Trade, etc.

FERTILISERS AND FEEDING STUFFS BILL.

Lords' Amendments considered, and agreed to.

DOGS BILL.

Consideration of Lords' Amendments.

Mr. CLAUDE HAY (Shoreditch, Hoxton) suggested that the House should hear from the Minister in charge an explanation of the purpose of the Lords' Amendments.

Mr. MORTON also pressed for some explanation. He was, he said, very doubtful about the Bill himself. The Amendments ought to be explained.

Sir EDWARD STRACHEY (Somersetshire, S.) explained that the Amendment was to leave out "sheep" and insert "cattle," the object being to entitle the owner to compensation for the worrying of both sheep and cattle by dogs.

Mr. HICKS BEACH (Gloucestershire, Tewkesbury) inquired why it was that if both sheep and cattle were to be protected both words were not inserted in the clause.

Sir EDWARD STRACHEY replied that the word "cattle" covered both sheep and cattle.

The Lords' Amendments were agreed to.

COLONIAL MARRIAGES BILL [Lords].

As amended, considered; read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

POOR RELIEF (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 2nd August; Mr. Runciman]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 315.]

LOCAL TAXATION LICENCES, ETC., 1905-6.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 2nd August; Mr. Runciman]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 316.]

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to Musical Copyright Bill, with Amendments.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) BILL.

That they agree to the Amendment made by this House to one of the Amendments made by the Lords to the Labourers (Ireland) Bill, and do not insist on one of their Amendments to which this House has disagreed and agree to the Amendment made by this House in lieu thereof, and do not insist on one other of their Amendments to which this House has disagreed, and do not insist on another of their Amendments to which this House has disagreed, and propose an Amendment in lieu thereof to which they desire the concurrence of this House.

MUSICAL COPYRIGHT BILL.

Lords' Amendments to be considered to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 340.]

LABOURERS (IRELAND) BILL.

Lords' Amendment to be considered to-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 341.]

Whereupon Mr. SPEAKER adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to the Order of the House of July 13th last.

Adjourned at twelve minutes before Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, August 3rd, 1906.

Colonial Marriages Bill [H.L.]; Returned from the Commons agreed to, with an Amendment.

Statute Law Revision (Scotland) Bill, Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Bill, Dogs Bill; Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION.

Petitions in favour of denominational religious teaching in schools. Of inhabitants of Burford; Croston; Clayton-le-Woods; and Whittle-le-Woods. Of parents or guardians of children attending schools at Chorley (4);Whittle-le-Woods; Hesken; Leyland; Coppul; and Croston. Of teachers in schools at Chorley; Whittle-le-Woods; Leyland; Blackburn (2); and Croston.

Read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

(1) Petitions against; of Residents in Westminster; Parishoners of Wath-upon-Dearne; Clerical and Lay Members of Synod of Diocese of Salisbury; and of Residents in Wiltshire and Hartlebury; (2) Petition for amendment of; of congregation of St. Philip's, Griffin (Blackburn). Read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

NAVY.

(Courts Martial) — Return of the number of Courts Martial held and summary punishments inflicted during the year 1905.

(Health)—Statistical Report of the Health of the Navy for the year 1905.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894.

Return of all British ships provisionally detained from 1st July 1905 to 30th June 1906, in pursuance of the provisions of Section 459 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894; also of all Foreign ships ordered to be provisionally detained during the same period in pursuance of Section 462 of the same Act, together with summaries showing respectively the total number of ships detained as unsafe from 1st October 1876 to 30th June 1906, distinguishing between those cases in which ships were found safe or unsafe (in continuation of Parliamentary Papers [Cd. 2678.]).

BOILER EXPLOSIONS.

Report to the Secretary of the Board of Trade upon the working of the Boiler Explosions Acts, 1882, and 1890, with appendices (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper [Cd. 2676]).

MERCHANT SHIPPING (LOSS OF LIFE).

Return showing the lives lost by wreck, drowning, or other accident in British seagoing merchant ships registered in the United Kingdom, during the years 1891 to 1905 inclusive (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper [Cd. 2639]).

DISEASES OF ANIMALS ACTS.

Report of proceedings as regards Ireland, for the year 1905.

STATISTICS.

Statistical Abstract for the principal and other foreign countries in each year from 1894 to 1903–1904 (as far as particulars can be stated). Thirty-second number.

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Calendar of the manuscripts of the Marquess of Salisbury, preserved at Hatfield House, Herts. Part XI.: Presented (by command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1870.

Two Orders in Council, dated 28th July 1906, entitled—The Brunei Order in Council, 1906; the Nigeria Coinage Order, 1906.

COLONIAL PROBATES ACT, 1892 (SOUTHERN RHODESIA).

Order in Council, dated 28th July 1906, applying certain provisions of the Colonial Probates Act, 1892, to Southern Rhodesia.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

WINTER ASSIZES ACTS, 1876 AND 1877.

Seven Orders in Council, dated 28th July 1906, constituting Winter Assize Counties Nos. 1 to 7 for the purposes of the ensuing Winter Assizes.

GREENWICH HOSPITAL ACT, 1865.

Order in Council, dated 28th July, 1906, approving the appointment of a receiver and agent for the Greenwich estate, and a revision of the salary of the officer supervising the staff of instructors and servants at the Royal Hospital School Greenwich.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 1888.

Fourteen Orders under Section 57 of the Act, as confirmed by the Local Government Board, of the following county councils.

Carnarvon—For uniting the parishes of Eglwysrhos and Llandudno to form the new parish of Llandudno-cum-Eglwysrhos.

Carnarvon—For uniting the parishes of Llanrhychwyn and Tre Gwydir to form the new parish of Llanrhychwyn.

Hereford—For transferring an area from the parish of Ross Rural and from the Ross Rural district to the parish of Ross Urban and to the Ross Urban district.

Hertford—For forming the area of the parish of Bushey Rural into the urban district of Bushey, and for altering the names of the parishes of Bushey Rural and Bushey Urban to Bushey and Oxhey respectively.

Holland, parts of—For altering the areas of certain parishes in the Boston Poor Law Union.

Huntingdon and the Isle of Ely—For constituting part of the parish of Stanground the parish of Stanground South, and the remaining part of the parish of Stanground North, and for forming the area of the parishes of Fletton Rural, Stanground South, and Woodstone Rural into the urban district of Old Fletton.

Kent—For uniting the parishes of Gillingham and Grange to form the new parish of Gillingham.

Norfolk—For transferring to the parish of Overstrand parts of the parishes of Northrepps and Sidestrand.

Oxford—For uniting the parishes of Greys and Henley-on-Thames to form the new parish of Henley-upon-Thames.

Salop—For transferring to the parish of Eyton on the Wild Moors parts of the parishes of Hadley and Kinnersley.

Southampton—For transferring to the parish of Milford parts of the parish of Hordle.

Surrey—For abolishing the rural district of Egham and forming the area of the parish of Egham into the urban district of Egham.

Sussex, East—For uniting parts of the parishes of Mayfield and Buxted to form the new parish of Hadlow Down.

Yorkshire, West Riding of—For transferring to the township of Normanton and to the urban district of Normanton part of the township of Syndale, in the urban district of Featherstone.

MOTOR CAR ACTS, 1896 AND 1903.

Regulation as to the restriction of the driving of motor cars on certain highways or parts of highways within the borough of Kingston-upon-Thames, made by the Local Government Board under Section 6 of the Act of 1896, and Section 8 of the Act of 1903.

Regulation as to the restriction of the driving of motor cars on certain roads and parts of roads within the city of Saint Alban, made by the Local Government Board under Section 9 (1) of the Act of 1903.

Regulation as to the restriction of the driving of motor cars on the highway known as Middle Street, within the urban district of Horsham, made by the Local Government Board under Section 6 of the Act of 1896, and Section 8 of the Act of 1903.

Regulation as to the restriction of the driving of motor cars on the highway known as Anstey's Cove Road, within the borough of Torquay, made by the Local Government Board under Section 6 of the Act of 1896, and Section 8 of the Act of 1903.

Regulation as to the registration of motor cars made by the Local Government Board under Section 6 of the Act of 1896, and under Section 7 of the Act of 1903; Southport (county borough). For assigning an index mark to the council of the county borough of Southport.

HOUSING OF WORKING CLASSES ACT, 1890.

City of Leeds.—Statement of modification permitted by the Local Government Board to be made in the scheme confirmed by the Leeds (Housing of Working Classes) Order 1901.

County of London.—Statement of modification permitted by the Local Government Board to be made in the London (Aylesbury Place, Clerkenwell, and Union Buildings, Holborn) Improvement Scheme, 1899.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Standing Order No. 39 considered (according to order), and suspended for this day's sitting.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (TRANSFER OF TREASURY POWERS) BILL.

House in Committee (according to order); Bill reported without Amendment; Standing Committee negatived. Then (Standing Order No. 39 having been suspended); Bill read 3a, and passed.

VISCOUNT HALIFAX AND MR. PAUL—A PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

VISCOUNT **HALIFAX**: My Lords, I desire to make a personal explanation. I find that I had forgotten that Mr. Herbert Paul on a previous occasion denied the charge that he had abused his countrymen who fell in the war in South Africa, and that I had accepted his denial. I can only say that if I had remembered what had occurred I never should have said what I did last evening, and I wish to express my sincere regret to Mr. Paul that I should have done so.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.

THE EARL OF **CAMPERDOWN**: My Lords, I rise to ask the Lord President of the Council whether, in the event of a local education authority deciding that religious instruction which does not conflict with Section 14 of the Elementary Education Act of 1870 shall be given in its schools, it will be competent to that authority to pay a substitute for any teacher who may decline, under Clause 8, sub-clause (2) of the Education Bill, to give that instruction.

The object of this question is to make clear a point in the Education Bill now before the House which is not clear to me and to a good many other Members of your Lordships' House, namely, what are the powers which the local education authority will have of making payments for religious education under this Bill. So far as the teaching of denominational religion is concerned the Bill is explicit enough. Clause 3, Sub-section (2) provides that—

> "No part of the expense of giving religious instruction of a special character under this section shall be paid by the local education authority."

That is quite clear; but when we come to the teaching of undenominational, or what is called Cowper-Temple religion, the point is altogether different. Hitherto undenominational religion has been taught in provided schools by the teacher as part of his ordinary duty, and it is therefore impossible to say whether any special payment has been made to him for teaching that religion or not. But this Bill creates a different situation altogether. Clause 8, subsection (2) provides that—

> "A teacher employed in a public elementary school shall not be required as part of his duties as teacher to give any religious instruction."

Your Lordships must remember that in future all the schools in the country, including all rural schools, are to become provided schools, and that there is in rural schools, as a rule, only one teacher. Any one of these teachers may say that he declines to give this religious instruction. What will follow?

A similar question, though not exactly in the same form, because it did not relate to the question of payment but rather to that of appointment, was asked in the other House of Parliament, and the Secretary to the Board of Education stated, in reply, that that teacher would be dismissed and that another teacher would be appointed in his place who would give this religious instruction. With all respect to the Secretary to the Board of Education, I submit to your Lordships that that is evidently a misconception on his part of Clause 8 of the Bill, because the whole spirit of that clause is that a teacher is not to be obliged to give religious instruction unless he chooses, and it is quite obvious that if he were dismissed because he chose to avail himself of the privilege which is given by the clause it would be a case of persecution.

What is to happen ? The only course that I can see is to appoint a substitute presumably to teach this undenominational religion only. That substitute must be remunerated in some way. Is he to be paid directly ? If so, in the first place you will be paying two teachers for the duties of the school, and, in the second place, I do not see how you can escape from the accusation which has been made not infrequently and which His Majesty's Government have constantly contradicted, namely, that you will be, to use the term which is generally applied, endowing one form of religious teaching and one form only. It is for that reason that I beg to ask the noble Earl the Lord President of the Council the Question standing in my name. The only alternative, so far as I can see, if you are not able to pay the substitute, is that the instruction will not be given at all, and the whole purpose of the local education authority would be defeated.

*The LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (The EARL of CREWE): My Lords, I think it might be maintained that the Question which the noble Earl has put to me is somewhat doubtful as a matter of order.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: Oh no. I am quite prepared to argue that point with the noble Earl.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: It undoubtedly refers to a Bill before the House, and it is evident that if Questions could be put upon all the different clauses of a Bill, the rule which forbids speeches to be made more than once on the Second Reading might lose its effect, owing to the fact that Questions in this House are not simply put as they appear on the Paper, but are accompanied sometimes by speeches of considerable length. However, I do not complain of my noble friend on this occasion, because I am able to answer the Question very briefly. He asks whether, in the event of a local education authority deciding that religious instruction which does not conflict with Section 14 of the Elementary Act of 1870 shall be given in its schools, it will be competent to that authority to pay a substitute. The answer to that is undoubtedly in the affirmative. It will be competent for the local education authority to pay a substitute for any teacher who may decline, under Clause 8, to give the religious instruction referred to.

PUBLIC WORKS (LOANS) BILL.

Bill read 2ª (according to Order).

Moved, "That the Bill be committed."—(*The Earl of Crewe.*)

LORD ASHBOURNE: My Lords, I should like to call attention to the fact that this Bill has not been printed, and we know nothing as to its provisions. I have known of a mischievous clause relating to Ireland being placed in a Bill of this character, and I would wish to have an opportunity of seeing the Bill before it is passed through all its stages.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: This is a Bill to grant money for the purpose of certain local loans out of the Local Loans Fund and for other purposes of that kind. It has been read a first time, and copies of the Bill have, I presume, been accessible to noble Lords who felt interested as to its contents.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Why has the Bill not been circulated ?

*THE EARL OF CREWE: I am not sure if this Bill should have been circulated.

Lord **ASHBOURNE**: It is quite possible that pressure of time has prevented the Bill being printed, but if there is no clause in it relating to Ireland I will say no more upon it.

*The Earl of **CREWE**: I am not familiar with all that has taken place, and it may be, as the noble and learned Lord suggests, that pressure of time has prevented the Bill being printed.

On Question, Committee negatived. Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX having been suspended). Bill read 3^{a}, and passed.

MARINE INSURANCE BILL [H.L.].

Order of the day read for the consideration of Commons Amendments.

The Earl of **HALSBURY**: My Lords, this is a Bill to which I gave considerable care when I was in office, but for some reason or another which I have never yet understood, it was laid aside on reaching the House of Commons. It has again been introduced, and has passed through this House. A considerable number of Amendments have since been made in it. As your Lordships will well understand, a Bill which goes into the whole region of sea insurance is one which I cannot undertake to go through at once, and therefore I propose to ask your Lordships to postpone the consideration of the Commons Amendments until we meet in the Autumn.

The **LORD CHANCELLOR** (Lord Loreburn): I think the course which my noble and learned friend has suggested is a prudent one. This is a purely technical Bill, and certain Amendments of a technical character, but deriving high authority, have been inserted in the House of Commons. I believe it was there understood that the noble and learned Earl and myself, with others familiar with legal matters in this House, would revise those Amendments. I therefore think the course suggested of postponing the consideration of the Amendments until the autumn a wise one.

Order of the Day for the consideration of Commons Amendments discharged.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) ACT (1898) AMENDMENT BILL.

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

Lord **RIBBLESDALE**: My Lords, this is an unopposed Bill. I believe it is the result of a great fight between parties who have now come to terms. The object of the Bill is to enable a bridge which is very much wanted to be built at Kilkenny, and the persons concerned are very anxious to get the Bill through so as to begin the construction of the bridge as soon as possible. I hope your Lordships will therefore permit me to take the Bill through all its stages to-day.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^{a}."—(*Lord Ribblesdale.*)

Lord **ASHBOURNE**: This Bill is a very short one, it is true, and no doubt everything the noble Lord has said is quite correct. I know there has been a considerable controversy for many years as to the building of a bridge at Waterford. It may be that one side of the bridge would be in county Kilkenny, and that this Bill refers to the same matter. If that is so, and if this Bill is a result of a settlement between the parties, who are very eagerly alive to their own interests and have been litigating for many years, I think he would be a rather rash person who would interfere with that arrangement.

Lord **RIBBLESDALE**: I am not quite sure whether the noble and learned Lord may not be right as to a portion of the bridge being in Waterford. But I distinctly remember that it referred to Kilkenny, because I associated it with cats.

The Marquess of **SALISBURY**: I think your Lordships have some reason to complain of the action of the noble Lord, though we are delighted at the light and humorous way in which he treats legislation. He is asking your Lordships to pass the Second Reading of a Bill which has not been printed and circulated. I think that is going much too far. If this were the last moment on which legislation could be carried there might be something to be said for it; but I do not think even that would be an adequate defence for such a procedure. There will be ample time after the short recess to consider this and other measures, and I respectfully submit that the House ought not to be asked to pass in this way Bills which they have not had any opportunity of considering. I therefore ask the noble Lord whether he will not consent to put the Bill off.

LORD RIBBLESDALE: I think I might explain that the Bill was sent up to me from the House of Commons. I handed it to Lord Denman, but, through some mistake, it was not put down and no action was taken upon it until yesterday, when the persons interested came to me from the House of Commons and explained the straits they were in. They told me about Kilkenny, and I said I would try and get the Bill passed through all its stages before the adjournment. I agree that this is rather an expeditious way of passing Bills, but the persons concerned are very anxious to get on with the building of this bridge, and there can be no danger in your Lordships allowing the measure to go through.

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: The putting down of a Bill for First Reading is not necessary in this House. If the Bill came up from the other House it would be read formally and printed. I think it is important to know when this Bill was read a first time.

LORD RIBBLESDALE: It was read a first time yesterday.

***THE EARL OF CREWE**: In the circumstances I would suggest that the consideration of this matter should be postponed until the conclusion of business to-day. This would enable noble Lords interested in the matter to make inquiries.

The Marquess of Salisbury.

LORD ASHBOURNE: I have just looked at the Bill. It merely amends a certain clause in a previous Act, and says nothing about the locality. But I think it must refer to the bridge connecting Kilkenny and Waterford. I have no doubt that if the suggestion of the Lord President of the Council is adopted the noble Lord in charge of the Bill will in the meantime be able to get full information.

Debate (by Order) adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS OFFICES.

Order of the Day read for the consideration of the third Report from the Select Committee.

Moved, "That this Report be now received."—(*The Earl of Onslow.*)

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: My Lords, I would appeal to my noble friend to postpone the consideration of this Report until the autumn. The Report has not been circulated, and was agreed to, I understand, only yesterday afternoon. The meeting of the Committee for yesterday was called for half-past three, but notices were sent out in the forenoon changing the hour to three o'clock. I arrived at the Committee at a quarter past three and found the whole of the business concluded. There is involved in this the abandonment of certain rooms belonging to your Lordships' House which are handed over to the other House of Parliament. There are also other questions involved, concerning the powers to be exercised by the Lord Great Chamberlain and the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod respectively. I cannot see what harm would be done to the public interest by postponing the consideration of this Report until the autumn. I think it is hardly fair to the House to hurry the matter through before your Lordships have had an opportunity of seeing the Report. I may be told that if my suggestion is adopted several weeks may be lost in necessary works, but that is a trivial matter compared to the other issues involved. I trust my noble friend will accede to my request.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (The EARL of ONSLOW): My Lords, I confess that there is a good deal of difficulty in the last days of a session owing to the fact that the printer is overworked, and it is not possible to get Bills and Reports expeditiously printed and circulated. There would be no reason whatever why the consideration of this matter should not be adjourned until the autumn were it not for the fact that it is desired that in the interval between August and October the structural alterations necessary should be carried out so that the accommodation might be available during the Autumn sittings.

There are certain rooms of your Lordships' House on the terrace level which are used by the messengers, and it is proposed that they should be given up and should be turned into a dining-room for the House of Commons, the messengers being lodged in a part of this building over the old librarian's house. The First Commissioner of Works has undertaken that if that is done he will make such structural alterations as will give a good access to some very fine rooms which are in existence above part of the old librarian's house, but which at the present time cannot be used by your Lordships for any purpose whatever. If that is done we may find that we shall be able to add another Committee room for the use of your Lordships. If my noble friend Lord Balfour is not satisfied with the explanation I have given I hope he will allow the matter to be adjourned until the conclusion of business to-day, by which time we shall have the Report in our hands.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord TWEEDMOUTH): I hope the noble Lord will consent to the course proposed by the Chairman of Committees. I have had some conversation with the First Commissioner of Works on the subject of these proposed changes, and it is really very desirable, in the interests of the comfort of the Members of both Houses, that the changes should be made in time for the autumn sittings. The extra accommodation which we shall have in the future will more than make up for the accommodation we are handing over to the House of Commons. The Committee were quite unanimous in recommending your Lordships to sanction this arrangement.

*VISCOUNT KNUTSFORD: If the structural part of the Report could be separated from the rest I would be prepared to concur in the suggestion that has been made. I must, however, point out that in this Report your Lordships are asked to reverse a former decision about Black Rod. Formerly it was thought that certain powers could be transferred by the House to the Lord Great Chamberlain, but after full consideration the Committee have come to the conclusion that that was a mistake, and that there was no legal power in your Lordships to make such transfer Your Lordships are therefore asked by this Report to reverse your decision, I think it is rather strong to object to the adjournment of a Report which contains so important a point.

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: What my noble friend the First Lord of the Admiralty has said has not removed my objection. I understand that we are not getting a single thing which does not belong to us. We merely get access to a room which is already in our possession, but into which we cannot get at present. I think we have given up a great deal too much, and that we ought not to give up any more of our extremely limited accommodation. I am afraid that the postponement of the consideration of the Report until the end of the business will not meet my wishes, but, after the appeal which has been made, I will not object to that course.

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: I think the discussion might well stand over until the other business before us has been transacted. It is very unfair to your Lordships that we should be called upon to discuss questions of this kind without any information whatever as to what is proposed. I am afraid there has been a tendency to deal with the question of accommodation within the precincts of the House of Lords with very little desire to consult our wishes or our convenience. As we are to reconsider the matter at the close of the business to-day I would venture to express the hope that, if there are any plans which show in a general way what the rearrangement involved is, those plans might be put up in the next room so that we may have an opportunity of looking at them meanwhile.

THE EARL OF ONSLOW: I will see that the suggestion of the noble Marquess is carried out. I would also be prepared, if noble Lords desire it, to separate the Report as suggested by the noble Viscount Lord Knutsford.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I would point out the extreme inconvenience of the course proposed. Noble Lords opposite ask us to agree to this Report without further consideration on the ground that it concerns a matter for the convenience of both Houses. But in the course of this discussion it has been mentioned by my noble friend Lord Knutsford that we are asked to reverse a decision which has recently been come to by your Lordships' House. We were not informed of that fact, and if the business had been allowed to proceed without objection we should have actually reversed one of our decisions without knowing what we were doing. Does not this demonstrate the extreme inconvenience of asking the House to agree to a Report which we have never seen? I hope your Lordships will not allow this kind of procedure to grow up, but will insist upon the printer doing his work in time for these matters to be fully considered.

Debate (by Order) adjourned.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Debate on the Motion for the Second Reading resumed (according to Order).

THE EARL OF HALSBURY: My Lords, I confess I feel somewhat ashamed of continuing a discussion which has gradually proceeded to a point when it has become a weary reiteration of questions asked and not answered. At the head of these questions is the question, why has *this* Bill—I do not say *any* Bill—been introduced? I agree with what the most rev. Primate said in that magnificent exposition which we all listened to with so much pleasure on Wednesday, that it was to be expected that His Majesty's Government would introduce a Bill upon the subject, but the question remains why a Bill which seems to have been conceived in a spirit of hostility to the Church of England should have been introduced as the only means of getting rid of what were supposed to be grievances arising out of the Act of 1902.

I should like to ask another question, but I am afraid it will meet the fate of its predecessors. Has any calculation been made of the relative positions of the Churches under Clause 4, how many Roman Catholic schools will be affected, how many Church of England schools, how many Jewish, and so forth? If any calculation of the kind has been made I would like to know the result, and, if the calculation has not been made, I ask, why not? Was it so immaterial a consideration? Are the members of the Church of England so few as to be a negligible quantity? What, then, is the meaning of a clause which, according to ordinary interpretation, will place the Church of England at a disadvantage, and that Church alone? As I have said, I am afraid I shall not get an answer. I cannot avoid coming to the conclusion that, whether the calculation was made or not, those who prompted the construction of this Bill must have had before them the evident effect of the proposals.

The Minister for Education has repudiated the idea that the Bill was constructed in any spirit of hostility to the Church of England. I know that Mr. Birrell is an honourable man, and I should be the last person in the world to suggest that he did not mean what he said; it is, therefore, the more extraordinary that the Bill as it stands is one which everybody who is familiar with the Church of England and its schools must know will in its effect be most disastrous to the schools of that Church. No one can challenge the knowledge of the occupants of the right rev. Benches, who almost without exception have pointed out the injustice which is done to the Church of England. Again I ask the question. Is this the only mode in which the supposed grievances on the part of Nonconformists can be met, and has any attempt been made to show what those grievances are?

I am not taking an exaggerated or partisan view. I recognise gratefully the spirit and tone of the speech of the noble Earl the Lord President of the Council in introducing this Bill. But I am not alone in the view that I take. It is a view that has support in speeches of Government supporters. They admit that the Bill does not give religious equality in schools.

> "For the first time in history a Government calling itself Liberal is definitely enacting that one form of religious teaching and one form only shall be subsidised by the State."

That is not my observation. It is the observation of Mr. Masterman. What one desires to know is, why is the Church of England the only exception from that scrupulous nicety with which other creeds are treated? The noble Duke said very truly yesterday that what is called Cowper-Templeism is not a specified form of religious teaching at all; it is a series of prohibitions. Something of that character has grown out of it, but it is only just to Mr. Cowper-Temple's memory to say that, whatever the effect of his clause has been, that was not what he intended. Let me read to the House what he said on that subject—

> "The limitations to be put on the local boards should not only be negative, but also positive."

That has disappeared.

> "The State in this matter of education ought to be unsectarian, but it must be Christian. It had been ruled by high authority that Christianity was part and parcel of the law of the land, and before a witness could give evidence he must take an oath. The State ought to take care that in an undenominational school established under the Bill some religious instruction should be given. The Bible should be read and explained. The Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer should be taught. To allow the Bible to be read without explanation would be unfair and cruel to the child."

I think, after that quotation from Mr. Cowper-Temple's own words, it is somewhat unfair to his memory to describe Cowper-Templeism as having grown out of his clause in the way it is often described here and elsewhere.

I ask why the Bill has been introduced with its limitations and injustices affecting the Church of England, and what is to become of the Church's schools if the Bill is put into operation? I acknowledge at once the courtesy of tone which has characterised the discussion. We have had a series of most courteous and kindly wishes and assurances of good intentions—I am afraid there is an awkwardness always in speaking of good intentions—for which, of course, we are most grateful; but we have had no answers to our questions. Good intentions will not, I fear, construe an Act of Parliament, and unless you put your kindness to opponents into the statute, the hard-hearted Judges will be guided by the nature of that statute, and not by the good intentions of its authors.

Will it bring peace? I should like to recall the debates which took place in 1870, when it was made a reproach to Mr. Gladstone that he carried the Education Bill with the help of his political opponents, and to some extent that was due. Mr. Dixon and Mr. Illingworth made remarkable deliverances on that subject. Let me read Mr. Dixon's Amendment, because it was in itself rather a prediction of what would follow. Mr. Dixon moved—

> "That this House is of opinion that no measure for the elementary education of the people will afford a satisfactory or permanent settlement which leaves the question of religious instruction in schools supported by public funds and rates to be determined by local authorities."

And in discussing the question Mr. Forster pointed out the extreme danger of the course which left to the local authorities the determination of such questions. Mr. Illingworth was not less emphatic. He said—

> "He was not going to attempt to determine what religion should be taught, but he objected strongly to Parliament abandoning its duty by refusing to determine so serious a question, and leaving it to be threshed out in vestries in the smaller and corporations in the larger towns."

Every one of these observations apply now with equal force to the new bodies formed under the name of local education authorities. That people should take a strong view of what is called "the eternal religious question" is not a circumstance which I, for one, regret; but the idea that this Bill is going to get rid of that question is illusory. I would again call attention to the resolution passed at a meeting under the presidency of Dr. Clifford, in which the meeting registered its protest against the acceptance of the Bill as a settlement of the question, and expressed the profound conviction of large numbers of Liberals and Nonconformists that it leaves several of the "grossest wrongs" inflicted on the country by the Act of 1902 unredressed, while still further subsidising all the old denominational schools in many directions and strengthening their sectarian character. Whatever may be said about Dr. Clifford, I do not think any one will doubt his energy in any agitation he conducts. Can it be contended, in view of these facts, that this Bill can put an end to the religious differences?

I should have thought that the truer view—may I say the higher Christian view?—would be to desire as far as possible to meet the religious views of all sections. This is a case for the display of some kind of charity to your neighbour, but apparently the clergymen of the Anglican Church are outside the region of reasonable charity. They are always supposed to be proselytising, tyrannical, ritualistic persons, for whom no particular consideration ought to be displayed. That is not the spirit of true charity that should obtain. I do not understand what can be the idea in the minds of those who think that this Bill can bring about a settlement. I speak with "bated breath and whispering humbleness" in the presence of the right rev. Prelates on the purely religious aspect of the Bill. This is one of those subjects on which there is a natural reticence on the part of laymen; but none the less there is deeply seated in every Christian man's mind a feeling that this is the most important subject with which we can deal. It seems to me to be treated sometimes with a lightness which is certainly inappropriate to the subject.

I am not quite certain that I followed what Lord Ribblesdale meant by his quotation from the author of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." I think it must have been wrongly quoted. I am sure the noble Lord did not mean what I am afraid it would be quoted as meaning. Mr. Gibbon himself never lost an opportunity of sneering at the Christian religion. I do not know what was meant unless it was that the line of true statesmanship would be to disregard all religion in the settlement of this question. If that was the meaning of it, I venture respectfully to differ profoundly from those who take that view. I believe that the religious history of our country is a standing testimony to the value of a Christian education and to the influence of the Church of England in maintaining it.

In some of these discussions there is a feeling that, whatever you do about religious education, you must avoid dogma. I say most sincerely that I do not know what that means. I know the meaning of the Greek word, but I do not believe it is intelligible. What do you mean by dogma? Every one of the propositions in the Apostles' Creed is dogma. Are you not to teach the Apostles' Creed? I again say I do not expect any reply to this question. It is one of many which will remain unanswered. Again, are you prohibited from finding out whether the person whom you employ, or whom you allow in obedience to the law to teach your child, is competent to do so? I believe that the neutral word "qualified" in regard to teachers is introduced. You dare not say that you must find out whether he is a Christian or whether he does or does not belong to your particular Church, for there you get the religious test. But is a teacher qualified to teach something in which he does not believe? How is it to be found out whether a man is qualified to teach religion? Does any sane person believe that a child can receive religious teaching from a person who does not believe in the religion he professes to teach?

It has been said that we may be sure that the persons entrusted with the duty of selecting the teacher will take care that he is qualified. I cannot help thinking that we must face these questions and not by the use of ambiguous phraseology get rid of the difficulty of answering them. Is it, or is it not, to be lawful for a father to ascertain whether the person who is to teach his child is a Christian or not? Lord Ribblesdale said he had never met in the flesh a Voltaire-cum-Rousseau teacher, but the most rev. Primate gave the House n example on Wednesday. Is this, or is it not, a real danger? Here was a man occupying a position such as the most rev. Primate described, and he was an actual unbeliever. Is it to be expected that Church of England parents will allow religious teaching to be given by such a teacher if they can help it? Let me suggest another difficulty. The noble Earl the Lord President of the Council gave us, if he will forgive me for saying so, rather a layman's view of what he called the *cypres* doctrine. It is dangerous to deal with legal phrases. May I ask the noble Earl whether he quite appreciates what he is talking about in that respect? Does he suggest that there is any analogy? I contend that there has been ample fulfilment of the purposes for which the voluntary schools were founded.

*THE EARL OF CREWE: I cannot, of course, pretend to engage in a legal argument with the noble and learned Earl, but I imagine that the binding force of this clause is that it is on the failure to carry on the trust by these schools that the Commission steps in. The noble and learned Earl implied that the trust was being carried on. The necessary precedent condition is that the trust should have broken down, and then the Commission steps in.

THE EARL OF HALSBURY: Has it broken down? My point is that there has been no failures. I contend that there has been ample fulfilment of the purposes for which these schools were founded; and, that being so, the proposals of the Bill would, it appears to me, constitute an outrageous interference with private property, to say nothing else. I think it is a most serious thing to interfere with these trusts except in the case of misconduct or failure on the part of the managers to fulfil the purposes of the trust. It may be my fault, but I have not the least notion on what conceivable ground it is thought proper to interfere with these trusts, and I do not understand why a tribunal *ad hoc* should be created to deal with them, seeing that the Court of Chancery has for centuries applied itself to matters such as would come before the new tribunal. I should have every confidence in the three gentlemen to be appointed to form the Commission, but that is not the point. You do not get to them until the whole series of acts referred to last night by Lord Robertson come into play.

I hesitated a good deal to intervene in this debate knowing I should only be adding to the number of unanswered questions. But there is one observation I really think I must make. Threats, veiled or unveiled, have been held out in the usual way to your Lordships' House should you venture to act on your own view of what is right in this matter. I am not surprised that these threats have not been repeated in this House. I do not think that a threat is a very potent argument, and I think it is the very last thing to induce an Englishman to alter his views. We are dealing with the question whether or not we should abandon the children for whom we are responsible to what we believe to be an ungodly system—and it is an ungodly system if the leading principles of the Christian faith are struck out—and any one who imagines that your Lordships would be deterred by such a threat as that from acting on your own judgment and from throwing out this Bill, if it is necessary in order to preserve children from such a danger, must have a very small idea of the House of Lords and of his countrymen. In my view, this Bill is unjust, impolitic, and, I believe, absolutely unworkable in its present form, and I, for one, if it is not so modified as to get rid of the objections I entertain to it, shall certainly record my vote against it on the Third Reading.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Lord FITZMAURICE): My Lords, I feel that my task in having in this important debate to reply to a statesman of the commanding knowledge and experience of the noble and learned Earl who has just sat down is a very difficult one. It is, perhaps, all the more so because I have been forcibly reminded, during the course of this debate, of one of the favourite sayings of the late Lord Granville, who for so many years led your

Lordships' House with such great applause, with regard to those who sit on these benches. He used to say, "What are we amongst so many?" Noble Lords who sit opposite are powerful, not only in possessing leaders of the great ability of the noble and learned Earl, but also in the formidable array which at all times enables them to appear for the moment as the dictators of the situation.

The noble Earl has himself concluded with an observation—I am not for a moment going to call it a threat—that your Lordships, in his opinion, would be justified, under certain circumstances, in rejecting the Bill on Third Reading. But when I reflect upon the reasons which the noble Earl gave for that course, I confess they did not seem to me to be even as strong as some of those which, allowing for the convictions of the speakers, caused other noble Lords opposite and right rev. Prelates to arrive at the same conclusion. The noble and learned Earl was chiefly concerned with the re-assertion of some of those ancient doctrines with regard to the sanctity and perpetuity of trusts which, I believe, are not held universally even by noble Lords opposite. I have heard those arguments used before, I think, by the noble and learned Earl himself in another place where we sat together for many years. I have heard them from illustrious lawyers who represent the same school of legal thought as the noble and learned Earl.

When I first had the honour of a seat in the House of Commons we were fighting the battle of University tests, and great lawyers, especially great ecclesiastical lawyers, came forward and asked what right a Liberal Government had to interfere with the ancient trusts of the Universities when nobody was prepared to say that those Universities and colleges were not doing a great and useful work. That is exactly what the noble and learned Earl has said to-day—that the voluntary schools are doing a good and useful work, and that therefore we are, *ipso facto*, morally estopped from interfering with the trusts. Those arguments have been long ago rejected by Parliament. I say with all respect to the noble and learned Earl that it is useless in the year 1906 to ask us to accept a series of propositions which Parliament has rejected over and over again since 1870. I may remind the noble and learned Earl, to go back to the great question of University tests, that there were in those days some who acknowledged that though it might be a right and proper thing to throw open the degrees and the honours of the universities to Jews and Nonconformists, they were obliged to stop there. They could not accept interference with the endowments of the colleges as distinct from the University itself. That for a great number of years was the position of Mr. Gladstone himself, but Parliament did not accept those doctrines; nor did the Liberal Party accept them, and eventually the Universities and colleges were thrown open.

We are told by the noble and learned Earl that if the proposals of the Bill are adopted the sanctity of property will be at an end and the direst consequences will follow. While desiring to treat with the greatest respect everything which falls from the lips of the noble and learned Earl, I am not prepared to be alarmed by these dire vaticinations, because, oddly enough, I have heard them all before in this very House, though a number of years ago. I was a listener in 1867—I believe it was the first time I ever stood within the precincts of this House—when I was still in my last year at the University at Cambridge, to that great education debate in which Lord Russell—a name always to be mentioned by Liberals in connection with the education question with the deepest reverence and respect—at the close of his great career and just before he handed over the leadership of the party to Mr. Gladstone, brought forward in your Lordships' House a series of propositions in regard to the future settlement of education. I well remember that oration. A young man could not possibly fail to be deeply impressed by that great speech from the lips of the veteran statesman. But, after he had spoken, there rose the then Lord President of the Council, the Duke of Marlborough. He implored their Lordships on no account to adopt the dangerous proposals which had just been placed before them by Lord Russell, and he assured them, just as the noble and learned Earl has assured us to-day, that if they did the sanctity of property would be at an end and the country would fee the effects of insecurity in every quarter. He finally concluded by imploring your Lordships' predecessors on no account to substitute for the existing institutions of the day another edifice, which, he said, would be one based upon insecure foundations and certain to involve all who stood near it in ruin; and he concluded by imploring them, in the words of the great Latin poet, not to erect an *Excelsæ turris tabulata unde altior esset casus, et insolitæ præc ps immane ruinæ.*

Your Lordships' predecessors in title then adjourned and went home in a frame of mind looking forward to the no distant day when, owing to the destructive plans of the Liberal Party, and of Lord Russell in particular, to judge by the words of the Duke of Marlborough, the satyr would be dancing among the ruins of St. James's Palace and the great owl would be building its nest with the remains of the Lord Chancellor's woolsack. But it so happened that all the proposals and some more which had been brought forward by Lord Russell were incorporated in an Act of Parliament in 1870, and in the year 1906 this House is still in existence, property is still secure, trusts have not been abolished in consequence of some changes; and we have the noble and learned Earl coming forward and asking us to take seriously a mere repetition of all those ancient fears. The noble and learned Earl commenced his observations by saying that we have no facts and no statistics, and that he hoped the Government would furnish them. I did not understand that he was asking whoever might follow him in debate—and I have that honour—to take up your Lordships' time by producing and reading long tables showing the total number of voluntary schools, the total number of council schools, the total number of local authorities, and matters of that kind.

THE EARL OF HALSBURY: I beg the noble Lord's pardon. I never asked for anything of the sort. What I asked for were Answers to Questions.

LORD FITZMAURICE: I understood the noble and learned Earl, in his opening sentence, to suggest that the House should be told something about the number of schools upon which these changes would operate.

THE EARL OF HALSBURY: I said under Clause 4.

LORD FITZMAURICE: That is part of it, of course. So far as I know these statistics have already been given in another place, and although I have no authority to say so, I cannot conceive that there would be any objection to furnishing your Lordships before we go into Committee with statistics showing the total number of schools, the number of voluntary and council schools, how many are in urban areas and rural areas, how many will be affected by Clause 4 how many of them fall below the 5,000 limit, and all those matters. In alluding to the noble and learned Earl's request I did not do so in any hostile spirit, because it appeared to me a not unnatural inquiry. I am anxious to show the noble and learned Earl that in all matters where we can meet him we desire to do so.

As to the 5,000 limit, the question what special advantage there is in that figure has been raised by the noble Marquess who recently presided over the Board of Education. The origin of the matter was this. Those who are familiar with the history of local government in England are aware that in the year 1858 the first Local Government Act was passed, under which the owners and ratepayers of a parish or township could become subject to what was then called a local board. That Act was very considerably abused. A great number of really rural places calculated that if they could justify themselves in saying they were a quasi-rural area, they could rearrange the highway rate over the whole district. In that way a great number of small places gradually obtained urban powers, and, owing to the great difficulty there is in England of depriving any place of a privilege which Parliament has given it, these places, which are mainly rural in character, have gradually blossomed out into possessors of almost the full rights of an urban community. One of the objects of this Bill, as your Lordships are aware, is to distinguish between town and country, and therefore all that this subsection means is that where there is an urban area which, in its character, is not really urban, it should be treated under Clause 3 and not under Clause 4. There is no magic about the number 5,000. Some may think it a little too high, and others may regard it as too low; but I have told your Lordships the plain, unvarnished truth as to the origin of this clause. The position of these small urban districts, quite apart from all sectarian questions, has been constantly a source of difficulty to local administrators and to the Legislature, and the Government are perfectly aware that in dealing with them in this way they are treading in the footsteps of those who have gone before them. Of course, people may differ as to the exact limit of population which ought to be fixed, but it is not any such question which has excited the deep feelings shown in this debate.

We are making a strong and honest attempt finally to settle a great question, and we do not complain—it would be utterly unreasonable to do so—that our proposals are subjected to severe examination. But I think it would greatly facilitate our task if noble Lords who oppose the Bill would make their ideas as to what the settlement ought to be more clear than I venture to think they have so far succeeded in making them. When I read the letters sent to *The Times* by the highest dignitaries of the Church, by bishops and by deans, I am unable to recognise any unanimity or any coherent plan. I have noticed the same thing before. In 1902 there was that unfortunate divergence of opinion among those who might be looked upon as authoritative expositors of Church doctrine on these questions which makes any settlement so difficult. After all, if you differ from a man or from a public body you have at least a reasonable chance of coming to an agreement if you know clearly and definitely what that person or body wants. But that is not the case here.

The right rev. Prelate the Bishop of Birmingham, who I always mention on more grounds than one with the deepest personal respect, has written a pamphlet setting forth the objections to this Bill. I understand those objections, although I do not agree with them. But then I take up a speech of the Bishop of Carlisle who, I suppose, also speaks with authority. He is not a member of your Lordships' House, but I take it that he speaks on behalf of the Church. The Bishop of Carlisle has expressed a set of views absolutely different from those of the Bishop of Birmingham; and when I listened to the admirable speech of the most rev. Primate in your Lordships' House on Wednesday, I again seemed to be listening to a set of opinions which differed from those of both the Bishop of Birmingham and the Bishop of Carlisle.

There is a further difficulty. We have among us a layman of the highest character and reputation—he is unfortunately, no longer a Member of the other House of Parliament—who is apparently more able to express the views of a larger body of Church opinion than even the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church. I allude to Lord Hugh Cecil. In the days of Lord Palmerston it used to be a joke that if you wanted to find out what was being thought in Church circles and what was likely to be done, it was far more important to ascertain the views of Lord Shaftesbury than the views of the Archbishop of Canterbury or of Lord Palmerston himself; and in this matter I am inclined to think that if you want to ascertain the views of the majority of Churchmen, of what may be called the fighting and energetic body of Church opinion, it is often quite as important to know what Lord Hugh Cecil thinks as to ascertain even what is thought by the highest dignitaries of the Church. Lord Hugh Cecil—and I make the comparison in no uncomplimentary spirit—is like the great statesman who was said in the eighteenth century to be the secret influence behind the Throne. He is a sort of ecclesiastical Lord Bute, the secret influence behind the Archiepiscopate; and it is necessary, if we are to ascertain the views of the Church, that we should know the views of Lord Hugh Cecil. All these views appear to be quite different. How, then, can you blame a Liberal Government if they are obliged to steer a course of their own and judge upon the facts that are accumulated in the Education Office?

A certain tone of bitterness has been imparted into these debates apparently because of the idea that the Government are embarking on a course hostile to religion. There, again, the indictment is not always the same. The right rev. Prelate the Bishop of London, so far as I was able to follow his argument in the impassioned speech which he made and which we all listened to with great admiration, attacked the Bill because it was chiefly an attempt to set up undenominational religion at the expense of denominational religion. That is a point of view that we can understand. But the noble Duke who opened the debate yesterday took a different line. He said the Bill was an attack upon all religion, that it was an attack upon denominational and undenominational religion alike. We are, therefore, in a very difficult position. We do not know which of these indictments it is that we are called upon to answer. Broadly speaking, our answer is this. The people of this country are a religious people. This Bill entrusts large rights and duties to the educational authorities of the country, and it is not to be supposed that an educational authority elected by religious people will be likely at once to commence an anti-religious campaign. The law of England does not suppose that people will always act reasonably. Perhaps, if that were so, many of the laws would be unnecessary. But the law of England does not suppose that people will always act unreasonably, and many of the arguments which we have heard in the course of this debate seem to me to presuppose that the local authorities of this country are certain to act in an unreasonable manner and to abuse the powers given to them.

The contention that teaching under the Cowper-Temple clause will lead to a secular system is an attack not on this Bill but on the existing law. The Cowper-Temple clause now governs the education of the majority of the children of this country. The number of school departments, no doubt, as divided between voluntary schools and council schools is about equal, but when you come to work out the number of children who attend Council schools and those who attend voluntary schools there is a marked and growing preponderance of children in council schools; and I ask any of your Lordships who have had to do with local administration whether they have found in their experience that there has been any deterioration in the moral or religious education of the people as a result of the spread of council schools. I absolutely deny it. The Returns which we owe to a Motion by the most rev. Primate show the extreme care which the local education authorities of the country have evinced in their endeavour to furnish the children under their control with a good system, not only of secular, but of religious education.

We have heard a lot about Huddersfield. Huddersfield is the ewe lamb of these discussions. I should like to know a little more about Huddersfield. I remember that in 1887 there was a Commission, presided over by Lord Cross, which presented a very able Report. At that time a great deal of disturbance arose because it was found that in one or two districts in Wales there were school boards which gave no religious education, and we were told to look at the shocking results which would accrue from allowing this kind of thing to go on. But, when the matter came to be examined, it turned out that special arrangements had been made, and that in these districts, owing to the very strong and active religious life existing there, this education was given in a far more marked degree than elsewhere; it was not, however, given by the school board, but under a highly organised system. Bearing that in mind, I should like to know a little more with regard to Huddersfield before arriving at the conclusion that Huddersfield is the shocking example which is made out. In any case, one swallow does not make a summer. Huddersfield is not the whole of England, and one exception does not show that the council schools are rapidly drifting into indifference with regard to religious education. I venture to say exactly the same thing with regard to some other observations which have been made in this debate. For example, the noble Earl who spoke last night about Wales seemed to think himself entitled to argue that, because one particular county in Wales had declined to do a thing which all the other counties in Wales were willing to do, he was justified in asserting that the opinion of the inhabitants of Wales was equally, or almost equally, divided on the question.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I think the noble Lord misinterprets my noble friend. My noble friend was combating the assertion made by the President of the Board of Trade that Wales was unanimous. He showed that Wales was not unanimous.

LORD FITZMAURICE: The noble Earl, on the contrary, wished this House to believe that there was a wide divergence of opinion, and at one moment he rose to great heights of eloquence upon it. However, for an ordinary Englishman to interfere in a Welsh dispute is rather a dangerous thing, and I will not pursue that subject further. I ask right rev. Prelates, in a perfectly friendly spirit, why they should suppose that that which has happened in regard to so many other branches of local effort should not happen with regard to education. In regard to this I desire to shelter myself behind an observation which many years ago I heard made in the House of Commons by no less a person than Mr. Disraeli. In a debate on a Valuation Bill he pointed out that nearly all those local and municipal institutions that we then had were originally in their inception due to local effort; that gradually, in the case of each, it was found that local effort was unable to rise to the increasing demand of the time; that the State had to interfere, and that those things which were originally due to local effort became what is now called municipalised and passed into the domain of local government.

I will give instances. The relief of the poor was originally in this country largely conducted by great private institutions, but the Elizabethan Poor Law substituted the State and local authorities for private institutions. Our roads were chiefly made by private persons or associations of private persons, but gradually it was found that local effort could not keep them up to the level which modern requirements demanded and they passed under public control. Our hospitals are largely managed by private enterprise, but the isolation hospitals are gradually passing into public control; and there is a Committee considering at this moment whether the hospitals should not be taken over or subsidised by the State. It is no reflection to say that, with a population which has gone up by leaps and bounds, the noble efforts which the predecessors of right rev. Prelates made are now perfectly inadequate to give this country the education it requires.

The most rev. Primate seemed to think that we were unwilling to recognise the noble efforts that have been made by the Church in past times. We who sit on this side of the House, no doubt, have had some ancient quarrels with right rev. Prelates, but at least we all recognise that, though we may have differed as to the means, our intention and object have always been the same. It may be perfectly true—it is true—that in the eighteenth century the Church was indifferent to a great number of things which she has taken up in the 19th and 20th centuries, but we recognise that, although we have not always been able to agree with the methods, in modern times the efforts of the Church have been great, and it must not be taken as any reflection on right rev. Prelates or their predecessors if we venture to say with great respect that the time has come when, in the matter of education, the State must intervene to relieve the private individual of doing that which, in these days, the private individual cannot do with efficiency.

I now come to the burning question of dogma. I have sat on Education Committees with laymen and with clergymen and Nonconformist ministers, with men of all political opinions, and I have invariably found that heated discussions about dogma and about all the questions which play around that word sink into comparative insignificance and find their level when a certain number of sensible English gentlemen are gathered round a table and have to draw up a syllabus of religious education. Therefore it is that, while I admit that many ingenious points have been put to us in this debate which it may be difficult to answer, I hold that if you trust the people of this country and their elected representatives no injustice will be done. And, in regard to dogma, may I implore right rev. Prelates to remember what I know must be present to their minds, that we are not to-night discussing University questions or even a question of secondary education, but that we are discussing the education of the poorest children who, *ex hypothesi*, are all below sixteen years of age. How it possibly can be conceived that these children are capable of understanding or of taking in everything that we mean by dogma is to me a mystery. When I heard the right rev. Prelate yesterday refer to those schools with which his name is so honourably connected in the various districts of London, and when I heard him talk about the necessity of the children understanding the doctrine of the Sacraments of the Church, the history of the Church, the doctrine of the Atonement, and the doctrine of the Trinity, I felt that if these poor children understand all these things they must be the most wonderful children in the world. No attempt is made in the great public schools where most of your Lordships were educated to give in the junior classes one-fifteenth part of the religious instruction which the right rev. Prelate insists upon in these schools.

I wish to place myself in regard to this matter under the ægis of a late luminary of the Church. Cardinal Newman, in the interesting book in which he gives a history of the formation of his own opinions and of his own life, says—

> "From the age of fifteen, dogma has been the fundamental principle of my religion. I know no other religion. I cannot enter into the idea of any other sort of religion; religion as a mere sentiment is to me a dream and a mockery."

It was from the age of fifteen that Cardinal Newman tells us he became able to understand dogmatic religion and capable of taking in the great truths which afterwards influenced his life and the whole religious life of this country. Why, if we have it on the authority of Cardinal Newman that dogmatic education can only begin after fifteen years of age, are we to tear one another to pieces because we think that the Cowper-Temple clause does not give a sufficient amount of religious education? We never have claimed that there is a Cowper-Temple religion. The Cowper-Temple clause is nothing whatever but a series of negations. But what we do claim is that Cowper-Temple instruction is the basis and the foundation upon which other and subsequent religion can be built up; and if any teacher in a Cowper-Temple school uses his position to instil irreligious or sceptical opinions into the children, the people of this country will see that that teacher is made to find his proper place. They will be quite strong enough to do it without your Lordships tying them by minute rules and regulations in the schedule of an Act of Parliament.

I have for years worked at this question in a practical way, and I had hoped, more strongly perhaps than I can express in words, that I might live to see the day when these miserable quarrels should cease. I implore your Lordships not to approach this Bill in the spirit of the noble and learned Earl, who raised legal points and dug up the forgotten ashes of old controversies, but to try to unite upon it; and if you think that there are some things in the Bill, which do not carry out our intentions I hope you will try to put your ideas upon the Paper so that we shall understand what they are, and not enter into a sort of educational Donnybrook fair in Committee with the intention on the part of your Lordships of tearing the Bill into rags and tatters.

There is a delightful book which the youngest generation as it grows up is always instructed to read, and which contains the experiences of three English travellers who go to foreign parts. They go to the ancient city of Prague. They are there shown a horse, and are told that it is the horse of the famous Imperial General, General Wallenstein, and the attendant says—

> "The head of the animal is new, the body of another horse is substituted, the legs have been repaired, but all the rest is the original animal."

It appeared to me that some of your Lordships yesterday seemed to adumbrate a state of things under which when we meet in the autumn you were to reduce the Bill to the condition of Wallenstein's horse. If we do that we are running the risk of a great Parliamentary crisis. This Bill is an educational Bill. We have been told that it is not. We assert that we are making an honest effort to clear out of the road this great religious difficulty. If we do that we shall have done a great work for education. We ask you to remove this religious difficulty, which is a snag blocking up the course of the stream of education. For that reason I venture with all submission to implore your Lordships, as I believe you will to-day, to give the Bill a Second Reading, and I am confident that it ought not to be beyond the capacity of this House to unite and obtain for the Bill what is far more important, the confirmation of posterity and the sanction of time.

THE LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER: My Lords, I must crave the indulgence of the House in intervening after the utterances of one of the most eloquent of the veterans of debate on this most important subject. A reference was made by the noble Lord who has just spoken to the occupants of these Benches with regard to our apparent want of unity. The noble Lord spoke in such a kindly tone of my right rev. brethren that I feel quite certain there was nothing ill-natured intended in his reference. We can only say that if the bishops on the bench did not represent the different aspects and phases of public opinion they would be far less entitled to the confidence of the country than I trust they are. In a certain measure, both from their numbers and the greatness of their responsibility, they correspond to the members of the Cabinet, and I do not suppose that even in the sacred precincts of the Cabinet there is always absolute harmony or agreement upon the most important topics that from time to time arise.

We have been appealed to in reference to this Bill to regard it as an instalment of a final settlement. I confess that we regard this Bill as presenting very little prospect of a final settlement, and a offering very little hope or expectation of peace upon this great question. There were, no doubt, many grievances felt on both sides in regard to religious education—there were grievances of Nonconformist ratepayers, parents, and teachers, and grievances of Church of England, Roman Catholic, and Jewish ratepayers, who had to support the provided schools as well as their own. There were, as I have said, grievances on both sides, and I had hoped that as there was this sort of mandate to take up the question all these grievances might be dealt with.

We have acknowledged that in single school areas in country districts the Nonconformists have a real grievance, but the denominationalists also have a similar grievance, for there are 1,300 single provided school areas. We had hoped that it would have been possible to introduce a Bill honestly and satisfactorily to remove those grievances on both sides, and to provide the foundations for a real settlement and the hope of a lasting peace. Instead of that we have this great measure, great on account of its scope and its disturbing influences; and we can only say that the attempt which is no doubt being made to remove certain grievances will introduce many others, religious, educational, and civic. The consequence is that we can only regard with the gravest apprehensions the results of such a measure, if it is carried into law. I think I may say, on behalf of my right rev. brethren who are taking part in this debate, that we assent to the Second Reading of this Bill without a division on two grounds. No one pretends that the provisions of the Bill, or, at any rate, many of them, have been adequately discussed elsewhere, and this being so its provisions should be subjected in your Lordships' House to the most searching investigation. In the second place, the Second Reading of the Bill has been passed, as we know, by an overwhelming majority elsewhere, and I am sure we shall be agreed that it is entitled to the most considerate treatment, scrupulous, careful, and respectful, as so great a majority fully deserves.

I do not intend to enter into many of the extraordinary features which this

Bill contains, and which were amply and most brilliantly dealt with last night. We were invited yesterday to look at the Bill not as clergy but as citizens. We bishops, I hope, are capable of looking at this great question as citizens, but as Christian citizens, as citizens who have a duty towards the children; and I think we may ask whether, with teachers who need not teach, with children who need not attend, and with religion treated as an extra subject, it is at all likely that religious instruction is going to be adequately given to the children of our people. We are forced to look upon the subject as men who have a very sacred commission and a grave responsibility, and we ask whether the facilities that are offered to us under Clause 3, which have been demonstrated to be delusive and nugatory and entangled with all kinds of exasperating difficulties at each stage—whether those facilities are likely to offer any hope that we shall be able to retain the privilege of giving denominational teaching in our schools. This clause presents as many difficulties as facilities, and means practically the wreckage, the destruction, of our schools.

We are told that this is an undenominational Bill, and that its object is to establish an undenominational system.

"It is an undenominational Bill and we have to regard it in that light."

Those were the words of the Prime Minister. We have been told in the historic discussions of this great question that the undenominational system is the counterpart of the voluntary system, which it supplemented, but did not supplant. But this Bill destroys the voluntary system, and therefore the compact is at an end. Many of us say that the time surely has come when the Cowper-Temple clause, upon which that compact seemed to hinge, might well disappear. We contend that liberal and just statesmanship would surely, in any large measure dealing with such a question, grant facilities all round, and would regard facilities as the rights of the parents and not give them as grudging concessions to sectarian pressure.

The noble Lord the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign affairs practically told us that we ought to be very glad to have so good a system as the undenominational system continued, extended, and made almost universal. May I ask your Lordships' attention for a few moments to the working of this undenominational system, and the character it assumes according to the description of those who are specially supporting it. I have the greater pleasure in referring to this subject because Mr. Birrell, in introducing the Bill, referred to the working of the system in the county of Hampshire and to the excellence of the syllabus which there prevails. Hampshire is not unique in that respect. At Liverpool and Bootle, in Lincolnshire, and Oxfordshire, and elsewhere we see excellent and admirable syllabuses. Therefore it is very natural for the noble Lord to ask, Why should you not be satisfied with these excellent, admirable syllabuses? The noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty told us last night that the undenominational system was a form of religion which could be accepted by all alike, and the noble Earl the Lord President of the Council, in moving the Second Reading of the Bill, declared that

"this religion meets the requirements of the vast majority of the parents."

Now, with regard to the working of this system. On looking through a list of 320 local authorities I find that there are seventy which publish no syllabuses. I am aware that in a few cases religious teaching may be given without a syllabus. The case of Huddersfield is not at all an unique and isolated instance. I have here a list of seventy local authorities which publish no syllabus at all—twenty-one are administrative counties, five county boroughs, ten boroughs over 20,000, and about forty boroughs with a population of over 10,000. After thirty-five years of the application of this system, we find seventy local authorities declining to publish any religious syllabus. And when we look at the syllabuses themselves what do we find? Do they show any sort of agreement? They vary in different counties. Are these syllabuses likely to improve? Is there likely to be an increase through suddenly flooding the country with this great extension of the undenominational system? Is it not far more likely that under the operation of the Bill the irreligious character of the education will increase? The excellence of the teaching in many provided schools I do not deny, but that excellence is very much due to healthy rivalry between provided and voluntary schools, the examples of Church schools, and the influence of good and earnest men interested in both classes of schools. In passing, I should like to pay a tribute of the deepest respect and regard to the late Lord Northbrook, the influence of whose character and whose piety and truth and moral strength are reflected, I believe, in that very Hampshire syllabus to the excellence of which Mr. Birrell called public attention.

The undenominational system has been working side by side with a voluntary system guaranteed by pledges and trusts, and I deny that there has been any friction arising from the religious difficulty until on the eve of elections when political excitement is stimulated; but with 14,000 voluntary or non-provided schools added to those under undenominational control I look with grave apprehension to the discord that will result and the effect upon religious instruction. Suppose you have 6,000 apples, many of them very good and many of them very bad, and suddenly you add 14,000 apples to them. May I ask whether the 14,000 added apples will derive goodness from the good apples or badness from the bad apples? We know what will be the effect if the whole system is to be made uniform. Is it not absolutely certain that the defective side of the undenominational system will swell and grow and attach itself to the new group of added schools?

We are told that Cowper-Temple instruction has common elements of Christianity, and that it represents the teaching of the Church in the first three centuries. I have looked into the matter and can see not the slightest ground for such an assertion. There is nothing in connection with the Cowper-Temple clause or with the undenominational system of religion that guarantees to any school any religious teaching or any Bible or Christian teaching. It depends entirely upon the will and whim of the local authority. Mr. Bryce is a statesman whose authority in all matters of history we are delighted to honour and respect, but when he tells us that the Christianity of the first three centuries represented Cowper-Templeism I confess I am amazed. The Holy Trinity, the Incarnation of our Lord, and the Divinity of Christ—this has ever been the foundation of Christianity; and there is no sort of difference between the Christianity of the twentieth century and that of the third century in that respect. If we, with the responsibility of teaching the children, shrink back in any way from insisting that they should be taught the foundation of Christianity we should be faithless to our trust, and as faithless to the Church of the first three centuries as to the Church of the twentieth century.

Reference has been made to dogma as if it were possible to teach little children without dogma. People are apparently extraordinarily afraid of the word dogma. It is the phrase they are afraid of, not the thing. You take your little child on your knee and teach him the simplest text out of the Scripture —"Suffer little children to come unto Me." If you are a Christian parent and teach your little child the meaning of that text, you cannot explain the last word of it without impressing upon the child's mind the greatest, the profoundest dogma of the Christian faith. I am told that we should not confuse the minds of children with elaborate subtleties. I have here a letter which I received the night before last from the Isle of Wight. The writer objects to children in the schools of the Isle of Wight being taught that the earth goes round the sun, and not that the sun goes round the earth. He objects also to the teaching that the earth is round, and he prefers that children should be taught that the earth is flat. Children are taught that the earth is round and that the earth goes round the sun as scientific facts; this is not taught by subtle arguments or by elaborate mathematical calculations. We are content to teach the children the truths upon which we are confident, without muddling their heads with difficult, elaborate, and scientific arguments.

We are sometimes spoken of as a Church which is divided. I venture to say that on this matter we are a practically united Church. High Churchmen, evangelical Churchmen, and devout

Broad Churchmen are united on this question. There is no question which has stirred the Church in recent years and provoked such a remarkable measure of unity as this religious question. The accusation that the Church has shrunk from its duty of Bible teaching is absolutely baseless. We are true, I believe truer now than we have ever been, to the position which was taken up at the time of the Reformation in regard to Holy Scripture, and we contend that any attempt to teach children a merely vague religion of sentiment is false to the children themselves and to the real feeling of our country. The people at large do not expect in Church schools, and I do not think that they expect it in provided schools, that instead of our Christianity there should be imparted to the children what is practically Unitarianism. We contend that to the children should be given such teaching as is quite definitely the teaching of the Church, and is not capable of being confounded with the views of those who are Unitarians.

I should like to echo my own father's words. My father the late Bishop of Liverpool was indeed regarded as a true and faithful representative of evangelical opinion, and in one of his last books he used these words—

> "It is not enough to say we believe the Bible. We must distinctly understand what the leading facts and doctrines of the Bible are."

This is exactly the point where creeds are useful; and I have often heard my father quote the famous words of Burke—

> "Subscription to Scripture alone is the most astonishing idea I ever heard, and will amount to no subscription at all."

If our schools are to be taken from us, if the voluntary system is to be abolished, then we on our part protest that the Cowper-Temple clause, which may have served its generation very usefully, is at present an obstacle. We cannot be satisfied with a system which is not necessarily religious, and we protest against a system being made universal which is not necessarily Christian. We cannot pretend to be satisfied with a system which is not even in its present working uniform, and which will not be continued with certainty from year to year. We cannot be satisfied with a system which apparently will consign religious teaching to teachers whose capacity for teaching will, under the present Bill, be more or less fortuitous; and we cannot be content again, with a system which will pretend to give religious instruction to pupils who are not required to attend school. That is what is proposed to be substituted in the 14,000 schools which have been giving definite religious teaching.

I believe the country is right in making its protest in the name of religion, and it makes its protest because it believes that the Bill, in its present form, is declining straight down to secularism. The claim that the undenominational system is Christianity is very largely fallacious. The system has no foundation in any sort of religious standard, it varies in different parts of the country, and it is not necessarily even religious or Christian. We repudiate the wholesale imposition and endowment of this undenominational so-called religion. If either peace or truth must be dispensed with it is going to be peace and not truth, for it is better to have truth without peace than peace without saving truth.

*LORD CLIFFORD OF CHUDLEIGH: My Lords, as there are many other noble Lords who desire to address you, the remarks I have to make shall be brief. The position which members of the Roman Catholic Church are taking up in this House with regard to the Bill has been clearly put before your Lordships by the noble Duke, the Duke of Norfolk, and the noble Lord below me (Lord Killanin) explained to the House yesterday how there was no possibility of placing any Roman Catholic school within the corners of Clause 1. I intend only to say one word or two as to why we consider that we are justified in demanding some other place in the scheme of national education which is sought to be established by this Bill.

Mr. Forster, in introducing the Act of 1870, said it would no doubt be a surprise to the House when they found that the Government had determined to recommend the adoption of the principle of compulsory attendance; and he concluded his speech with these words—

> "Again, there are many points which have to be taken into consideration. There are the rights of parents, the rights of minorities, and the rights of conscience, which must be respected."

I maintain that the moment the State stepped in and compelled a parent to send his child to an elementary school, the State took upon itself the duty of seeing as far as possible that what was taught in the school should not offend against the rights of parents, the rights of minorities, or the rights of conscience. The President of the Board of Education has cast doubt upon the efficacy of the conscience clause, and we maintain that there is no reason why, if they can be provided without grave inconvenience and without considerable expense to the public, we should not have schools which would meet the wishes of the parents.

Mr. Birrell has told us—and in quoting his words I do not wish to imply that I consider they were uttered in any unfriendly spirit—that minorities must suffer. I demur to the word "must." That minorities do suffer no one knows better than those who, like myself, belong to a family who have a long list of stories of civil and religious disabilities borne with patient protest in the past and in the hope that they would one day be removed. I hope that the memory of those times will prevent us from ever adopting a form of protest which I for one consider undignified—that which has been adopted by the passive resister. We believe in the justice of our claim and from it we will not waiver, and whatever happens we shall continue to the end hoping and trusting that this claim which we consider just will have careful consideration, and appeal to that sense of justice which has always existed in the hearts of our fellow countrymen.

With regard to Part II. of the Bill I wish to make an appeal to the Government. When the Act of 1902 was passed a duty was thrown upon county councils which they did not seek, which in many instances they especially desired should not be thrown upon them, but which the Legislature in its wisdom thought would be better entrusted to them. They have done their best. It is needless to disguise the fact that their best has not in every instance met with the thorough approbation of those around them; and these objections are crystallised in the delegation clause of Part II. I will not say, though it does rather strike one in looking at it, that Part II. was drafted by a man who, while "willing to wound," was "yet afraid to strike." The noble Lord in charge of this Bill in your Lordships' House has pointed out that the Government thought, and I have no doubt thought rightly, that, considering the system that had already been inaugurated, it would be unwise to change the county council as the local authority. But I appeal to the Government, in compelling them to delegate some of those powers to other bodies specified in Part II., to give a patient hearing to every Amendment which may be moved to enable county councils to have a somewhat larger and freer hand in drawing up these schemes, in order that the knowledge which they have acquired with much patient care and toil during the past four years may be brought to bear, and allowed to have full play in the construction of the schemes which the Bill contemplates they shall be obliged to form.

Lord HATHERTON: My Lords, in the very few words which I shall address to your Lordships I shall confine myself solely to the clause which affects trusts. As sole trustee of a school I felt it my duty to make inquiries as to my position with regard to the very unusual provisions of this Bill, and during my researches I came across a book by a very able man entitled "Duties of Trustees," in which appears the following words —

> "The third duty of a trustee is to adhere to the terms of his trust in all things great and small, important and seemingly unimportant. This is his very plainest duty; no trustee would ever deny it, or pretend to be ignorant of it, yet it is his hardest, unless from the the very beginning he makes up his mind to it, and then it is as easy as eating bread and butter . . . Never argue or reply to argument, but barricade yourself behind your will or your deed, and whilst profoundly regretting your inability to oblige, refuse to budge a foot. . . . To behave like this is not to be cantankerous, but to be honest, not to be pigheaded, but to be wise."

Perhaps your Lordships will be surprised to hear that the author of those words is the author of this Bill. I purpose, and I hope that all school trustees throughout the land will do the same, to abide by the instructions thus given by Mr. Birrell.

*THE LORD BISHOP OF HEREFORD: My Lords, at this stage of the debate I feel that I rise under a double disadvantage. Those of your Lordships who still remain must be very weary and fearful of repetitions, and I myself confess to some weariness of these educational discussions, and yet there are some things which I earnestly desire to say to the House. Some speakers have promised us short speeches, and have given us long ones. I do not venture to make any promise, but I beg your Lordships' indulgence and patience while I say what it is in my heart to say.

First, may I say one word with reference to a speech of great power and eloquence to which we listened last night—the speech of Lord Robertson? One thing in the course of that speech I was glad to hear, because I venture to hope it may be of value south of the Tweed. The noble and learned Lord told us that—although he belonged to a minority with strong denominational convictions when at home, he was not a passive resister. Deprecating as I do passive resistance, although I was glad to hear that statement, as I listened to it I felt that, being a Scotsman, the noble and learned Lord probably takes it out in theological argument, but we English are differently constituted. What goes down, as I find in my experiences in the country, deepest in the common social life of a good many ordinary English people is the compulsion to pay a rate. Therefore I do hope that, in whatever shape this Bill may eventually become law—and I am standing here to support it—we may hear no more of passive resistance.

There were two other points in the noble and learned Lord's speech to which I would refer. One was his attack on Clause 2, subsection (5). His complaint with reference to that clause was that the local authority was not bound to take over a school, and therefore that the school might be destroyed. As I read subsection (5), the intention is clearly that the trustees of a Church school should be free to negotiate with the local authorities and to require that facilities for religious teaching should be given. I suppose it is pleaded on the other side that the local authority is free to refuse to negotiate—to decline to take the school—without any reason. If that is so, and the school is liable to be left derelict, who is to blame? If I remember rightly, the Minister for Education in another place proposed that there should be an agreement to come under a mutual obligation, and that agreement was declined. I do not think we ought to throw any special blame on the local authority under the Bill as it now stands. If it needs Amendment in this particular, in order to do justice and to provide a reasonable safeguard, let us in the autumn address ourselves to some reasonable Amendment. What I felt as I listened to the noble Lord's attack upon this Bill was that the root of his opposition was really his mistrust of local authorities. That is what lies at the root of very much of the opposition to this Bill. All those who are influenced by this mistrust—if I may venture to say so to your Lordships—are really forgetting the claims of common Christian citizenship. I do not see how, in a constitutional country, we can go forward doing all our various parts in common Christian citizenship unless we are going to trust the local authority, the elected representatives of the people specially concerned, in regard to their own affairs. If there is any one obligation which may pre-eminently be called an obligation of common Christian citizenship, it is the education of the children of our poorer fellow countrymen.

Another point in the noble Lord's speech which calls for criticism is to my mind his attack on Bible teaching I felt that such an attack came curiously from a Scotsman, and I could not but feel that the noble Lord, in that part of his speech, showed a singular absence of that spirit of comprehensive charity on which depends our success in the region of common Christian citizenship. I was also a little surprised by this attack, because it did not exhibit that calm impartiality of judgment—to use the language of the Prayer in this House—"free from all partial affections," which so pre-eminently distinguishes the noble Lord himself and his colleagues when they sit on the floor of the House in their judicial capacity. Therefore I have ventured to appeal from the noble Lord as a member of a political Party to the noble and learned Lord as a Judge.

Now, my Lords, I would put it to you whether the only practical way of settling this question is not the way which I was prepared to call the way of compromise, but as my brother of Southwark does not like the word "compromise" I will call it the way of reason, the way of good practical sense, and the way of good Christian citizenship. There may be many defects in the Bill, but taking it as a whole—and it is as a whole that we must discuss it—the Bill is an honest attempt to solve this very complex and difficult question on these principles. We are told that it is not logical. In my younger days I was one of those who had the privilege of being taught logic at Oxford; and I do not agree with the statement. I do not like to hear this slur cast upon the Bill by persons many of whom have never studied logic, and who say that it is an illogical Bill. If you admit that it is the duty of the State to train and rear up the best citizens, and if you agree, as I think you do, that the New Testament is the best of all practical instruments for attaining that end, I say that a Bill which bases itself upon the plain and honest and devout teaching of the Bible in the hands of a good teacher is a logical Bill. As to the logic of extreme opponents on the one side or the other, I say that in the face of this complex and burning question it is logic divorced from commonsense.

There are two classes of persons who are conscientiously opposed to the Bill. All conscientious opposition deserves our greatest consideration. The two classes to which I refer are the extreme secularists and the extreme denominationalists. These I hold to be the real opponents of the Bill. There are many other persons who oppose from various incidental reasons which we need not go into; but these two classes overlook two very important things. First, they overlook the fact that we ought to hold our particularist views so as not to forget that we are citizens. The secularists, I must admit, with few exceptions, have recognised this, and I am grateful to them for that recognition, because I myself should fear the consequences of a secular system. But I am bound sorrowfully to admit that a great many of our denominationalists—what I may call high denominationalists—have failed to see it, and I regret that this is so. I regret it especially because, if I understand the matter rightly, this forgetfulness is bringing about the unhappy result that the contest is tending to become, and is in danger of becoming, a contest between the spirit of ecclesiasticism and the spirit of citizenship. That is a deplorable thing. Although I have the greatest respect for my high denominational brethren, I am constantly struck by one thing. There are no men more possessed by a burning desire for visible unity, and yet they of all others are the men who stereotype our divisions.

Then the second thing which both secularists and high denominationalists are overlooking is the person chiefly concerned—namely, the little child. When I look at this matter as a practical educationist, I ask myself what would be the result if we established a secular system, or a secular system with facilities, such as Mr. Chamberlain has indicated, in the hope of satisfying the denominationalists. If you establish a secular system, you may give as many facilities as you please, but you will practically close the Bible to thousands upon thousands of our little children during their growing and impressionable years, especially the children of the destitute and derelict classes, so that they may grow up without any of those refining and uplifting influences which came to most of us we can hardly remember how, but they came to us in our infancy, through long familiarity with the teaching and praying in connection with the reading of the Books of the New Testament. I say that this will be a tremendous misfortune to the future of our English race. I do not say that these children will grow up pagans. We have a great army of teachers who are giving much good instruction, but you must remember the disabilities of the teachers under such a system. These teachers would have to stand face to face with these children all through the years of their growing life, and all the time the one Book which they must not open before the children would be the Bible. I venture in this connection to appropriate a phrase which a highly distinguished and respected combatant in this matter, Lord Hugh Cecil, used the other day. I would say: "What a gamble in souls!" I repeat that this Bill adopts the way of common sense, or good citizenship, or compromise. The way adopted by the Bill is the true way of endeavouring to solve the question.

I am grateful that the noble Marquess who leads the Opposition and his friends have decided not to reject this Bill on Second Reading, but to accept it, and then to consider Amendments. I sincerely wish that all we bishops and clergy had taken the same method from the beginning. If that had been done, I think we should have been farther forward towards a solution of the difficulty. We have had a great deal of denunciation. I deprecate all such denunciation. I believe it to carry with it some dangerous consequences about which we have not thought sufficiently. Is this denunciation all over? Mr. Birrell I noticed the other day in another place expressed the optimistic view that it was over. I wish I could join him in that opinion, but living in the country as I do, my impression is different; I believe it to be only diverted. I fear that the denunciation is not over, and that it will go on unless the most rev. Primate, who I know dislikes it as heartily as I do, and all my brother bishops and noble Lords opposite, throw the weight of their influence against it. I make this appeal very seriously, because I believe it is a most grave matter, both in regard to the best interests of our English Church and the spirit of Christianity amongst our English people.

I would emphasise the need for this appeal by two illustrations, both taken from my own immediate experience. I appeal to those who have influence with the ordinary delegates of the English Church Union, and to the noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Halifax) in particular, because I am sure he dislikes this denunciation and bitterness as much as I do. I appeal that all possible influence should be brought to bear to prevent good clergymen with narrow views going about our country districts as some of them are doing. One of these good men came to the precincts of my Cathedral the other day, and, within earshot of my own house, delivered a speech containing this kind of language:—

> "He contended that only when they had taught the children to believe the dogmas of the Catholic faith was it safe to go on with the simple teaching of the Bible. To attempt to teach a little child, say, the Book of Genesis without being taught the dogmas of the Catholic faith was absurd, detestable, and monstrous. That remark would apply to all other books of the Bible with the exception perhaps of those few which were purely historical. They should reject and fight to the bitter end this deceptive, delusive, and detestable simple Bible teaching."

I feel, however good the speaker may be, that that is very mischievous teaching to our plain country people. I make this appeal in the hope that it may be for the good of the Church, and that it may help to check such language. In the same connection, the day before I came up for this debate I came across a glaring poster of the Church Schools' Emergency League, which was being posted all over our Church schools. I dare not unfold the poster in this House; it would disturb the harmonies; but it is accompanied by a leaflet to the following effect:—

> "To all Christian people. The Education Bill banishes the Bible from all elementary schools during school hours. Dare we, a professedly Christian people, support a Bill which discredits religion, dishonours the Word of God, and defrauds the 'little ones'?"

I do not stop to consider how that fits in with the other High Church declaration which I quoted, but I do say that it is the plain duty of all moderate people to try and infuse a better spirit into that section of our Church. I do not think that this sort of propaganda is doing any great harm to the Bill; on the contrary I think it is turning the feeling of the country in favour of it; but as one who is in favour of the Bill I am sorry that it should be helped by such advocacy. Moreover I feel that it is doing a vast amount of harm to our English Church.

Now I will turn to the reasonable opposition to the Bill. This opposition I take to be mainly threefold. First, there is the purely political and Parliamentary opposition. So long as that is sincere, it is of great value, and I cannot but feel that it has helped in another place to improve the Bill, and I hope that in this House it may still further improve it. But again I deplore the denunciation and wild language of some who ought to be leaders in the political world. An ex-Cabinet Minister has declared that, if this Bill passes, rural England will be turned into a howling wilderness. There is no statement of a responsible person which has given me such a high opinion of the Bill as that one, because the speaker must have been very hard up for arguments if he had to descend to language of that kind—to compare the Bill, in the language of the prophet Joel, to a plague of locusts with the Garden of Eden before it and a howling wilderness behind it. But I notice that that speech was made in the Albert Hall, and I have long come to the conclusion that the Albert Hall, especially in a Primrose atmosphere, must be presided over by some mischievous sprite who takes a special pleasure in luring Conservative orators to say foolish things.

But I come now to a much more serious opposition, and one deserving a great deal more respect, and that is the opposition of our clergy throughout the country. This opposition may be traced, to a considerable extent, to two things—anger and fear. I hold that it is not at all unnatural—it is very natural, and I sympathise with it, though I cannot join in it. This Bill, unfortunately, came upon them at a time when they were still very sore about the General Election—a soreness which I myself happily escaped, being far away in the Egyptian Soudan, and perhaps in consequence I am able to consider the Bill in a calmer frame of mind. They are naturally sore also at being dislodged from their traditional position in regard to their schools—a position in which we all agree many of them lived a life of great self-sacrifice for the good of the children, and of much self-devotion. In our country parishes, in thousands of homes, there has been an immense amount of self-denial exercised for the good of these children, and devoted work done which has been little recognised and has received very often little gratitude even on the spot. They have also in many cases been influenced by their fears with regard to the future education of these children. In all this I sympathise with them, but I cannot join them. I cannot agree with them, because, in the first place, I think their fears are mistaken. I believe their pessimistic forecasts, which some politicians have encouraged them to make, are altogether mistaken. I see no real ground for them. On the other hand, I hold that their attacks upon the Bill are belated. They are attacks which should have been made upon the Bill of 1902. I have ventured to lift up my voice and say as much again and again, but my voice is a negligible quantity in these matters. I said that these attacks are altogether belated. The man attacked should be not the present Minister for Education, but the Prime Minister of 1902; and the thing to bear in mind is not confiscation but the receipt of rate aid. It always takes some time, when a great change comes, for us in any respect calmly to review our new position, and I have good hope that by and bye our clergy will find that we as a Church are in as good a position as we were before, and that our work prospers more than it ever did.

Now I come to the last form of opposition—namely, that of those whom I ventured to call high denominationalists. That is the third main element of the opposition, which, like Aaron's rod, seems likely to swallow the others. We are told in all earnestness and sincerity by good and earnest men that they would rather have secularism than plain and free Bible teaching. I think they are wrong, but they are very much to be respected. They say that undenominational teaching is essentially a bad foundation. Again I differ, but I listen with all respect. My brother of Birmingham has spoken somewhat to this effect, and he has added that he is passionately devoted to the solution of Mr. Chamberlain. I am not surprised. If I lived in Birmingham I too might perhaps become passionately devoted to Mr. Chamberlain's schemes. But the strange thing about it is that even while Mr. Chamberlain, a political Gallio in these matters, is proposing his secularism, which is to be adorned by facilities, he has to confess in the same breath that in his own city of Birmingham, when something of that sort was tried, it proved a failure. If the thing fails in Birmingham, what about other places? If this happens in the green tree, what of the dry? Another man to whose utterances we all listen with the greatest interest, and one whom I personally regard as of the salt of the earth in English politics, Lord Hugh Cecil, goes further, and says that the teaching shadowed forth in the Bill, which I call plain and free Bible teaching, will be ultimately subversive of Christianity. There is a great deal of saving grace in that word "ultimately"; but he adds further that it is a new religion. If this indictment is true, I would say to all those who make it, why have you held your peace these thirty-six years? Why have you allowed all these millions of Church children to be subject, in their impressionable years, to this new religion, which presumably, from your laying such emphasis upon it, you consider to be a religion different from, and far inferior to, Christianity?

Another question to be asked is, have the Nonconformists of England really gone over to this religion? We say no. The only solution which I can see to this difficulty is that Lord Hugh Cecil as he looks over modern life sees a vast spectre—let us call it a Darwinian spectre—which is driving before it out of our heart and life the doctrines of sin and grace. He may be right, he may be wrong; but in this I venture to say your Lordships will agree he is profoundly mistaken. He finds the *fons et origo mali*, the source of all this mischief—where? Not in scientific scepticism—not in commercial materialism—not in the origin of species, or in South African mines, or anything of that sort, but in the Cowper-Temple teaching of the Bible to the little children of the poor. I cannot account for it except that he sees all these things through his own high denominational atmosphere. This strange "new religion" most of us have been teaching all our lives. The Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Liverpool—half at any rate of the Church of England—have been teaching it and hardly anything else all their lives. For these forty years it has been going on; in Church schools, and board schools, and in all sorts of places, it has been taught to little children; and in multitudes of Christian homes. They have been doing it all this time without knowing it, like M. Jourdain talking prose.

But that is not the whole of it. Your Lordships yourselves—almost every one of you—have been brought up on exactly this kind of instruction. I will not detain you with many words of my own on the subject, though, having been engaged in all grades of education from the ragged school to the university itself, I have had some experience of the subject; but I will give you the words of one of the most distinguished of the present masters in public schools, namely Mr. Page, of the Charterhouse. What does he say? In a speech the other day, which I should be glad if noble Lords who are afraid of Bible teaching would read throughout, after an excellent argument, he says this:—

> "I think I have shown that simple Christian teaching not only can be but actually is given, and I refuse to believe that what is done without offence and without complaint in higher schools cannot also be accomplished in elementary ones. But how? Quite simply. Put the Bible in your teachers' hands, train them to understand its plain meaning, and then to use it honestly. . . . '*Hinc lucem et pocula sacra,*' which bids us all from that pure and unsullied source freely drink deep draughts of light and inspiration. And one last word. Trust the teachers. Trust them freely and from the first, and then your wise confidence will be paid back to you in overflowing measure into your bosom."

I think that is good advice.

In this connection I refer for one moment to another distinguished teacher in our public schools, the son of a great Archbishop and himself no less distinguished—namely, Mr. Benson. What does he say? He says that the method of public schools as here indicated is the right method, and if you are to give the best teaching to the young you must approach them not through metaphysical dogmas but through their heart and life, through their emotional nature, teaching them of a Person, and that Person our Lord and Master in the Gospel. All of us who have had anything to do with practical teaching know that the real secret of all teaching which is to be really beneficial is the influence of the personality of the teacher upon the child taught. You remember every one of you, I have no doubt, the influence of your father's reading of the Bible; therefore let us not depreciate the mere reading of the Gospel or simple Bible teaching such as that which you learnt at your mother's knee. If we begin to intervene with saying we must have first of all Catholic truth, and we must then have ecclesiastical standards, and what not, I say we are interfering with this highest kind of teaching for the young in a way which, as those who have most experience will tell you, provides no effective substitute. I, then, say let us hold on to our devout and free teaching of the Bible.

I would in this connection venture to commend to those who are opposed to me the words of the great Anglican poet John Keble, with a slight variation of application which I hope you will allow me to make. Keble said, in words familiar to all here—

> "There is a book who runs may read,
> Which Heavenly truth imparts,
> And all the lore its scholars need,
> Pure eyes and Christian hearts."

These words were spoken of the book of nature—that book of nature which the British Association are investigating at York to-day—that book with all its complexities and all its infinite secresies and difficulties. If these words could be spoken with truth of the book of nature, I say that they can be said with ten times more obvious truth of the Gospel story as it is taught by every honest man and woman. Again, one of our historians, a very distinguished historian, has written these words, which I commend to those who oppose this Bill on these grounds:—

> "When the Bible at the Reformation became an open book, there was laid the foundation stone on which the whole later history of England, civil as well as ecclesiastical, was reared."

I think the historian might have added on which all the finest elements of the character of the English people were reared—our love of freedom, our love of truth, our sense of personal responsibility, the simple sincere evangelical religion which has done so much to make Englishmen what they are. I say again, let us hold on to this great treasure of our English life, the open Bible in the hands of the teacher well and carefully trained, as in the hands of the mother in her home.

With regard to the Bill itself I desire to say that there are two or three Amendments which I hope to see inserted. One is with reference to the teacher. There is much to be said on both sides as to whether the teachers, now a division of the Civil Service, should not be kept in a neutral position with regard to denominational teaching in public elementary schools; and yet, in our rural single school areas I hold that, for the sake of the children, we ought to allow the teachers, if they desire to do it, and if they are free from all other school obligations, to be at liberty to give the denominational teaching in the Catechism and the Prayer-book as they have in many cases hitherto done.

Then again there is the question of facilities. I desire to see the facilities which are allowed under Clause 2 extended, not only to transferred schools, but to those schools in single school areas which happen by some accident, to be board schools. I see no distinction between the two under the new system, and I think they should be treated in the same way. There is another thing which I desire to see. I desire, like most of your Lordships, to see—though again there are arguments to be brought forward on both sides—religious instruction given day by day within the hours of obligatory attendance. I desire that in the interest of the children, because I am strongly opposed to anything like child labour as an equivalent of child instruction. There is another point which I will not argue now, as we shall have other opportunities, but I am inclined, if public opinion is with us, to go a step further. I would say that in all our public elementary schools Biblical instruction in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Christian faith should be offered to all children. It would be for the parents to say that they preferred something else, as they can say now, but I would offer it.

I think these are the chief Amendments which I desire, and I hope we shall not go too far with anything which in another place might be looked upon as wrecking Amendments. There is, however, one point in Clause 4 which I think is open to question, and that is whether it would not be reasonable to drop the 5,000 limit, and say wherever there is *bona fide* another school within reach.

I must apologise for detaining your Lordships so long, but I wish to look at this matter in a purely practical way, and therefore I am going to ask you to consider for a moment what, so far as I myself understand it, will be the result of this Bill in my own diocese. I think that is the way to look at the matter—what will be the effect within the sphere of our own practical operations where we know the circumstances. In this connection I think two things will happen. First of all, our county local authority will appoint the teachers—that is to say they will do so through their Elementary Committee. Most of your Lordships probably sit on such committees. Our county is a fairly representative rural county—there are many such up and down England—and our local authority is a good Conservative authority —I myself am a member of it. The influential members of this committee which would appoint the teachers all over the county—who are they? One is the Chairman of Quarter Sessions, a very leading Conservative gentleman in the county, a thoroughly good old-fashioned Conservative and a highly-honourable man. Another is the Chairman of the County Council, a man who has devoted his life to good work in the county, a retired military officer. These two men and all their colleagues will feel in conscience bound—I say this to reassure any of my Nonconformist friends—when appointing teachers, to say, "We have no right to consider anything but the obligatory duties of these teachers." But when they come to appoint teachers who will have to teach the Bible, they will say—at least I should say—to the applicant, "You apply as a volunteer to do this work. It is our duty to remind you that these children will be committed to you by their parents during the Biblical lesson for the express purpose that they may be taught the Gospel as a Book of Faith, that they may be therein instructed in the natural way in the fundamental principles of the Christian faith and doctrine. If you volunteer to do this, we will trust to your honesty to do it faithfully, devoutly, and reverently." I think the teachers would respond to that.

Even if I do not get these two or three Amendments for which I shall plead, I shall still hold to this Bill, because I learnt in my youth the story of the Sybilline Books, and I know, as a matter of more than probability, that if we reject this Bill we shall get something which we shall dislike much more. Therefore I say that in any case I shall support the Bill. But supposing it comes out as I hope it will, the Church of England schools in my diocese will be in a better position both for their work and maintenance than ever before. The religious teaching will go on as before on the part of the clergy, probably better. I think that all the attention which has been drawn to the matter will probably stir up some of our clergy to be more active than they have been hitherto in this respect. Some of my clergy are most devoted to their schools, but I am sorry to say there are others who prefer that the teaching should be given by the teachers. That I take to be, from the clergyman's point of view, a very grave mistake, but I believe that under this Bill the religious teaching will be as good as before, and that the secular teaching, seeing that the teachers will be better trained and paid, will be better than before, and that for all the future we shall have our school buildings for our denominational purposes, we shall get them repaired and extended from time to time, we shall never have to spend another penny upon them, and we shall be relieved by the present Minister for Education far more effectively than Mr. Balfour relieved us from an intolerable strain.

I only wish to repeat that the fundamental mistake of the opponents of this Bill may be summed up in the phrase mistrust of the local authority and mistrust of the teachers. This mistrust in a constitutional country is a fundamental misconception of our public duty. Why should we mistrust local authorities in these cases? They are elected by the people immediately concerned, and so long as these people remain a Christian people the local authority will perform their Christian duties. They can be turned out in three years if they do not satisfy the people. I am not afraid of the controversies that will ensue in these places. These controversies are the seeds of new life. Then again, these very local authorities are largely Churchpeople, and they have been brought up and instructed by our bishops and clergy.

We have had instances quoted—they are exceptions, whether they prove the rule or not—such as Huddersfield. I think we have heard almost too much about Huddersfield, but I will refer to it for one moment. I have never been to Huddersfield; I hardly know where it is, except that it is in that—what shall I say?—that volcanic region of the West Riding of Yorkshire. But I happen to know a little about it, because like most of your Lordships I am deeply interested in the question of infant mortality, and this town of Huddersfield has been setting an example in regard to infant mortality which I wish other towns in England would speedily follow. Under a highly enlightened mayor, Mr. Broadbent, a brother of the great physician I believe, directed by a very distinguished officer of health, Dr. Moore, that town has reduced its infant mortality by something like 50 per cent., whereas if you look at statistics, you will find this appalling fact in our English life—which is not altogether irrelevant when we are dealing with a question affecting the children—that out of every 1,000 children born in England, something like from 120 to 200 die in the first twelve months. That I say is an appalling fact in a civilised country, and these men at Huddersfield have set themselves to face it and to cure it, and they are reducing that mortality by their beneficent methods. I have had the satisfaction of reading of the results of their work, and I would like to see their example imitated all over the country. These wise and beneficent men are not irreligious men. You can depend upon that. There must be some local reasons why they have thought it best to confine the religious instruction in their schools to certain devout religious observances, including hymns and prayers and perhaps the reading of a passage from the Bible. If our children are brought up with daily hymns, and in an atmosphere of daily prayer, they are not being brought up in a pagan life. I say that there must be some local reasons for the step they have taken, and I will simply abstain from a verdict until I have a little more experience on the point.

My last word is, let us trust the local authorities, and let us trust the teachers, for these teachers are well and carefully trained, many of them in Church colleges, and I would venture to say of those who are not trained in Church colleges that many of them are quite as well trained as those who are. Some of your Lordships must be familiar with the colleges of the British and Foreign Schools Society. I know of no better religious atmosphere than the atmosphere of those colleges. Again, we in Hereford are not considered a progressive people, but we have established a county college for the training of teachers. By some accident we were the first to do it under the Act of 1902. The college is full of students under an excellent principal, and they are receiving first class Biblical instruction inside the college, while every denomination outside has opportunities of giving additional denominational instruction to all the students belonging to that denomination, whether it be Church, or Congregational, or Baptist, or Wesleyan, or what not. I am glad to think that the various denominations of Hereford are doing their duty in this matter. I do not know a happier instance of the right bringing up of future teachers of the young for the discharge of their duties as teachers. Therefore I think we should do well to remember that principle which Mr. Gladstone used to be fond of impressing upon us, although the advice was not taken on all sides—that we should trust the people; and the persons immediately to be trusted in this case are the responsible local authorities and the responsible teachers.

I would conclude by expressing a hope that, whatever Amendments may be passed in this House, there will be no wrecking Amendments. I fear the consequences of such Amendments, not only on our education, but on many other things. I am afraid of what I may call a battle of the giants. Your Lordships are very well aware that in another place the Government possess a giant's strength. This Bill on every page, by its concessions, by its conciliatory paragraphs, and by its exemptions, indicates that the Government have said to themselves that it would be tyrannous to use their strength like a giant. They must have known all the time well enough that it would have been much easier for them to have passed through another place a far more drastic Bill—a Bill which would have been far more distasteful to us. Therefore, I say let us give them due credit. But in this House the case is reversed, for it is the noble Marquess opposite and his legions who possess the giant's strength, and I venture in all earnestness to ask that they will use that moderately, so that we may not have, as I have said, a battle of the giants in this matter. As I look back on the history of our own and other countries, I see that these battles of the giants have produced mainly volcanic wreck and ruin. If I look to the sixteenth century, I see the battle of the Church and the people; in the seventeenth century the battle of the Church and the King; while if I go across the Channel I need no reminder of the French Revolution. I do not like revolutionary forces being nursed or encouraged, but sometimes the most conservative people of all do the most nursing and encouragement. As a Member of this House I fear such a battle, because in all my reading of history I have never yet found that amidst this volcanic wreck and ruin it was the people who were buried in the ruins. I am glad to think that we have as leaders and chief advisers in this House two men of such wide experience and of such conciliatory spirit, and I am grateful also, if I may be allowed to say so, for the equally conciliatory spirit of our two Archbishops. We have heard our Primate—I wish we could also have heard the Archbishop of York, but he is detained by his duties receiving the British Association at York. I wish this because I venture to say that of all Episcopal utterances that I have heard in connection with this controversy, I think the wisest and most conciliatory have been those of the venerable Archbishop of York. I trust and pray that this conciliatory spirit may prevail through all our deliberations in the autumn, and that the Bill may eventually become law in such a shape as will produce throughout the country a long period of sorely-needed religious peace and educational progress.

*THE LORD BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM: My Lords, I venture to intrude myself for the first time upon the discussion of this subject in your Lordships' House, because there is a point of view which I desire to be allowed more or less to represent, and which has not, I think, at present been sufficiently represented in these discussions. I listened to the admirable speech of the most rev. Primate, in which he impeached solemnly and seriously the justice of this Bill, and I followed every word of that impeachment with perfect agreement. What I desire to say is totally in harmony with, and supplimentary to, all that has been said by him and by others who hane spoken from these benches and in other parts of the House. I listened also to the admirable suggestions made by the most rev. Primate for the mitigating of the injustice of this Bill. I listened also to the other speakers from these Benches, including my right rev. brother who has just sat down, and with the Amendments which they suggested for the mitigating of the injustice of this Bill I also find myself in the profoundest agreement. In spite of the tone which pervaded a considerable part of the speech of the last speaker, when he came to mention the Amendments which he desired to see, I was extremely glad to learn what those Amendments were which are not to be considered "wrecking" Amendments.

Those Amendments were that there should be liberty for the State teacher to teach denominational religion; that facilities should be extended to all schools in single school areas; that all religious teaching should be within compulsory school hours; that there should be an extension of the special facilities under Clause 4; and that there should be something approaching a guarantee that those who give the religious teaching should be persons qualified to give it. I am very glad to learn that these are not to be considered "wrecking" Amendments.

I am not convinced that the country itself desires the abolition of the present dual system of schools. Certainly in the district from which I come, and in those districts with which I am best acquainted in England, there is even a passionate desire to retain the dual system. But it is indeed easily imagined that there should be a general demand in the country for the abolition of the dual system and the substitution of a single system of State schools. There is a strong democratic movement in the country, and we all of us know that it is thoroughly in agreement with that democratic spirit that such a demand should be made. What I wish to say is this. Supposing a Government should desire to give expression to those great principles about which we have heard so much—that there should be substituted for the present dual system of schools a single school system, and that the State should cease in any way to inquire into or interfere with the religious opinions of those who are to be civil servants in this, matter of giving State instruction in elementary schools—supposing a Government were to introduce such a measure, there are many of us Churchmen who believe that they could not do a wiser thing, and there are a much larger number who believe that whether or not it is better, it is, under modern conditions, the only system to which we can reasonably expect to come and there are very many who are perfectly ready to accept it when it comes. It is on behalf of those that I desire to say a word.

We oppose this Bill not because it desires to give expression to those two great principles — the principle of the single system of State schools and the principle that the State shall not make any inquisition into the religious opinions of the teachers—but because

The Lord Bishop of Birmingham.

we are convinced that this Bill in no way carries out those intentions. If those intentions are to be carried out, you must approach the matter by an altogether different road from that which this Bill has adopted. What I mean is this. This Bill certainly does not secure either of those great principles. As to the establishment of a single school system, which I believe to be the great principle of Clause 1, it has been constantly pointed out that this Bill substitutes for our present system the establishment of a fourfold system of schools. There are the schools where undenominational religious teaching can be given; there are the schools with ordinary facilities; there are the schools with special facilities; and there are the schools which fall back on receiving State aid without rate aid, or the system which prevailed before 1902. As far as I can understand, all the Amendments which are likely to be introduced in your Lordships' House will go to fix this multiplicity of schools, and by no means to put the Bill into a shape which will secure the expression of that principle of the one system which we have been told this Bill was to establish.

As regards the non-interference of the State with the religious opinions of the teachers, we have been told from the Government Benches that where you have schools under Clause 4, where only denominational teaching is to be given, the teachers of the particular denomination will doubtless gravitate towards those schools. We have been told also on many hands that where undenominational teaching is to be given, inquiry will be made of the teachers who have been appointed as to whether they are properly qualified to give that religious instruction. It is perfectly evident that so long as you entrust the giving of religious instruction to authorities representing the State, so long it will be absolutely necessary that the State should continue to make inquisition into the opinions of those who are to give that religious instruction. The debate has made it perfectly evident that that will be so. What I feel sure of is this. I do not say that the Government ought to desire the abolition of the present system, and the substitution of the single school system; what I do say is that if the Government, or any Government, does desire to inaugurate that great change, then the best way by which they can do it is by totally separating the sphere of the State and the sphere of religious bodies in education, by confining the functions of the State wholly and simply to the giving of secular instruction and throwing the giving of the religious instruction upon the religious bodies.

There are three systems by which that great principle could be carried out. You could have secularism, by which there should be nothing but secular instruction given in the State schools. For my own part, I am profoundly thankful that the sense of the country repudiates such an idea. Secondly, you could have a system which is often referred to as the German system, and which is closely akin, as I understand, to the Scottish system. I was amazed to hear the noble Lord who instanced the Scottish system in justification, as I understood him, of the proposals of the Government. I should like to hear the noble Lord Balfour of Burleigh give a plain exposition to this House of what the Scottish system is. Well, you could have the Scottish or German system, though I do not myself believe that it is practicable in England at the present time for the State directly to undertake the giving of and paying for denominational instruction.

But if you set those two systems aside, you are left with the alternative which has been identified with the name of Mr. Chamberlain. For my part, I believe that if the Government desire really to carry out those two principles which I have repeatedly alluded to, and of which we have heard so much, there is only one way in which they can do it, and that is by acting on the principles advocated by Mr. Chamberlain. I have distinguished the system of Mr. Chamberlain from the secularist system because it is markedly distinguished from that system; it is a scheme under which religious instruction is to be given in each particular locality on the authority not of the State but of the religious bodies, who are the properly qualified persons, and who have a mandate to give such religious instruction.

I want to say with all the emphasis of which I am capable that this will not in any way deprive the State of its religious character. Our belief in the religious character of the State depends, I suppose, on the writings of St. Paul and others. According to that great thinker, St. Paul, the maintenance of the principles of civil and social righteousness and order is in itself the great religious function of the State—not the giving of religious teaching, which belongs not to the State but to the Church. It is not a secular system, it is not an irreligious system; nothing of the kind. The State has a mandate to give the secular instruction and not to provide, or determine the character of, religious instruction; but the State nevertheless recognises the value of religious instruction as a necessity for the life of the citizen, and so it makes provision that there shall be a period within compulsory school hours when religious instruction is to be given; it gives liberty to the ordinary teachers to give that religious instruction if they wish, but throws the responsibility for providing and paying for the religious instruction upon the denominations chosen by the parents to give that instruction to their children. Of course the denominations might each act independently; on the other hand they might all act in combination, and I have no doubt at all that in some districts all the various religious bodies would combine. Such voluntary combinations differ *in toto* from any action of the State compulsorily saying that all the religious denominations are to agree in such and such a teaching. I have no doubt that almost everywhere all the various bodies of Nonconformists would combine for similar religious teaching.

The determining authority as to the religious teaching to be given should be the wishes of the parents. We have been told in the course of these debates that the parents constituted a lay figure, which was used as long as it was wanted, and was then wheeled into the background. If there is anything fundamental in my whole being—anything which I am totally incapable of "wheeling away" when I have used it—it is this belief in the authority of the parents to determine the religious instruction of their children. I think it would be a very curious experiment what the determination of the majority of English parents would be, but I am quite sure that if it should turn out that only a small minority of the parents wished to have their children educated in the principles of the Church to which I belong, I should none the less uphold that principle, because I would far rather that the parents should exercise their choice even though they exercised it in a manner and in a sense different from that which I should wish. I am quite sure that there is in the mind of the great mass of those who urge this argument no special belief in the probability that the majority of parents will choose in such and such a way. Our statements are based upon what we believe to be the fundamental principles, and the rightness, of the case. I am sure nothing would be better for the religious life of the country than that the people should have to say what kind of religious principles they would prefer their children to be brought up in.

It is very often said that the system is impracticable. I do not for one instant believe that anything at all approaching a sufficient amount of attention has been given to this system to justify anyone in describing it as impracticable. It is very often glibly said that it has been tried in Birmingham, and that it failed there. It is only in a very imperfect and partial sense that it has been tried in Birmingham. It is quite true that there has been a certain application of this principle of facilities in the council schools in Birmingham. I have been at pains to inquire from some of the very best of the council school teachers in Birmingham as to what they thought of the system. I have here a sheaf of their opinions, and though no doubt it has been a failure in certain cases, and though no doubt the Nonconformists have not taken it up, or, where they did take it up, have abandoned it, yet I have the strongest opinions from some of the best of our council school teachers in Birmingham that the teaching in question has been of the greatest possible assistance. I will read only one specimen—

> "In my opinion it has had a good effect on the daily life of the school; it helps discipline. I cannot undertake to speak for teachers generally, but as regards my own teachers I can say they always welcomed it. This has been shown by the way in which they have given up their time and shown themselves willing to attend and help. Again, the children welcome the entrance of teachers who are not in any way connected with the official life of the school. This too has been constantly shown by the wonderful attendance of the boys, only three boys being prevented from attending, and that by the action of their parents, and not by their own will. A great many lads would never have got any religious teaching at all were it not for this voluntary teaching."

I have got quite a sheaf of opinions, which perhaps others would like to look at.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY: That is out of school hours?

*THE LORD BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM: No, in school hours. But even if it was out of school hours, it would only emphasise my point—namely, that it would be much more effective in school hours. I feel quite sure that we have no kind of experience which would justify us in saying that this system is impracticable. I believe that if we were to put our backs into it—if I may use the expression—with anything like the seriousness with which we have put our backs into the old system, it could be made quite as successful, while it would be free from all the complications which attach to any other attempted solution of the religious difficulty. I have also heard it remarked that one of the most strenuous supporters of the present principle of voluntary schools—the Bishop of Manchester—has strongly denounced this system. On the contrary, I have the Bishop of Manchester's authority to say that, though he will do his very best to maintain the present system, yet, if the present system of dual schools is to be abandoned, he would greatly prefer the Chamberlain plan—if I may so describe it—to such a system, for example, as is advocated or proposed by the Government Bill. For my own part I believe that if any Government really proposes to put forth these two great principles of which we have heard so much as being the basis of the present Government Bill—I am not now dealing with the question whether that proposal would be wise or not, but I feel quite sure that if these two great principles are to be put in force, and we are not to adopt a purely secular system, the platform of Mr. Chamberlain is the only one on which we can stand. I am quite sure on the other hand that the method by which the present Government has approached the solution of this question is one which has no chance of leading to any satisfactory settlement, and is open to the greatest variety of profoundest objections.

First of all, this undenominational method by which the State is to select the particular kind of religious teaching and establish it in all our schools—this preferential method with regard to one particular kind of religious teaching—is, if I at all understand the tendencies of our modern life—thoroughly opposed to the democratic feeling of our age, and thoroughly opposed to everything that has been identified with Liberal principles ever since I can remember what they are and what they have been supposed to be. It astonishes me that the Liberal Party should propose this, which I am quite sure is a fresh measure of religious establishment in the schools. It so happens that I have a great many friends of more or less advanced Radical, Liberal or Socialistic opinions, and I know hardly any of them who have not a thoroughly bad conscience in regard to this Bill. They justify it solely by some supposed political necessity, but I know hardly one of them who, in private conversation, does not exhibit a thoroughly bad conscience in regard to the measure.

It is amazing how far we have left behind the old principles of establishment. According to the old ideas of the Established Church, there was no doubt at all what was the duty of the State with regard to religious instruction. It would hand over the children to the instruction of the State Church. It might allow a conscience clause for the withdrawal of those who had scruples, but according to the old principles of establishment there was no doubt at all as to the duty of the State. I cannot imagine a doubt, according to any of the ancient principles of establishment, such as are connected, for instance, with the Reformation in England, that it would have been the duty of the State to hand over the children to the instruction of the State Church. It is astonishing how far we have left all that behind. Nobody, as far as I know, at the present time in any way advocates that sort of preferential dealing with the religious principles of the Established Church. But when once you have abandoned that plan, the only other plan is that of saying that the State shall be absolutely impartial between the religious opinions of the different members of the nation, and I am sure that it is an amazing anomaly, which cannot hope to hold ground, for a Liberal Government to introduce a new sort of establishment—to take a particular kind of religious teaching and establish that as the authorised national system in all schools. That is so contrary to everything that we understand by the word "Liberal" that when it is proposed by a Liberal Government I feel sure there must be so much of bad conscience in those who are proposing it as to give the greatest possible courage to the opponents of the measure to attack the Bill, feeling that there will be traitors within the camp.

What I care about chiefly is the character of the religious teaching to be given to the children, and while I am sure that the principle advocated in this Bill is contrary to Liberalism, I also oppose the proposal to establish undenominational religious teaching, because I am sure it is the establishment of the kind of religious teaching which is weakest and worst. It is for the interest of the State that the religion to be taught to the children should be the best. In no branch of human life or human knowledge do you get at the best, or at anything worth having, by the process of eliminating all differences. By that process you get only what is weakest, and washiest, and least capable of strengthening and establishing the character or enlightening the mind.

The noble Lord the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs said that he could not imagine why we should require to teach dogmatically, considering that the persons whom we were to teach were quite young children, and not old scholars, or professors, or learned academicians. I think that is the exact opposite of the truth. I have just had the pleasure of holding a very interesting conference of theologians at my house, where we discussed theological subjects. It was a thoroughly undenominational conference; we all knew our own opinions. I am proposing in a little while to go and lecture on behalf of an undenominational faculty in theology at one of the new Universities. It appears to me that what the noble Lord stated is exactly the opposite of the real truth. When you have to do with competent scholars, you have to do with people of an age to know their own opinions, and you can argue with them, and present questions in a controversial manner, or teach them the grounds of what they believe—or they can argue the grounds of what they believe among themselves. But in the case of children, because they are young you must teach them dogmatically. Teaching dogmatically means teaching simply. We do not want to teach something outside the Bible; we want to teach the Bible in the only way in which you can make that teaching emphatic. I should not so much mind if we were allowed to teach nothing but the Bible, so long as you could teach it by the standards which every book of the New Testament itself postulates as being already in the minds of those for whom those books were written; for there is no single book of the Bible which was not written for those and to those who had already received that sort of rudimentary religious instruction which is contained in our Catechism and the Apostles' Creed. We only want to teach the Bible in the way in which it can be used effectively—in the way in which historically it has grown.

What I am afraid of in this connection is not a Mephistophelian teacher who will diabolically teach the children positive error; what I am afraid of is something which I know belongs to the character of the ordinary Englishman, and speaking to Englishmen, I ask whether what I am now saying is not true. If an ordinary Englishman knows, as multitudes do know, that his religious opinions are singularly unfixed, what does he do? He studiously avoids putting into any definite shape what they are. If you ask him to teach religion—and it has happened in countless classes of our public schools—he teaches the distance from Jerusalem to Jericho, the meaning of the Sadducees and the Pharisees, and avoids teaching everything that constitutes the real essence of the Christian religion as it is described and summarised in, for example, the Apostles' Creed. Someone just now read the statement, expressed in a rather controversial manner, that if you were to teach a child the Book of Genesis you must first of all teach him the principles of the Catholic religion. I should have thought that that was an admirable example of what I have been trying to express. If I am to take the first chapter of the Book of Genesis, and teach it to children as it stands without guide or standard, I should teach the child that this world was constructed in six days; that it was the centre of the solar system; and I should go on to teach him all manner of things covered by chapters of the Old Testament which are directly contrary to his fundamental moral sense. I know nothing more certain than that if I am to give children of the present day any kind of idea of the meaning of the Old Testament, I must not teach the Bible and the Bible only, but I must teach the Bible under the guidance of that belief in the character and the nature of God which is given by any of the fundamental standards of the Christian Church. If there is to be any real teaching of religion it must be by the standards of definite religious societies which are responsible for handing on religious truth.

What I feel sure of in regard to this undenominational teaching is not that there will be many teachers who will teach fundamental error, but that the teaching will become weaker and weaker, washier and washier. I do not need to appeal to Huddersfield, though I believe that in the controversy between the most rev. Primate and the representative of the Government the most rev. Primate was right—that though the elementary schools might bargain for undenominational teaching when those schools were handed over, yet they would have no subsequent control over the character of the Cowper-Temple teaching, and that the Cowper-Temple teaching in those schools would become what the Cowper-Temple teaching is in the other schools of Huddersfield.

I do not want to talk about Huddersfield, however, but about Birmingham. There is another question about the council schools in Birmingham; there is nothing that can be called positive religious instruction given at all. There is hardly any definite religious instruction given. There is Bible reading, the learning of texts and hymns, but there is hardly anything that can be called definite Bible teaching. If you remove the standards supplied by the denominational schools, which have incalculably elevated undenominational teaching, if you greatly lessen the number of those who have been trained in denominational colleges, and take the average Englishman, trained scientifically in all the other branches of knowledge that he has to teach, but with merely the religious opinions of the average Englishman, the religious teaching that will be given will be such as will gain no real hold upon the character, nor give any real strength to the life of the child so taught.

It is not because we object to the application of these two great principles—that there should be only one class of school under the direct control of the State, and that the State should not interfere with the religious convictions, or inquire into the religious opinions of the teachers—it is not because we object to the application of those two principles that we oppose the present Government Bill, but because we are sure that the Bill does not secure the application of those principles, but that, professing to secure them, it fails altogether in its object; and still more because we are sure that the road by which it attempts to secure those objects is a road which leads to disaster. The road of establishing undenominationalism leads to disaster—firstly, because it is but a very short step from secularism—it affords no solid or permanent kind of religious instruction; secondly, because it is contrary to any established and fundamental Liberal or democratic principles that the State should select, and give a preference to, one particular kind of religious teaching; thirdly, because it violates the great principle that it is the function of the Church, or of the religious bodies, and not of the State, to teach religion; and lastly because, so far from leading to a settlement, it has become only too apparent that if this Bill passes into law in anything like its present form it will lead to the profoundest stirring of religious controversy in municipal and political matters. Although I own to being something of a pessimist, I am astonished at the amount and depth of feeling excited in my own neighbourhood in regard to this Bill. I have been astonished at the depth, and the widespread character, of the determination to have none of it. It appears to me that there is no hope more fallacious, and more certain to be disappointed, than the idea that this Bill will lead to anything like a lasting religious settlement.

*THE LORD CHANCELLOR: My Lords, I had not intended to take any part in this debate, largely because I have long disliked going into the discussion of any theological question if I can possibly avoid it; and I shall not touch on any theological matters now, and still less upon those subjects which have been freely discussed in this debate with great reverence, I admit, even with solemnity, but which, none the less, seem to me to be somewhat incongruous with the character of a deliberative Assembly. The right rev. Prelate who has just sat down, has made one of the most interesting speeches I have ever heard—equal in interest, and that is a very high compliment, to the speech of the most rev. Primate—but I think he would be the first to acknowledge that it exploded nearly all the arguments used during the whole course of the debate against the Bill.

The right rev. Prelate thinks that His Majesty's Government have a bad conscience in this matter. I want to offer my apologia. I wish my conscience had always been as clear as it is in regard to this Bill. The noble Earl in the beginning of the debate to-day asked why this Bill was introduced. I must answer that question. The Act of 1870 attempted to solve the difficulty created by the diversity of religious views and creeds in this country and the necessity of some common public education; and it solved it by leaving denominational schools to stand, provided they could find some support out of their own means in order to maintain them in their isolation. They did last for a considerable time, and I agree with the most rev. Primate in thinking that it is not fair to reproach the Church of England with the fact that they were unable to continue their existence. It was not because the voluntary funds fell off; it was because the duties of more detailed and sanitary education grew so much that it was impossible for private resources to meet the strain. I think that is true, and it is rather shabby to attack the Church on the ground that voluntary subscriptions did not suffice. But that Act could not be worked in a satisfactory manner, and it undoubtedly fell to pieces.

Then came the Act of 1902; and here I must incidentally say it is not quite fair, with the majority you have in this House, to attack us because we used what you call the "gag." Did not you use the "gag" in 1902? With all respect to noble Lords, I do not think that is quite fair; nor is it quite fair to say that we have brought in this Bill with the subtle and dark design of upsetting religion. I venture to think it is better to discuss the Bill in a different temper. Well, my Lords, the Act of 1902 adopted a different method. It attempted to bring in the local authorities and to give some sort of local control in return for assistance from the rates. But there was no real control, and that Act failed. Everyone knows it was a failure. The most rev. Primate himself said that it was legitimately to be expected that we should bring in a Bill to amend that Act. Hence the necessity for this Bill.

Then what Bill were we to bring in? On what lines were we to proceed? In the first place, there were the Roman Catholics, and the Roman Catholics form a Church of a precise and inexorable creed, and every man who does not follow it implicitly is condemned. They insist on having a Catholic atmosphere in which their children can be brought up. No one who heard the speech of the noble Duke the Duke of Norfolk could have failed to be profoundly impressed by it, and it only expressed the traditional view of Roman Catholics, and showed that they will always insist on having a separate atmosphere.

Then there is the Church of England. I sympathise still more with the view of the Churchmen. But there are High Churchmen and Low Churchmen, and some are broad, and again there are a great number, we all know perfectly well, in the Church of England whose religion corresponds generally to the Cowper-Temple religion. I do not think the Church of England does ask resolutely for an exclusive Church of England atmosphere, in so strict a sense as the Roman Catholics ask for theirs; but they do ask for the maintenance of their Church schools, and their arguments are founded to a large extent on the past history of the Church of England. Who knows what will please one section and what will please another? I do not think that is a fair subject for reproach. On the contrary, I think it is one of the best characteristics of the Church of England that it does extend so far. Well, my Lords, that is the position of the Church of England.

Then there are the Nonconformists. Several noble Lords have expressed their deep regret that the Nonconformists are not represented in this House. I share that regret. It would be better for the House and better for the Nonconformists themselves; but they cannot be heard here, and some of your Lordships, if you confine yourselves to the intellectual atmosphere of this House, may forget that tremendous force—for it is a tremendous force—of able and sincere men with great courage. The question between the Church and the Nonconformists is the same question in a different form that arose in the time of Cromwell and Laud. The Nonconformists will not accept the atmosphere of the Church of Rome, nor will they accept the atmosphere of every section in the Church of England. They are particularly jealous of what they call dogmatic teaching, especially in a particular form, These, then, are the difficulties which surround the subject, and we had to consider what had to be done. It is very easy to say that you ought to give denominational facilities, or, as Lord Salisbury particularly put it, that you ought to allow the parent the right to have his children brought up in the creed he holds. Does the noble Marquess mean every parent, or why should there be a selection? Why should not the poorest of creeds be entitled to the same privileges as that which has the most numerous adherents?

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Hear, hear!

*THE LORD CHANCELLOR: It is impossible to carry out such a system. This doctrine of concurrent endowment is a thing impracticable in itself. The people of this country would not stand it; they could not stand it. It would not be fair to ask them to consent to such a system and to the number of schools that would be required. Therefore, it was impossible for the Government to take the system of concurrent endowment. Unless any noble Lord would be prepared, if a Member of the Government, to make such a system his object, he ought not to blame the Government. He would not be prepared to do it, and the noble Marquess who leads the Opposition would not do it if he came into power to-morrow.

What the Government did was to attempt to give power to the local authority. The local authorities have power in Scotland. I cannot enter into particulars of the Scottish system, but the religious education in Scotland is prescribed by the local authority, the school board. During the thirty-four years since that system began there has been no substantial complaint, either of partiality, neglect, or indifference towards religion on the part of the school boards of Scotland. The Bill of 1902, which a great many of your Lordships supported, also contained the principle of trusting the local authority, as the right rev. Prelate called it. We are trusting the local authority, I fully admit in a somewhat different sense, but in substantially the same sense as the local authority, the school board, is trusted in Scotland.

The next thing we did was to limit the character of the religious teaching that could be given by the local authority to the Cowper-Temple religion. That is nothing new. The Cowper-Temple religion has been with acceptance observed in England ever since 1870. It was accepted, and the majority of English children are now taught the Cowper-Temple religion. Why are we doing anything very wrong in that? I do not think we have deserved all the censures we have received for doing that. The only other thing we did was to extend facilities to denominational schools under Clauses 3, 4, and 5, with a sincere desire to enable those who wished for denominational education to have that education so far as it was compatible with the possibilities and exigencies of the educational situation in which we are placed. Now that is the source of further complaints. It is said that we have not gone far enough in giving facilities. I am not sure that that is not really, after all, the *gravamen* and substance of the accusation brought against us. I have given you an outline of what we intended and what we tried to do, and here we are culprits making our apologia for having endeavoured to act in that way.

What remains? Are your Lordships blind—I do not use the expression with any disrespect—to the only alternative? The most rev. Primate congratulated himself and the House when he made his speech upon the fact that secularism was rejected in the present House of Commons by a majority of between four and five hundred on one side and sixty odd on the other. But those sixty odd were practically mutineers. If the House of Commont had been left to decide for itself I do not know what the decision would have been; but I am quite certain that there were scores and scores of members who stayed away, and there were others who yielded reluctantly to the strong and earnest attempt of the Government to induce them to support it in order to give a last chance to a religious system of education connected with the State.

Your Lordships have heard what the right rev. Prelate the Bishop of Birmingham said. The right rev. Prelate represents a great and growing force in the Church of England, and he said that the

State had nothing whatever to do with the teaching of religion. I know he said more but that was his first proposition. The teaching of religion is the business of the Church, but the Church wanted facilities. What facilities? The facilities it got at Birmingham. What facilities does it get at Birmingham? Facilities, I believe, out of school hours. This education is given out of school hours, and by a voluntary system. It is notorious that in any school in this country, which is, after all, a free country, you can give by a voluntary system out of school hours any kind of religious education you like.

This is undiluted secularism. I believe it is accompanied by the expectation, if you please the certainty, that the Church will take up the burden which has been cast down by the State and do the work, if you like, more effectively; but it is in itself pure secularism and nothing else. There are all over the country people, I do assure your Lordships, who are coming gradually and reluctantly to the same view. It is not the view I hold myself. If possible, I should very much like to see some other method than secularism, but there are others who take a different view, and more and more people are beginning to take that view. They are beginning to say to themselves: "We have been lashed round the whole circle of these pitiful expedients and we are tired of them. We will no longer be content to be constantly putting forward propositions in the hope that we shall find common ground among Christian denominations and to be constantly met by too successful resistance. We will attempt that course no more; we will give you secularism." Although your Lordships may disapprove of this view and believe you will be able to stem the tide if the tide rises, yet no one is better aware than your Lordships that this House has always bowed to public opinion when expressed.

You will find public opinion—angry, tumultuous, irresistible—in favour of secularism if you refuse, I will not for a moment say this Bill as it stands—I mean nothing of the kind, nor is there anything minatory in my language or thoughts—but if you refuse to consider a well-meant and honest attempt to find some middle course such as we have endeavoured to put before your Lordships. That is my belief. I may be altogether wrong; your Lordships will form your own judgment; but I am glad to think that between now and October there will be time for a little cool reflection. I do not know why it is that up to now the attempt to come to some concordat has failed in this country. This I am sure of, that the present is a critical occasion—I do not mean in a constitutional, but in an educational, sense—and all those who wish well to the cause of education and of the religious education of the young would do well to reflect between now and October.

THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD: My Lords, we are asked to accept a Bill which will give a far wider extension to that series of prohibitions known as the Cowper-Temple Clause. We are asked to assent to a Bill which will remove many of the safeguards for the thoroughness and reality of religious teaching. And when we look at that prospect with apprehension those who support the Bill try to assure us by saying. "Look at the excellent religious work which has been done under the conditions of the Cowper-Temple Clause in board schools in the past." We have had quoted to us words in another place about—

> "Thirty-six years of happy experience of Cowper-Temple teaching,"

and also words used by the most rev. Primate with regard to the teaching that has been given in some board schools, and we are invited to be reassured with regard to the future by past experience.

It is always an ungracious thing to interfere with the cheerful and healthy exercise of optimism, but we are bound to remember that the operation of the Cowper-Temple Clause will be in the future under different conditions from those which have prevailed in the past. The conditions will be different in many ways if this Bill in anything like its present form becomes law. The point to which I wish to draw attention is the difference which is going on, and will go on still more, in the training of the teacher. The noble Lord on my right, Lord Stanley of Alderley, paid a just tribute to the services rendered by the teachers in elementary schools. He spoke of them as an honourable, an earnest, and a thoughtful body of men and women who cared for this teaching. I wish to express my sense of the debt which we owe in this matter to the teachers in elementary schools. I think that all classes are deeply indebted to them for the temper, the devotion, and the zeal with which they have carried out their work.

But it is increasingly likely that in the future access to the teaching profession will dispense altogether with the requirement of residential training, and with that influence which, whatever we may think or say about an ecclesiastical atmosphere, is necessary for those who are to give religious instruction. Residential training goes far to give the teacher some of the advantages of the public school. In the residential training college the lad will learn, not only to work well, but to play well; he will learn something of the real skill of discipline, and how the best discipline is often maintained where the sanction for it cannot be invoked or enforced; he will learn, above all, the meaning of *esprit de corps.* Those are ways in which our teachers in the past have been to a great extent trained, with not only definite religious training, but with the influences of a residential college around them. If these advantages are likely in the future to be to a considerable extent withdrawn or foregone, and if you have coming into the teaching profession a large number of men and women not so trained, it cannot be said that the conditions under which Cowper-Temple teaching will be given are identical or near to the conditions under which it has been given in the past. That is one point which I wish to leave with your Lordships, because I think we are all in danger of thinking too confidently that what has prevailed in many cases happily in the past can be relied on in the future under widely different conditions.

I have only one word more to say. We shall be going away very soon for, I hope, a period of rest, and I imagine that noble Lords will not be sorry to be for a while not thinking of the Education Bill. But when they have had a reasonable respite from all considerations of it, there are one or two ways in which they may gain what will be helpful when we meet again in the autumn. I hope that your Lordships, before entering on the strenuous work of amendment, will try to find out how the Bill is regarded in the country. I cannot speak with experience of the signs of temper and tone in this House, but I am very much mistaken if there has not been a great accruing of purpose and power in the resolve to amend the Bill as the debate has gone on. I believe that will be re-enforced by a great body of feeling throughout the country, and that this House has an opportunity now of finding itself supported by multitudes who have been accustomed to look askance at it. We heard from an unexpected quarter in another place an expression of thankfulness that there is a House of Lords, and I believe that feeling is very widespread at the present moment throughout the country

*LORD STANMORE: My Lords, I think that his Majesty's Government may congratulate themselves on at least two features of this long debate. One is that, although the Bill has been subjected to the severest criticism, there has not been through the whole course of the debate any suggestion that it should be rejected on its Second Reading. The other is that of the two principles of the Bill one has been accepted without objection and has received the more than tacit support of many noble Lords on the opposite Benches—the principle that public control must follow the gift of public funds.

We are told by His Majesty's Government that two principles guide them in this Bill. The first is the establishment of public control. That, apparently, is on all hands conceded. The other is the abolition of tests. I believe it to be accepted by the whole House that you are not to impose a religious test for appointment to a civil office, but a test in the sense of that imposed on head teachers under the Act of 1902 is a test which always must exist if you are to have efficient teachers. I beg your Lordships to notice that His Majesty's Government are in fact (though in an obscure and indirect form) retaining the only test which the Act of 1902 imposed. Under the Act of that year every head teacher in a voluntary school was necessarily a teacher of religion, as much so as the Archbishop of Canterbury and that being so it was necessary to ascertain whether he was qualified for the work he undertook. In that sense what is denounced as a test was perfectly legitimate, and it will be practically still continued under this Bill. The noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty seemed to make a great distinction between a test precedent to appointment and a test subsequent to appointment. A test precedent to appointment, he said, you must not impose. You must appoint your teacher without a test, but when he is appointed you may if he is willing to teach religion apply one in order to ascertain whether he is qualified to teach it. That is quite a sufficient test for me, and probably for most other noble Lords.

There are provisions in the Bill with which I think we may be well satisfied and grateful for—the provisions for securing the health and recreation of the children. But there my support of the Bill must cease. When we come to those of its provisions which relate to religious teaching, and which, after all, constitute by far the greater part of the enacting clauses, there I feel that His Majesty's Government have gone entirely astray.

In point of clearness of expression and fairness of statement the speech of the noble Earl the Lord President of the Council in introducing this Bill left nothing to be desired, but I am not sure that he was quite so happy when answering by anticipation objections which he thought would be made to the Bill. Some of those answers I confess I thought sounded somewhat hollow. The noble Earl is a man of ability; he is not a man who takes a bad argument for a good one; and the same acuteness which enables him to make the best of the case he brings before your Lordships must at the same time show him clearly what the weak points of that case are. I was therefore not at all surprised to hear the comparatively hesitating manner, the lowered voice, and the almost apologetic tone in which the noble Earl attempted to defend the provisions of the clause requiring a majority of four-fifths for the establishment of exceptional facilities for religious teaching. He said that after all a limit must be made, and what did it signify what the particular limit was. He went on to give what he called a similar instance. He referred to the limit at which exemption from income-tax was fixed as being equally arbitrary. But, my Lords, there is the most essential difference between the two. The limit with regard to the exemption from income-tax is a limit imposed—by whom?—by the majority of the elected representatives of the people. But what is this four-fifths provision? It is really a provision that a minority of a little over one-fifth shall overrule the wishes of perhaps little less than four-fifths of the community.

I have no particularly enthusiastic feeling in favour of a mere numerical majority. I think that is one of the fetishes of the day. That the folly of an hundred fools is wiser than the wisdom of ninety-nine wise men is a proposition which does not greatly commend itself to me. Two hundred years hence it is very probable that our descendants will look upon the wisdom of their ancestors much as we look upon the so-called wisdom of our ancestors, and shibboleths which have great vogue at this time may very possibly be relegated to the same limbo as many more ancient doctrines. But in the meantime the cult of the bare majority holds sway everywhere, and must be acknowledged. I confess that it does seem strange to me that those who are its devoutest worshippers should in this Bill enable a minority of a little over one-fifth to over-rule the wishes of a little under four-fifths of the same community.

I find what seems to be an almost impenetrable blindness on the part of many as to the reasons which induce a large number of your Lordships and other people to object to what is called undenominational teaching. Four years ago it was called undogmatic, but its advocates seem to have discovered that dogma is inseparable from any religious teaching. The nature of the objections to that form of teaching have really not been fully stated. It is because we know not what undenominational religion means, or may be made to mean, that we object to it. What do its advocates say that it teaches? "The fundamental doctrines of religion," says Dr. Clifford; "of Christianity," says Canon Hensley Henson; "of Trinitarian Christianity," says the Bishop of Carlisle. Well, which is it to be? If indeed you take Trinitarian Christianity it is, I think, then possible to establish something like a combined system of education. I hold in my hand a pamphlet describing what is to my mind almost the only successful effort of its kind. It was drawn up by a Roman Catholic Bishop, an Anglican Bishop, and a Presbyterian chaplain for the guidance of the Martiniére college in Calcutta. It is thoroughly undenominational, but it is dogmatic to the backbone. I believe it would not be beyond the skill of man on that common ground to devise a scheme which might work well and meet all requirements. But that would not satisfy the advocates of the Bill.

The only positive injunction laid down in this Bill is the prohibitive one that distinctive formularies are not to be taught, but there is no limit on the other side, and the temptation always will be to make the field as wide as possible. Logically it ought to be wide enough to comprehend the Jew and the Agnostic, for it is just as great a grievance that they should be compelled to pay for religious teaching they disapprove as that Wesleyans or Baptists should be so. But practically the religious teaching will be Christian, but undenominational, or as it used to be called a year or two ago, undogmatic. What kind of Christianity is this to be? The Unitarians are a small sect, but a powerful one. There will be hesitation on the part of local authorities to offend the Unitarians, and yet if the teaching be such as is acceptable to the Unitarians it will be regarded by a majority of Nonconformists as well as by Churchmen to be no true teaching of Christianity at all. I apprehend that in most schools when this anti-denominational system becomes the law of the land, if it ever does, you will find a gradual slackening of Christian teaching until it fades out altogether. And now what is meant by fundamental religion? Something making foundation. There are two different foundations. Most of those who advocate undenominational teaching consider it should consist of a set of maxims which are consistent with Christianity, but not necessarily Christian. In the opinion of an equally large number of persons, probably a larger number, their teaching is not Christian at all, but more nearly approaching to Confucianism. They hold, with St. Paul, that other foundation can no man lay than that is laid. The foundation they look to is that of the personality of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the personal relation which exists between Him and every Christian soul. Now, those two foundations are absolutely distinct. You may build a fair edifice on the foundation of moral precepts and philosophic doctrines, and you may tell the children who are educated under it that all they have to do is to listen to those doctrines and to guide themselves by them; but there is all the difference in the world between such a foundation and that other foundation of which I have spoken, a difference that is radical and irreconcilable.

Between those two systems there is a great gulf fixed which cannot be bridged or passed over, and that is the reason why so many earnest men absolutely decline to have any part in what is called undenominational education. That was the one point to which I wished to call you Lordships' attention. Before sitting down however, I should like to make a remark which I think is pregnant with meaning. a meaning which is abhorrent to me, but I am not one of those who refuse to see facts because I do not like them. So far as I am aware, in all the discussions and debates which have taken place on this subject in Parliament and out of doors we have not heard anything that would lead us to infer that there was such an institution still existing as a National Established Church. On all hands it has been spoken of as though on an equality with other sects. This seems to me to involve the recognition of a fact, if it be a fact, of enormous significance.

THE LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM: My Lords, I rise to ask your Lordships' attention for a few minutes for a very simple and direct purpose. I wish to express my strong impression, from such observations as during this summer I have been able to make, that if one may use the word "mandate" there does exist in this country something like a mandate, and I venture to think from the majority of the English people, to the House of Lords to consider the Government's Education Bill with considerateness, temper, and fairness, but with firmness and without undue fear. I do not say this lightly or forgetful of the responsibilities and anxieties of the hour. We none of us shall be forgetful of those considerations after the speech, so admirable in manner and so weighty in thought, from the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack.

It is a bad thing for a man whose calling in life is to be a pastor to have to take any part in a campaign which has political elements in it. It does not make such a man more ready or able to do his work to have to live in the somewhat dreary conditions of a chronic crisis of a semi-political kind. Throughout my life I have had the happiest possible relations with Nonconformist Christians, and I have derived the greatest spiritual benefit from the instructions and writings of Nonconformist saints. My hope has been for years that there might be an approximation on the deepest grounds between them and us of the Church of England. I rejoice whenever we can meet on large and fruitful common ground, which includes among other things allegiance to that Book, which, like its supreme and ultimate Author, is able to unveil its inmost secret, not necessarily to the elaborately instructed, but to the single-hearted soul. These considerations make it to me infinitely unwelcome to take a line of protest and of disappointment at what we have been so earnestly assured this afternoon has been an honest attempt by able and patriotic men to arrive at a settlement of this great dispute.

But I am compelled to say that my disappointment is bitter at the facts as they stand. I am dismayed at the ruthless energy with which the extremely well-meant attempt at a compromise in 1902 has been pursued until it has issued in the proposals of the present Bill. I believe that feeling is shared by many even-minded, godly, equitable and informed Nonconformists. Speaking for the bishops, I may say that most of us have had added to our somewhat heavy nominal duties the duty during the past summer of speaking at, and usually presiding over, meetings occasioned by this Bill. The county of Durham, which I represent in some sense, is, I think, fairly typical of many important parts of England. It is vastly industrial, and it is largely pervaded by energetic and living Nonconformity. Its people are frank and outspoken to a delightful fault, or, I would rather say, to a delightful degree—thank God for it! and the meetings summoned there, which have been quite free and open to the expression of various opinions, have been most instructive to the observer.

Every one who knows the county of Durham will bear witness to the unexampled extent to which meetings to oppose this Bill as it stands have attracted popular interest and inspired almost unanimous enthusiasm. For example, I will take two important towns—West Hartlepool and Sunderland. There was summoned at West Hartlepool a public meeting which was attended by 3,000 people, of whom fully half were men. A large number of Nonconformists were known to be in that meeting. There was a certain amount of very moderate and good-humoured interruption and heckling from a group of non-sympathisers near the door. It was answered by the speaker heckled promptly and with complete success as regards the sudden cessation of the interruption, and perfect good humour was maintained throughout the meeting. One of the votes of thanks was seconded by a working man of the town—a Congregationalist leader, actively in co-operation with the Labour Party—and his speech emphasised the value of the protest which the Church was making in favour of national religious education. At the close of the meeting ten persons out of the 3,000 held up their hands against the resolution in which the sense of the meeting was summed up.

At Sunderland, full of the Nonconformity I have referred to, a meeting on this subject was convened in the great

Drill Hall, and to the surprise of its promoters it was attended by 4,000 people, of whom a very large majority were men, and mostly working men. There was a most extraordinary responsiveness and electrical sympathy about that meeting, and at the close it was calculated that only five hands were held up against the resolution. At a meeting in South Shields one of the most important speeches against the Bill was delivered by a Presbyterian minister, and another Nonconformist minister, whose congregation numbers 600 members, has throughout the whole controversy taken a consistent line with the Church of England.

I am convinced that there is a feeling in the country which may be interpreted as a mandate to the House of Lords to do nothing inconsiderate, but to approach this Bill with the consciousness that there is a mass of feeling behind which looks upon this House rather as a substitute for a referendum than the protector of sectarian interests. The cause for which we stand should inspire courage; it is not a sectarian cause, not a proselytising cause; it is a cause in which the whole Christianity of the rising generation among the working classes of the country is concerned. There is no security that what is called the Cowper-Temple teaching of religion will remain—indeed, it is largely ceasing to be what it has been; and I hold that the Church of England, which is not a sect, which is not a denomination merely—it is older than the nation—has the position and capabilities for doing for the rising generation what no other Christian body as constituted to-day can do to preserve the teaching of revealed eternal truths. With a knowledge of a great backing in the country and mighty reasons, I exhort your Lordships to consider the Bill not merely from the point of view of what is best for the immediate present, but looking to the long distant future in this matter of children's education.

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: My Lords, I should like at the outset of my few remarks to notice very briefly a suggestion which during the last few days has been repeatedly made to me, and made to me by noble Lords for whose opinions I entertain very deep respect, and whose judgment is entitled to every consideration. I have been asked by several Members of your Lordships' House whether it would not have been better if the debate on the Second Reading of this Bill had stood over until the month of October. My friends were able to adduce weighty reasons in favour of that course. The Bill had been in our hands but a very few hours when this debate began; it has been greatly altered during its passage through the House of Commons, and it contains many important provisions which were not there discussed. In these circumstances, it was not unnatural to ask that more time should be given to the House of Lords before we give the Bill a Second Reading. But, on the other hand, after consulting with many of our supporters, it seemed to me that the attitude of noble Lords who sit on this side of the House towards the Bill was perfectly clear, and that it was desirable that this attitude should be made plain to the country without further loss of time. I understand that most of us are ready to admit that some modification of the Act of 1902 is inevitable; but we hold very strongly that in submitting these particular proposals for the alteration of that Act His Majesty's Government have very seriously misunderstood the feeling of the country towards this important subject.

We believe that this Bill would work, if it were to pass in its present shape, very grave injustice, out of all proportion to the alleged grievances it seeks to remove, and we, at any rate, cannot contemplate the passing of the Bill into law in the shape in which it now stands. On the other hand, we recognise that the Bill contains admissions of some very important and far-reaching principles, admissions that we welcome as indicating a desire, at any rate, on the part of the framers of the Bill to deal in an equitable spirit with the question.

Holding these views it seems to us that it is our duty to try to amend this Bill, and we feel that it would be more respectful to the other House of Parliament—and I think we all feel that there there should be reciprocal respect shown by each House to the other—

to read the Bill a second time and then address ourselves seriously to the task of removing the grave defects which we detect in it. If I have not incorectly described the attitude of the House, it is surely better that that attitude should be explained now, rather than that the country should be left in suspense for two or three months, during which no doubt all sorts of sinister motives would be attributed to your Lordships' House. But we do desire it to be clearly understood that in giving a Second Reading to the Bill we do not abate one jot or tittle of our right to deal with it as we think proper at a future stage. One other reason why I am glad the debate has not been postponed is that some of the speeches which have been delivered during the course of it are speeches that cannot fail to have a very wide effect in the country; and if we only had to consider from that point of view the speech of the most rev. Primate who presides over the see of Canterbury, I should say that we have reason to be deeply grateful that the debate has taken place now.

What is our main complaint of this Bill? I think it may be expressed in a very few words by saying that the Bill does very little for education and creates a vast amount of heart-burning and disturbance. The Bill has been described to-day as "above all things an educational Bill," I would like to put the accuracy of this description to a simple test. The Lord President of the Council introduced the measure in a long speech—not too long, because the subject is one calling for lengthened explanation—but I noticed that out of the hour and a half—I think that was about the time occupied—about an hour and a quarter were devoted to what he himself described as the "arid region of the religious difficulty," and only in the last quarter of an hour of the time occupied by his speech did he find himself in what he gracefully described as "in the green fields with the children," and then he began to tell us of things the Bill did for the children, such things as the establishment of play centres, vacation schools, and I suppose I must include that early introduction to the dentist which is no doubt necessary, and upon which the noble Earl dwelt in eloquent terms.

It is even so with all this controversy. The absorbing interest of this religious question has swamped all the educational side of the problem. It has dispelled, so it seems to me, the sense of proportion of His Majesty's Government It has led them to exaggerate the extent of the Nonconformists' grievance. It has led them to underrate those other grievances which the Bill would infallibly create; to underrate the agitation which it would lead to, an agitation which I am convinced will be far more formidable than any which has been provoked by the existing condition of the law. For, my Lords, who accepts the Bill? The Nonconformists are in mutiny. The Duke of Norfolk, has told you frankly how the Roman Catholic Church regards the overtures which you have made to them. As to the Church of England, its feeling has been voiced by eloquent and unanswered speeches delivered from the benches opposite.

When we are told, as we have been told to-day, that we are to seek in this Bill for a final settlement of the education question, I can only admire the simplicity of those who venture to indulge in any hopes of the kind. We are told this is a Bill for extending popular control over our schools. Do we not forget that popular control is there already? There is only the smallest fraction of school life which is really withdrawn from popular control. But if we are anxious for popular control, is it not the case that this Bill bristles with restrictions on popular control? What is the popular control which refuses, as this Bill does, to take into consideration the wishes of the parents as to the manner in which their children are to be brought up?

The noble and learned Lord upon the Woolsack told us just now that this was impracticable, but I think he went on to say that, although it was out of the question to consider the wishes of all the parents, he regarded favourably the idea of admitting the claim of the majority of them. If he really frankly and fully admits that, and if we may proceed to amend this Bill on those lines—upon the lines of making it our business really to ascertain the views of the majority of the parents and to give effect to those views—then I say there is certainly some hope——

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: What I said was that it was impracticable to give effect to the doctrine that all the parents' wishes could be complied with, but that, if we could not have a system of that kind, we had done our best to give facilities by Clauses 3 and 4 and 5. I think that is what I said. I did not mean to lay down any general and universal proposition such as the noble Marquess has suggested.

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: No one has ever contended on this side of the House that it was possible to give effect to the wishes of every small section of the parents. Any arrangement of the kind must be limited by common sense and the local conditions. But what we contend for—and I still do not think the noble and learned Lord greatly differs from me—is that where the views of a large majority of the parents are clearly ascertainable, due regard should be paid to those views. This Bill has been represented as an attack on the Church of England. It is not only an attack upon the Church of England, it is an attack on denominational teaching of all kinds. But I do understand that the grievances of the Church of England should loom larger in the foreground of this question than any other. For the Church of England has undoubtedly made sacrifices for the sake of education which bulk larger than those made by any other part of the community, and I have been surprised at some of the attempts which have been made to belittle the extent of those sacrifices.

We were told this afternoon that there was not much difference between the exclusion of the Church from these schools and the annexation of high roads by the county councils. I venture to suggest that the roads and the schools do not stand on exactly the same footing. A well-equipped road is good enough for anyone to travel by, no matter by whom it has been equipped, but a well-found school is not good enough for those who desire that its moral equipment should be of a particular and special kind. We have had another analogy in the course of this debate. The noble Earl the President of the Board of Agriculture asked us why the owners of these schools should be so extremely anxious as to what was done with their property. It is simply, he said, a case, familiar to us all, in which people have embarked rather too freely on bricks and mortar and have overbuilt themselves. If that is the view of the Cabinet of which the noble Earl is a member, all I can say is that they have very grievously misapprehended the facts of the case, and the manner in which these facts are regarded by the people of this country.

The noble and learned Lord behind me dealt with the contention of the Lord President of the Council that there was nothing very unusual in such interference as this Bill contemplates with charitable trusts. I do not think the argument of the noble and learned Lord behind me was quite understood. I do not attempt to state these things in legal language, but what I have always understood is this—that the Courts of Law in this country have been in the habit of interfering with trusts when it could be shown that it was impracticable or inexpedient to carry out the intentions of the founders of those trusts, and what I should like to ask is whether any one is here to contend that in the case of these schools it has really become either impracticable or inexpedient to carry out the intentions of the persons who founded them. Parliament and the Law Courts of the country have for centuries past encouraged liberal-minded and generous people to establish trusts of this kind, and I cannot help fearing that the manner in which this Bill deals with these trusts will have a very deterrent effect upon such people in the future.

We have at any rate one common ground on which we can all of us on both sides of the House found ourselves. It is admitted on all hands that no one desires that our system of school education should be a purely secular system. The noble Earl put that forcibly and clearly when he said the people of the country would not have it; and I am glad that His Majesty's Government in that respect at all events have correctly gauged the feeling of this country. But, my Lords, I press that point because it seems to me that if that is true, the result is to fix upon the State the responsibility of seeing that education and religion are not allowed to drift apart; that the system should not become gradually and insensibly secular; that no violence should be done to the feelings of the parents; that religious instruction should not be discouraged; and that it should not be imparted by persons who are unfit or incompetent to impart it. I honestly believe that there is not one of those principles for which I could not find emphatic approval in the speeches which have been delivered by different Members of His Majesty's Government, but my complaint is that these principles are not embodied, or at any rate not embodied with sufficient distinctness in the Bill upon the Table.

Tried by those tests, this Bill seems to me to fail completely. There is nothing to prevent religious instruction dropping out of sight altogether in certain schools if the local authority desire it. There is no sufficient recognition of the wishes of the parents. There are no provisions to ensure that religious instruction should be given what the Bishop of St. Asaph appropriately called an honoured place. It is given on the contrary a place below the salt at our table, and there is no security that religious instruction should be given by persons who are competent to give it. We have been told that we should be content with what we commonly speak of as Cowper-Temple religion. I sometimes wish that from the jargon of these discussions we could banish that expression altogether. There is no such thing. The Cowper-Temple clause is, as has been said this afternoon, a series of negations. You tell us that the great body of the parents of this country are content with it. Give them an opportunity of telling you whether they are contented with it or not. Do not forget, that this denominational teaching may mean any thing or nothing, moreover I do notthink we have sufficiently taken into account the effect which is likely to be produced on so-called Cowper-Temple teaching by the alteration in the religious atmosphere of the voluntary schools. It is the contact, the neighbourhood, of the voluntary school that has, in the past kept up the standard of religious instruction in the council schools, and my fear is that when you place these transferred schools upon the same level as the council schools you may find that there is a distinct alteration in the religious atmosphere of Cowper-Temple teahing.

We are told that the principle of the Bill is that there should be undenominational teaching supplemented by special religious teaching. In what manner is effect given to this principle? I take Clause 4. I for one feel deep gratitude to His Majesty's Government for having included Clause 4 in the Bill. I regard it as a proof that there is somewhere in the minds of the Government a real desire that this undenominational teaching should be supplemented by religious teaching of a wholly different kind. The discovery of this clause in the Bill is like the discovery of a single bone of an extinct animal, which enables our palæontologists to reconstruct the skeleton of the whole animal, and I feel myself able, with that clause in my hand, to picture the kind of Bill which might, perhaps, have been produced to Parliament if the original framers of it had been allowed to pursue their object consistently, and as they would have desired to pursue it. Clause 4, at any rate, has this great merit. It admits in theory the establishment of denominational schools maintained by public funds, manned by teachers giving denominational instruction, who shall be appointed for their fitness to teach. And there can be no doubt that the Minister for Education really believes that these advantages were going to be given in full measure to those who desired them; for do not let us forget his memorable statement to the Jewish deputation when he told them that the clause might require strengthening, but that its intention was that schools which came within its conditions should be carried on just as they are now.

The full application of the principles he then set forth might have been the means of saving denominational instruction, but the Bill falls very far short of fulfilling the expectations held out by the right hon. Gentleman. We have the arbitrary geographical limit within which the clause may operate, the complex and irritating procedure, and the futile appeal. Is it really exaggeration to say that the luckless persons who desire to obtain these extended facilities will have to run a kind of obstacle race, in which they will have to surmount all the barbed wire entanglements with which the facilities are surrounded, at the end of which—and this is the pathetic thing—they may find themselves put off by admission to the proud position of a State-aided school? And what does that mean? State aid schools means short commons, and that is the ultimate fate of any of those schools which may have the misfortune of having to negotiate with a perverse local authority. I am not so impressed with the infallibility of local authorities as to believe that no such thing as a perverse local authority is to be found; and, if the local authority is indeed perverse, it will have the double satisfaction of relegating the school to the position of a State-aided school and keeping a certain amount of rates in its own pocket.

Then facilities are to be given to other schools under Clause 3, and it is on this clause that Church of England schools obviously have to rely. What is the logical, what is the liberal principle on which we should expect these schools to be dealt with? Is it not that the wishes of the majority should prevail and that the utmost consideration should be shown to those who are in a minority? The Bill, no doubt, holds out the expectation of ordinary facilities to schools of this class; but let me point out how illusory these facilities are. To begin with, if the local authority does not apply to take over a school, away go the ordinary facilities *ab initio.* Then we want to know what are these facilities? There is no definition of them in the Bill. We are continually referred back to these facilities. I am reminded of the military debate we had here the other night. When noble Lords opposite were told they were diminishing the Army, they said—"Oh, but look at the number of men you are to be given on a Militia basis." But no one told us what this Militia basis was, and in the same way no one has told us what these facilities are to be. All we are told is what these facilities are not. We know that the religious instruction to be given under them is not to be paid for out of the rates, that it must not be given by the teacher or on more than two days a week, and also that it must be given under the absolute control of the local authority, which is free apparently to subtract from this unknown quantity as much or little as it pleases.

What I have said has reference to what are called transferred schools; but what of the other provided schools, those which are usually described as council schools? In a speech delivered early in the year the Minister for Education used language which was certainly interpreted by all who read it as holding out the expectation that these ordinary facilities would be given, not only in the transferred schools, but also in all porvided schools, that is, including council schools. I freely admit I draw a distinction between transferred schools and council schools, and I do so because, if you had left the transferred schools alone and left them in possession of a due amount of denominational and religious teaching, you would have had a very good case for not disturbing the *status quo* of the council schools. But, if you are going to place the whole of the schools on more or less one dead level, we have a right to ask whether you are going to do anything in the case of council schools to redress the balance and set right the injustice you have done in the case of the transferred schools.

To sum up the question of facilities, does it not come to this, that in the end the urban schools have the dismal prospect of being driven into the position of State-aided schools, that the rural voluntary schools, the transferred schools, may, under this Bill, be cheated at the outset of the privileges to which they are entitled, and that the only class of schools which is left alone and allowed to retain the *status quo* are the council schools? Whatever you may think of that, it is not even-handed treatment.

With regard to the question of teachers, we are told that the essence of this Bill is to abolish tests for teachers. So far as I am aware, at this moment there are no tests for teachers. I do not know of any; but, be that as it may, I do not think any of us desire that the profession of teacher should be a close profession; but is that any reason why a teacher should be allowed to teach a subject of which he is ignorant, and which he is incompetent to teach? We have abolished tests for the Universities, but I have yet to learn that when the authorities of a college desire to appoint a teacher in a particular subject, they do not select a man who is thoroughly competent to teach that subject. There is a very remarkable divergence of views between the statements that have been made upon this point by different members of His Majesty's Government. In the first place, in the speech to the Jewish deputation, Mr. Birrell, after the passage which I have already quoted, went on to say—

> "The intention of the clause certainly is that the teachers should remain the same as they are, those who are most qualified to give the particular religious instruction which has hitherto been given in the schools."

In the latest debates in the House of Commons the Chancellor of the Exchequer used these words—

> "In the next place, no teacher appointed and paid by the State is to be appointed hereafter subject to the condition that he is to give religious teaching, or that he is to belong to any particular religious communion, or any religious communion at all."

If that view is to prevail, what becomes of the pledge given by the Minister for Education; if, on the other hand, the view of the Minister for Education is to prevail, how is it to be reconciled with the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer?

This grievance of the teachers is to my mind the more serious because it is a double grievance. It is a grievance of the teachers themselves, and it is a grievance of the parents whose children they teach. I cannot conceive a greater wrong to do the parents of the children than to deprive these children of the advantage of being taught by men or women who have been used to teach them, who know how to teach them, and who are qualified to teach them in these most solemn and important subjects. As to the teachers themselves, is it not to put, I would almost say, an outrageous affront upon these teachers, these men who have worked conscientiously at their profession, who care about religious instruction, who know how essential it is to the whole of the instruction which they are giving to their pupils, to say to them suddenly, "You may teach all other subjects; but this, the most important subject of all, you are to be precluded by Act of Parliament from teaching to your pupils."

How is this Bill going to work? Experienced and recognised teachers are to be withdrawn, and then you are to bring in, I do not exactly know from where, a kind of emergency man to undertake this duty. These men will not know the children, the children will not know them. It is a remarkable fact that, when in the other House an Amendment was moved with the object of permitting the teacher to remain in the room whilst this religious instruction was being imparted, that Amendment was rejected by His Majesty's Government.

Discouraged though I am by the manner in which this question has been treated, I do discern a ray of hope. I am glad to notice that in one clause of the Bill, Clause 11, words have been inserted providing that, if a vacancy arises in the office of teacher while the school-house is used under this section, the local education authority shall in choosing the teacher appoint a teacher who is willing to give the religious instruction required under this section. I hope we may regard that admission as the germ of other admissions which will be ungrudgingly accorded to us at a future stage of the consideration of this Bill. I am also somewhat encouraged by the speech made by my noble friend Lord Stanley of Alderley. He gave us comfort in this matter. He said—"Never mind the Bill, it will be all right; you will see the teachers will gravitate towards the schools in which they are really most fitted to teach. The local authorities will naturally select the best men." As my noble friend knows, I am not a believer in the infallibility of local bodies. I cannot help thinking my noble friend may possibly be ready to assist us in giving the local authorities some little encouragement to be careful how they select teachers for their schools.

The part of the Bill which relates to Wales was dealt with so completely by my noble friend Lord Cawdor that I pass it by. The Welsh part of the Bill supplies what I hope I shall not be considered disrespectful if I describe as the comic element in this tragedy. I shall not follow the example of the Bishop of St. Asaph, who in his speech pursued the elusive phantom of the Welsh Minister, and dealt with the attributes it was once proposed to confer upon him. I almost wish we might have that Minister, and that he might be selected from the ranks of your Lordships' House. I venture to say that the right rev. Prelate and Lord Cawdor would give him some extremely interesting quarters of an hour.

There is one other matter about which I wish to say a word. It has hardly been referred to. I mean the question of the finance of this Bill. I suppose it has not been referred to on the ground that the question of privilege, in connection with which we had a discussion yesterday, deprives us of all interest in such questions. It is a matter which requires a great deal of discussion. The taxpayers' money has to be spent for this purpose, and we have not had, so far as I am aware, one ounce of information as to the calculation upon which the demand for £1,000,000 has been based, as to the general lines upon which it is to be distributed, or as to its sufficiency to meet the reasonable requirements which may be expected if this Bill becomes law.

It seems to me that the duty of your Lordships' House this evening is plain. We none of us, I believe, desire to reject this Bill, bad as it is, at any rate at this stage. We cannot entertain the idea of passing it in its present form. We believe that it will require not only Amendment, but drastic Amendment in Committee, and we shall propose such Amendments. We do not despair of being fairly met by noble Lords opposite. They have, and particularly the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack, expressed an earnest desire that this question should be dealt with in a spirit of consideration and with a desire to bring about a settlement of a difficult and thorny question. We do hope that, when we come to discuss these points of detail, they will consider with an open mind the proposals which we may make, and that they will give us their assistance in removing the grave defects which this Bill discloses at every turn. In the meantime we do not part with our full right to treat the Bill as it may seem to us fit to treat it when the attempt has been made to amend it, and when we know what the result of that attempt has been. It is upon that distinct understanding, and upon that distinct understanding alone, that we agree this evening to the Second Reading of this Bill.

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (The Marquess of RIPON): My Lords, I must in the first place express my satisfaction at the tone of the speech of my noble friend who has just sat down. He is, no doubt, a strong opponent of many of the provisions of this Bill, and he has not hesitated to express his opposition strongly and plainly. He has given to the House advice which I may perhaps be pardoned for saying is of a very sound description in regard to the Second Reading of the Bill. The Committe Stage will afford the proper opportunity for discusing details, and His Majesty's Government will then be prepared to meet objections which may be raised frankly and, I hope, fairly.

I do not think the provisions of the Bill are rightly understood in many respects. I am not surprised at it. This Bill, as my noble friend has said, has been but a very short time in the hands of noble Lords, but it has been in their hands a day longer than was the Bill of 1902. It has been my endeavour to give the House the greatest consideration. On some of the points which have been referred to by my noble friend I will give explanation as far as I can, but the end of this debate on the Second Reading is not a favourable time for detailed explanation Your Lordships are going to have a much longer period for the consideration of this measure than usually falls to your lot. You will be able between this and the day when the House will meet again to consider all its provisions in the fullest detail, and when we come back refreshed from our rest we shall be able more fully to enter into discussion of them.

My noble friend said that one effect of the Bill would be to discredit religious instruction. I cannot for a moment admit that the Bill shows any wish to discredit religious instruction or any indifference on that matter. My noble friend himself said that he recognised gladly that we were the opponents of secular education and desired to see religious education in the schools. But my noble friend seemed to think—and I have heard the remark before in the course of the debate—that the tone of religious instruction in provided schools—and most schools will be provided under this Bill—would be lower than the present standard because of the lessening of the extent of denominational education. That is a very subtle argument, but I venture to doubt whether it is correct. It is a statement which can only be proved by practice. I should rather have thought that if you threw increased responsibility upon local bodies with respect to the giving of that religious instruction which is valued by the people of this country you would increase their interest and their desire to make the religious instruction real.

It has been said that the parents of the children will not be content with what is called—I share my noble friend's dislike for the phrase—Cowper-Temple instruction. But a large number of the parents of the country have been quite content with that instruction for six and thirty years, and until I see it I cannot persuade myself that there is likely to be any wide difference in their feelings in the future. My noble friend said he was grateful to us for Clause 4. In my judgment Clause 4 is an essential part of the Bill. Without Clause 4 it would have been an unjust and indefensible measure. I have no hesitation in making that statement. But I think noble Lords opposite have not altogether grasped the exact meaning of Clauses 4, 5, and 6. When we get into Committee I hope we shall be able to show that they will be more efficient for the purpose for which they were intended and will have a wider and more useful scope than noble Lords opposite at present appear to think.

With regard to Clause 3, my noble friend thought the facilities there given should be extended to all council schools. But if the facilities are not valuable why extend them? If they are valuable I think it would not be a wise step to introduce them into schools which never have been subject to them before. But I wish to draw attention to one thing which I do not think is altogether appreciated. If your Lordships will look at sub-section (5) of Clause 3 you will see that it is there provided in regard to transferred schools that—

> "Nothing in this section shall prevent the granting or requiring of facilities for special religious instruction in accordance with this Act, or prevent a local education authority, as a condition of an arrangement made under this section with respect to the use of the schoolhouse of an existing voluntary school, from giving an undertaking to give religious instruction which does not conflict with Section 14 of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, in the school."

There has been some discussion upon the various syllabuses that had been introduced into the council schools. They differed one from another, and some of them went far in the direction of providing a form of religious instruction that would be generally acceptable. Some of these syllabuses, if I am not mistaken, met with the approval of the most reverend Primate, and I am anxious that the most reverend Primate should view with favour the suggestion that it will be in the power of those who transfer their schools under that sub-section to make a bargain as to the nature and character of the syllabus which is to be used in the schools so long as it is consistent with Section 14 of the Act of 1870.

My noble friend professes small confidence in local authorities. I confess that I have a more extensive confidence in them. But this great and overwhelming distrust of local authorities is rather a novel doctrine for noble Lords opposite to hold, because in the Act of 1902 they destroyed the school boards, which had great and valuable experience, and which had a great accumulation of educational knowledge, and they themselves delivered over the management of these schools to the ordinary local authorities. I have no doubt there are local authorities who, in this and in many other matters, do not always act wisely and well. It is very painful to me to have to observe, in the course of this debate, that the local authority with which I was at one time closely connected, the West Riding County Council, has been held up to reprobation. I am sorry to say I cannot defend many of the acts of that county council. I wish I could on account of my personal relations with it. But what I want to point out to your Lordships is that the West Riding County Council protested against being charged with these duties; they passed resolutions refusing to undertake them, and it was noble Lords opposite who, in the Act of 1902, forced these duties upon them.

With regard to the question of trusts, I think my noble friend is not quite correct in the view he takes. I am advised that the Commission have no power to touch any single school which can continue to fulfil its trust. They will not be able to touch any school which is still able to carry out the conditions and duties of its trust; and when they do deal with a school they will deal with it, not arbitrarily, but under the rules and practice of the law, and with the application of the doctrine of *çypres*. Therefore I do not think there is much justification for my noble friend's fear on that point.

My noble friend touched on the question of 'No tests for teachers.' In Clause 8 of the Bill it is provided that no teacher shall be called upon to give any religious instruction to which he objects, which I think we shall all be inclined to agree is just to him, and right to other people, and that he shall not be required to belong to any particular religious denomination. The actual provisions in the Clause are as follows:—

> "A teacher employed in a public elementary school shall not give any religious instruction of a special character not permitted under Section 14 of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, in any school in which facilities for that instruction are afforded under this Act, except where permitted to do so by the local education authority in cases where extended facilities are so afforded. A teacher employed in a public elementary school shall not be required as part of his duties as teacher to give any religious instruction, and shall not be required as a condition of his appointment to subscribe to any religious creed, or to attend or abstain from attending any Sunday school or place of religious worship."

With regard to the qualification of the teachers to give religious instruction, it is the obvious and necessary duty of the local authority to appoint persons who are fit to undertake that duty. As to the £1,000,000, the money has not yet been, and will not at present be, allocated. A Bill will be brought in next year to deal with the subject, and that, it seems to me, will be the occasion to discuss the allocation of the money.

This is a Bill which may be looked at in a variety of aspects. One of those aspects, at all events, is the practical one, and, if we look at it from that aspect, we must take into account what are the circumstances under which the Bill has been brought forward and what is the position which His Majesty's Government found when they entered into office last December. In order to bring that matter before your Lordships more plainly, it is necessary that I should go back over the past history of the education question. I tender my most grateful thanks to the most rev. Primate for the manner in which he spoke of my share in the passing of the Act of 1870. The part I was privileged to take in the passing of that measure is one of the matters of which, in a long public career, I am most proud. The principles of the Act of 1870, the real underlying principles, I have not abandoned, and I am not tempted to abandon them. But what were those principles? The most rev. Primate most justly pressed the views I expressed as to one of the main principles of that Act—namely, that you should not lay aside and cast off the large number of denominational schools which existed in every part of the country at that time, but should make use of them and supplement them with board schools. But that Act—I am speaking of it as it passed and not as it was brought in—gave no assistance to voluntary schools out of the rates, and it laid down very distinctly the principles on which the State made provision out of the Exchequer for those schools. No State grant, it was laid down, should be made in respect of any religious teaching, and no such grant was in any year to exceed the income of the school for that year which was derived from voluntary contributions, school fees, or any source other than the Parliamentary grant.

Those were the principles on which Parliament dealt in 1870 with voluntary schools, and I confess, my Lords, that I am unable to see that those principles differ very much from the spirit of this Bill or that the conditions upon which the grant was given are alien to its provisions. As the Bill of 1870 was introduced it did contain provisions by which grants could be made by local authorities to denominational schools. Mr. Gladstone, one of the most powerful Ministers of our time, wished to give assistance from the rates to denominational schools, and he had no love for a Cowper-Temple clause. But in the Parliament of 1870 he was forced to give up the notion of aiding denominational schools from the rates—though he gave in exchange an increased grant from the State—and to accept from the hands of Mr. Cowper-Temple that clause of which we have heard so much in the course of this debate.

I should have thought there were many lessons to be learned from that history, and many which might have been applied in 1902. The Act of 1870 lasted for thirty-six years. I am not here to say that in that long period it had not become necessary to amend it, but I do hold that it was not necessary to abandon its principles. The Act of 1870 was a compromise. But who tore up that compromise? Who disregarded the principles of that Act, and, casting aside all the warnings of its history, for the first time put the voluntary schools on the rates? The Government of 1902 and its supporters. I do not believe that a greater injury to the interests of voluntary schools, in which I have always felt and continued to feel a deep interest, could have been inflicted than was inflicted by bringing them on the rates. The late Government destroyed the Act of 1870 and abandoned its principles, and in the Act of 1902 they put the voluntary schools upon the rates and put them under the control, not of bodies elected *ad hoc*, like the school boards, but of county councils and borough councils elected for other purposes. That was their principle and their policy. They disregarded the experience of the past and the warning of Archbishop Temple—that to place the voluntary schools on the rates was a step on the down grade. And now they are surprised that their experiment has failed. I thought there was, in the speech of the most rev. Primate, a slight indication that he had somewhat doubted the wisdom of all the provisions of the Act of 1902. But the occupants of the right rev. Bench one and all, supported that Bill.

THE LORD BISHOP OF HEREFORD: There was one exception.

*THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: I am delighted to hear it. But the right rev. Prelate was the only exception. There was a shade of regret for the Act of 1870 in the tone of the voice of the most rev. Primate, but you cannot go back to 1870. You have introduced a dangerous system; you have put the denominational schools on the down grade, and you cannot go back to a state of things which you have voluntarily and, as I think, wantonly abandoned.

When you handed over the administration of affairs to His Majesty's present Ministers, what was the state of the country? The Act of 1902 had raised vehement opposition. It had disturbed Wales; it had shaken the West Riding of Yorkshire; it had met with the fiercest opposition from a united Nonconformist body, who have never relaxed that strong and earnest determination with which they are accustomed to work for anything they take in hand. We know what has been the result of the General Election. The circumstances in which His Majesty's present Government were placed were not of our own creation—they were our *damnosa hereditas;* and it was with this position that as practical men we had to deal.

When we came to consider what course we should take in respect of this Bill the first question we had to deal with was whether we should propose a system of secular education or retain the provision for religious education. Our own inclination, and what we believed to be the desire of the vast majority of the people of the country, was to reject the secular system. We determined to propose a system of education based upon religious instruction. It seemed to us that it must be a system that would meet with wide acceptance among the people, and we found what is called Cowper-Temple teaching in operation. It had worked well for thirty-six years. My noble friend Lord Halifax, for whose earnest, strenuous, and determined conviction upon this subject I have the highest respect, spoke of Cowper-Temple instruction as Unitarianism. I ask my noble friend whether he means to say that the people of this country are Unitarians? I do not believe it. I believe that with the form of religious instruction which goes by the name of Mr. Cowper-Temple the large majority of the people of this country are content. I will be perfectly frank with your Lordships. It does not suit me; I would not allow a child of mine to go to that instruction. That is an opinion that I share with others, but we are in a minority. I believe, as I have said, that for the large majority of the people of the country that teaching is so far satisfactory; I do not want to press the point further—that it contents the parents.

The Cowper-Temple clause is one of the most illogical clauses in an Act of Parliament I have ever known. It prohibits nothing except formularies and the Catechism. You may teach under it the infallibility of the Pope or you may teach Unitarianism. But it has done in practice precisely that which those who proposed it intended it to do. It has established a system of religious instruction which is known by the name of undenominationalism, and it is a form —a weak and feeble form—of religious instruction which has been accepted by the majority of the people of the country. Therefore it was the only system to which we could turn to establish a system of education founded upon religious instruction and paid for out of the rates. In 1902 the late Government were ready enough to reject the teaching of the past, but they left the Cowper-Temple clause in force in the provided schools, and there it has remained.

Some persons out of doors have spoken as if they had the idea that this Cowper-Temple teaching was a new religion invented by His Majesty's Government. Your Lordships know what nonsense that is. Your Lordships know how long that system has been in force, yet there are some people who think it is the invention of the President of the Board of Education, and they have called it by a bad pun "Birreligion." Having been in existence since 1870, it has never been condemned by the public opinion of the country. The Government readily admit that there were those who honestly object to that teaching. The Roman Catholics will not touch it, and there are others who take the same view. Their case required to be dealt with, and the Government have endeavoured to deal with it. With regard to the single school districts, you could not have an arrangement there which disregarded the opinion of any considerable minority. We thought it best in districts of that sort to maintain the Cowper-Temple teaching with such facilities as the Act proposes. I believe that we were bound to regard and to protect the conscientious feelings of Nonconformists in these districts, and that is the reason why we have excluded them from the operation of our other clause. But in other districts we have provided a system which we hope and believe will be found to work far more satisfactorily than some people seem to imagine. This is not the time at which to discuss these arrangements. They will come before your Lordships when we get into Committee, and we shall then be able to examine them in detail.

Another policy of education is founded on the secular view, and a secular system with facilities for religious teaching all round has been suggested. In regard to that suggestion, I object, first, that the all-round facilities plan would not be generally acceptable, and, secondly, that if it were adopted there would be a tendency for the facilities to lapse, while the secularism would remain. The choice that we have to make is between a system of religious instruction generally acceptable to the majority of the people and a system of pure secularism. I do not altogether share the optimism of my noble friend Lord Crewe as to the remoteness of the danger of secular education. Changes in public opinion are very rapid at times, and the increasing number of people interested in education may get impatient of religious disputes and say, "A plague on all your houses." A secular system is recommended to many on grounds of logic, simplicity, and finality. In its favour is being thrown the influence of the Labour Party, and the Labour Party have come to stay and will be found in future Parliaments in larger numbers than they muster in the House of Commons to-day. I have endeavoured to show what were the circumstances with which the Government had to deal. These circumstances were not of the Government's creation. They were circumstances inherited from our predecessors. They were difficult, I admit. They were grave as regards the future. This Bill is an honest attempt to deal with them on just and popular principles, and as such I ask for it your Lordships' careful and deliberate consideration.

On Question, Bill read 2ª.

Lord BALFOUR of BURLEIGH: My Lords, I think it would be convenient if the noble Marquess could tell us on what day in the resumed session it is proposed to take the Committee stage.

The Marquess of RIPON: I have consulted noble Lords on both sides in the endeavour to find out what would be most acceptable to the House generally. My proposal is to put down the Bill not for Tuesday, October 23rd, but for Wednesday, October 24th. I believe it is very likely there will be some discussion on going into Committee.

The Marquess of LANSDOWNE: If we agree to that arrangement I think it should be without prejudice as to the day when the actual Committee stage should begin.

The Marquess of RIPON: That must depend upon what passes on the Motion to go into Committee. I have just been informed by the Clerk of the Parliaments that notice of an Instruction on going into Committee has been given. That may take some time. I desire to meet the wishes of the House and to give the utmost opportunity for discussing the details of the measure in Committee, but I cannot be a consenting party to unnecessary delay.

The LORD ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY: It is in the interest of subsequent expedition that I suggest a later day for going into Committee. It would appear that we might be obliged to enter into discussion of Amendments on the Wednesday. I hope that at least one more day will be given.

The Marquess of RIPON: The appeal of the most rev. Primate is entitled to every consideration. I will not propose that we shall go into Committee before Thursday, October 25th. For the convenience of many noble Lords on both sides of the House I will propose, when we meet again in October, that the House should sit on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays, but not on Fridays, so as to give a longer "week-end" to noble Lords who wish to go into the country.

The Marquess of LANSDOWNE: We do not desire to raise any objection to the noble Marquess's proposal, but it must be clearly understood that we are not to be held bound by anything that has passed this evening to commence the actual Committee stage on any particular day.

Bill committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Wednesday, October 24th next.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) ACT (1898) AMENDMENT BILL.

Debate on the Motion for the Second Reading resumed (according to Order).

Lord RIBBLESDALE: My Lords, I have obtained the information which I was asked to get about this Bill, and will give it to your Lordships. Up to the year 1898, when the Irish Local Government Act passed, counties in Ireland might combine not only with adjacent counties, but with counties of cities and counties of towns within their borders, to erect or reconstruct bridges. By the Act of 1898 "counties of cities," and "counties of towns," were abolished, and with them went their power of combining with the counties of which they formed part for the purpose of building or reconstructing bridges. In consequence, and in this instance, though the county council of Kilkenny and the corporation of Kilkenny are anxious to co-operate in rebuilding the bridge over the Nore, they cannot do so.

This Bill simply reconstitutes such places as Kilkenny city, "counties of cities," so as to enable them to take the same advantage of the Bridges (Ireland) Acts as they might have taken before the Act of 1898 passed. This Bill is approved of by the Local Government Board for Ireland. His Majesty's Government were not responsible for it, but approves of it, and gave every possible facility for its passage through the House of Commons. I hope this explanation will be considered satisfactory by your Lordships.

LORD ASHBOURNE: I suppose there is some reason for hurrying the Bill through now. I have no doubt the Local Government Board for Ireland have proceeded with the utmost fairness in the matter, and in the circumstances I offer no objection to the Second Reading.

LORD RIBBLESDALE: It is a matter of urgency, because the promoters of the Bill wish to proceed with the building of the bridge.

On Question, Bill read 2^a.

Moved, "That the Bill be committed. —(*Lord Ribblesdale.*)

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I do think it is an objectionable practice that your Lordships should be asked to suspend the Standing Orders for a Bill in respect of which there does not appear to be any great urgency. The noble Lord moved the Second Reading of the Bill before it had been printed. We remonstrated, and he postponed the Second Reading for a few hours. He has made a statement explaining the objects of the Bill, and it has been given a Second Reading. The noble Lord now proposes to hurry the measure through all its remaining stages. That appears to me to be a very objectionable practice. If, however, the noble Lord can really assure the House that this is a matter of most urgent importance, I will accept that assurance and offer no further opposition. But if he cannot tell us that he knows it to be urgent I do not think we ought to suspend the Standing Orders in respect of this Bill.

LORD RIBBLESDALE: As far as I recollect, noble Lords opposite when they were in office did this a great deal oftener than we are doing it. Noble Lords opposite keep asking the same question. The whole object of this Bill is to facilitate the construction of this bridge. It has come up as an unopposed Bill from the House of Commons with the support of His Majesty's Government, and I think that is sufficient to enable us to conclude that necessity for it was fully made out.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: In one respect I was delighted with the speech of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) because it showed clearly that he had no expectation of coming into office at an early date, because if he had any such expectation he certainly would not have been so injudicious. The erection of this bridge is an urgent matter, and I hope your Lordships will pass the Bill through its remaining stages to-day.

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: I am informed that the Bill was only brought up to your Lordships' House yesterday, and it has not yet been printed and circulated.

LORD ASHBOURNE: I chance to know this town from old association. The bridge in question is a most difficult corkscrew kind of bridge that one has to approach with great hesitation and with an earnest hope that one will get over it safely. I am told that the bridge has become somewhat more dilapidated that when I knew it, and that there is a great desire to begin this work at once. In these circumstances I think your Lordships might allow the Bill to go through.

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: Perhaps the House may be content with the evidence which has been brought forward by my noble and learned friend (Lord Ashbourne), who figures for the nonce as the oldest inhabitant and has been able to give us a local opinion of the kind for which my noble friend Lord Salisbury pressed so earnestly. I think we were entitled to be satisfied that there was some urgency about this measure; and but for that urgency it would be a very unfortunate precedent to allow a Bill of this kind to be hurried through. If the plea of urgency is accepted, I think the Bill might be allowed to go through.

On Question, Committee negatived: Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended): Bill read 3^a, and passed.

HOUSE OF LORDS OFFICES.

Debate on the Motion, "That the Third Report from the Select Committee be received" resumed (according to Order).

THE EARL OF ONSLOW: In deference to the wishes of noble Lords opposite I beg to withdraw my previous Motion and to move that the consideration of paragraph 4, which deals with the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, be adjourned and that the House do agree to the rest of the Report.

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: I think it is an unfortunate arrangement that the meeting of the Select Committee on this question should have been put off till the last day but one of the present sittings, and that then the hour of the meeting of the Committee should have been changed on what I am bound to say was insufficient notice. There is no reason that I know of why the great proportion of this Report should not have been settled a fortnight ago. The real matter of importance before us at the moment, now that the other Question has been postponed, is the proposed surrender of certain rooms to the House of Commons. It is said in the Report that in return for the carrying out of this arrangement the Office of Works are to make structural alterations for the convenience of the House of Lords. As a matter of fact, this House is getting nothing which it does not possess except that the Office of Works has been graciously pleased to provide access to certain rooms which belong to us, but into which we have not been able to get. I believe those rooms are extremely high up; I understand they are on the second floor of this building. My point is that we are giving up a great deal too much of the accommodation which belongs to this House. Earlier in the session we gave up a very important room on the floor on which we are now sitting. This is the second time in one session that we are asked to give up accommodation for which we get nothing in return. This has happened in previous years, and I enter my emphatic protest against this continual surrender of the accommodation of your Lordships' House.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: I would appeal to the noble Lord not to press his opposition to this particular proposal. I think there is some excuse for his complaint with regard to the change in the hour of the meeting of the Committee, but there was also an unexpected change in the hour on which the House met, and it was only possible for the members of the Committee to be informed of the change at short notice. The rooms which are proposed to be given over to the House of Commons are three little rooms which face on to the Terrace. They are little more than cellars and are used for the storing of papers and books. These rooms, however, would be very convenient to Members of the House of Commons, because they are close to the kitchen and the proposal is to throw them into one so as to make another dining-room. It would also be a great convenience to the other House to have that extra accommodation in the autumn. There is a greater demand for dining accommodation now than formerly, and the surrender of the rooms in question will be no loss to us.

I now come to the rooms to which we are to get access. They are in a part of the House which the librarian used to have. The librarian now has his own sitting-room on the same floor as the library, and this House will now come into possession of the rooms above in that particular House. There are three rooms which will be at the disposal of the messengers who will be displaced by this surrender to the House of Commons, and at the same time access will be given to four or five rooms above, into which it has been impossible up to now to get. I agree that we are not getting anything back from the House of Commons, but we are securing further accommodation for this House, and what we are giving up is not much use to us. The First Commissioner of Works is very anxious to be able to begin the structural alterations at once, so that the rooms may be ready by the time the House meets again in October. I hope therefore, your Lordships will agree to the Report in part as moved.

THE EARL OF ONSLOW: I might explain that the reason the meeting of the Committee was postponed till so late a period, was that I was trying to ascertain whether it would not be possible to get from the House of Commons some rooms in exchange for those we were giving up. The point was that there was nothing the House of Commons had which this House really required, and I therefore did not feel justified in insisting on the giving up of rooms which the House of Commons could ill afford to spare, and which this House really did not want. I thought the best thing in the interests of your Lordships was to get access to the large airy rooms upstairs which have been referred to.

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: I object to the claim that for this surrender we are getting anything in return. The Office of Works are merely doing something which ought to have been done ten years ago.

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: I think, after the appeal of the noble Earl the Chairman of Committees, your Lordships would do well to agree to the proposal and offer no further opposition to the surrender of these rooms. But the moral of this conversation is that we really should insist upon being consulted in rather better time whenever encroachments of this kind—and I hope there will not be many more—are in contemplation. Of late years we have surrendered bit by bit very valuable accommodation, and I hope this is the last time a matter of this importance will be thrown at our heads without notice.

In Question, Report in part agreed to, and to be further considered on Tuesday, the 23rd of October.

COLONIAL MARRIAGES BILL [H.L.]

Commons Amendment considered (on Motion), and agreed to.

Education (Provision of Meals) Bill; Cabs and Omnibuses (Metropolis); Official Publications, etc.

Message to the Commons for copies of the Reports, etc., of the Select Committees.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Moved, "That the House do now adjourn till To-morrow at Eleven o'clock."—(*The Marquess of Ripon.*)

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: May I ask the noble Marquess what business it is proposed to take to-morrow morning. There are one or two Bills, notably the Labourers (Ireland) Bill, in which certain Amendments have been introduced and sent to the other House. Is it proposed to take any of those Bills?

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: I raised this Question just now in conversation with the noble Earl the Lord President of the Council, and I received from him a distinct assurance that if the Labourers (Ireland) Bill came back to your Lordships to-morrow without the Amendment which your Lordships inserted the other evening, it would not be proceeded with, but would stand over till October.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: I believe the House of Commons will agree to the Amendment, but I quite confirm the understanding that has been come to. The only business to-morrow that I am aware of will be the Appropriation Bill.

On question, Motion agreed to.

House adjourned at ten minutes
past Eight o'clock, till
To-morrow, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 3rd August, 1906.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Petition from Gilesgate, against; to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL (RELIGIOUS TEACHING).

Petitions against alteration of Law; From Ipswich; and, Nottingham; to lie upon the Table.

LAND VALUES TAXATION, &c., (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

SOUTH AFRICA (CONSTITUTION OF THE TRANSVAAL AND ORANGE RIVER COLONIES).

Petition, from Cape Colony, for enfranchisement of the coloured races; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 1888.

Copy presented, of Orders made by the various County Councils in England and Wales under Section 57 of the Act, as confirmed by the Local Government Board [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

HOUSING OF WORKING CLASSES ACT, 1890.

Copy presented, of Statement of Modification permitted by the Local Government Board to be made in the Leeds (Housing of Working Classes) Order, 1901, and in the London (Aylesbury Place, Clerkenwell, and Union Buildings, Holborn) Improvement Scheme, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

MOTOR CAR ACTS.

Copy presented, of Regulations made under the Acts; I. Kingston-upon-Thames; II. St. Albans; III. Horsham; IV. Torquay; V. Southport [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

DISEASES OF ANIMALS ACTS.

Copy presented, of Report of Proceedings by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, under the Diseases of Animals Acts, for the year 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Copy presented of Calender of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Salisbury preserved at Hatfield House, Herts. Part XI. [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

WINTER ASSIZES ACTS, 1876 AND 1877.

Copy presented, of Seven Orders in Council of July 28th, 1906, relating to the ensuing Winter Assizes [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1890.

Copies presented, of two Orders in Council of July 28th, 1906, entitled the Brunei Order in Council, 1906, and the Nigeria Coinage Order, 1906 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

GREENWICH HOSPITAL ACT, 1865.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of July 28th, 1906, approving the appointment of a Receiver and Agent for the Greenwich Estate and a revision of the Salary of the officer supervising the staff of Instructors and Servants at the Royal Hospital School, Greenwich [by Act]; to lie upon the Table,

COLONIAL PROBATES ACT, 1892.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of July 28th, 1906, applying certain provisions of The Colonial Probates Act, 1892, to Southern Rhodesia [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

EAST INDIA (NATIVE STATES UNDER ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OF POLITICAL AGENTS).

Return presented, relative thereto [Address 1st August; *Mr. Morton*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 317.)

NAVY (COURTS MARTIAL)

Copy presented, of Return of the Number of Courts Martial held and Summary Punishments inflicted during the year 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

NAVY (HEALTH).

Copy presented, of Statistical Report of the Health of the Navy for the year

1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 318.)

CASUALITIES TO SHIPS ON THE NAVY LIST.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 1st May; *Mr. Bellairs*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 319.)

STATISTICAL ABSTRACT (FOREIGN COUNTRIES).

Copy presented, of Statistical Abstract for the principal and other Foreign Countries in each year from 1894 to 1903–4 (Thirty-second Number) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

BOILER EXPLOSIONS ACTS 1882 AND 1890.

Copy presented, of Report to the Secretary of the Board of Trade upon the working of the Boiler Explosions Acts, 1882 and 1890, with Appendices [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894 (VESSELS DETAINED).

Copy presented, of Return of all ships ordered by the Board of Trade or its Officers during the period from July 1st, 1905, to June 30th, 1906, to be provisionally detained as unsafe together with Summaries, etc. [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

LOSS OF LIFE AT SEA.

Copy presented, of Return showing the lives lost by Wreck, Drowning, or other accidents in British sea-going Merchant Ships registered in the United Kingdom during the years 1894 to 1905, inclusive [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

WEST INDIAN ISLANDS (EXPORTERS).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 31st July; *Mr. Essex*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 320.)

COAL TABLES, 1905.

Copy ordered, "of Statistical Tables relating to the production, consumption, and imports and exports of Coal in the British Empire and the principal Foreign Countries in each year from 1883 to 1905, as far as the particulars can be stated; together with Statements showing the production of Lignite and Petroleum in the principal producing countries for a series of years (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 295, of Session 1905)."—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 321.)

IRON AND STEEL, 1905.

Copy ordered, "of Memorandum and Statistical Tables showing the production and consumption of Iron Ore and Pig Iron, and the production of Steel in the United Kingdom and the principal Foreign Countries in recent years, and the Imports and Exports of certain classes of Iron and Steel Manufactures (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 296, of Session 1905)."—*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 322.)

MERCHANT SHIPPING, 1905.

Copy ordered, "of Tables showing the progress of Merchant Shipping in the United Kingdom and the principal Maritime Countries."—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. (No. 323.)

METROPOLITAN BOROUGH COUNCILS (BILLS IN PARLIAMENT).

Return ordered, "of expenses incurred by each Metropolitan Borough Council in each financial year since the constitution of the Council, in promoting or opposing Bills in Parliament, including Bills to confirm Provisional Orders, in the following form:—

Name of Metropolitan Borough Council.	Year ended 31st March.	Bills promoted by the Council.		Bills opposed by the Council.		Totals of Columns 4 and 6.
		Titles of Bills.	Amount of expenses incurred.	Titles of Bills.	Amount of expenses incurred.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Expenses incurred in opposing Bills promoted by the London County Council being distinguished."—(*Mr. Cleland.*)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD INSPECTORS AND AUDITORS.

Return ordered, "of all Inspectors and Auditors now in the service of the Local Government Board, showing in respect of each (1) his name, (2) date of appointment, (3) age on appointment, (4) experience of local government or professional qualification previous to appointment, (5) present remuneration, (6) travelling and other expenses in the last financial year."—(*Mr. Cooper.*)

LUNATICS.

Return ordered, "of the number of Lunatics chargeable to each Board of Guardians or Local Authority in London and Middlesex who are not irremovable from or settled therein, and who are natives of Scotland or Ireland."—(*Mr. Claude Hay.*)

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Fatal Accidents and Sudden Deaths Inquiry (Scotland) Bill; Local Authorities (Transfer of Treasury Powers) Bill; Public Works Loans Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Act (1898) Amendment Bill, without Amendment.

Amendments to—Colonial Marriages Bill [Lords]; Buckhaven, Methil, and Innerleven Burgh Extension Bill [Lords]; London Squares and Enclosures Bill [Lords], without Amendments.

That they request that this House will be pleased to communicate to their Lordships copies of the Reports from the Select Committees appointed by this House in the present session of Parliament on:—1. Education (Provision of Meals) Bill; 2. Cabs and Omnibuses (Metropolis); 3. Official Publications, etc., together with the Proceedings of the Committees and Minutes of Evidence.

Lords Message, requesting copies of Reports of Select Committees, considered.

Printed copies to be communicated.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Postal Delivery to Towns on Cambrian Railway.

MR. REES (Montgomery Boroughs): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he has arranged, or will arrange, for a second delivery in such towns situated on the Cambrian Railway as are at present without such delivery, and in which such delivery is possible with the existing railway service.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) If the hon. Member will be good enough to give me the names of the places to which he refers I will make inquiry on the subject.

Lundy Island—Suggested Harbour of Refuge.

MR. JENKINS (Chatham): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the First Lord of the Admiralty has received a memorial praying that Lundy Island should be purchased, with a view to converting it into a harbour of refuge and a naval base for the protection of the Bristol Channel; and what action he proposes taking in connection therewith.

(*Answered by Mr. Edmund Robertson.*) Such a letter has been received from a Welsh Chamber of Commerce and will be duly considered by the Department. As at present advised, however, the Admiralty have no intention of purchasing Lundy Island.

Vacant Judgeship in Ireland.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH (Fermanagh, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, pending the passing of the Judicature (Ireland) Bill, at present before the House, it is intended to appoint a new Judge in Ireland to fill up the vacancy at present existing; if so, is it intended to do so before the commencement of the autumn session of the House.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I have not been able to devote time to the consideration of the subject and have no statement to make regarding it.

Chinese Customs Administration.

MR. REES: To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the assurances given by the Government of China to the British Legation at Peking to the effect that no change would be made in the methods of the administration of Chinese customs have been carried out; and whether the resignation of Sir Robert Hart is due to any failure to carry out such assurances.

(*Answered by Secretary Sir Edward Grey.*) Mr. Carnegie, His Majesty's Charge d'Affaires at Peking, has informed us of the new instructions to the Inspector General of Customs. They do not appear to be contrary to the assurances given by the Chinese Government, that the actual administration of the Customs will continue as before. But I am inquiring as to whether this has been made quite clear. His Majesty's Government have no reason to believe that the report of the intended resignation of Sir Robert Hart is correct.

Land Commission Methods.

MR. DODD (Tyrone, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the remarks of Lord Justice Fitzgibbon in the case of Kee *versus* Doherty, at the Tyrone assizes, with reference to the purchase of the Sinclair Holyhill Estate; whether he is aware that the learned Judge animadverted on the methods of the Land Commission, and described as lamentable that the Land Commission should adopt extraordinary forms, creating confusion and litigation, and whilst anxious about the rights of the landlords should be absolutely silent about the rights of the tenants; and what steps he proposes to take to prevent a repetition of such proceedings.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I have seen a newspaper report of the remarks of Lord Justice Fitzgibbon in the case referred to, but have no information whether the Report is accurate. According to this Report the learned Judge commented on the action of the Land Commission in the matter of mineral rights and sporting rights and thought that the turbary and free rights of the tenants had been in this particular instance insufficiently safeguarded. I have not had time since notice of the Question was given, to obtain the observations of the Land Commission on the matter, and it would, therefore, not be right for me to offer any comments on the case. The matter has not escaped their attention, and is being specially inquired into by the Judicial Commissioner. I may, however, say that the Government have no power to interfere with the judicial action of the Land Commission.

Imprisonment of Men at Buenos Ayres.

MR. J. HAVELOCK WILSON (Middlesbrough): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention has been called to the imprisonment at the Port of Buenos Ayres of Frank Murphy, John White, John Green, Thomas White, and John Macdonald, on the charge of striking and firing stones on a policeman; whether he is aware that the men state they are not guilty of the act and that they have been detained four months in prison awaiting their trial, during which time they have had no beds or change of clothes; and whether, in view of the men's condition he will inquire into their statement that they have written letters to the English Consul but have received no assistance, and seeing that the German, who is a prisoner, communicated with the German Consul, who immediately took steps to see that he was properly provided with clothing and food, whether he will take steps with a view of having the trial of these men expedited.

(*Answered by Secretary Sir Edward Grey.*) The matter was brought to my notice on the 31st ultimo, and His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Buenos Ayres was at once instructed by telegraph to make inquiries.

Seat of Government in Uganda.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): To ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the fact of the sale of Government House at Entebbe, the ravages of sleeping sickness, the insufficiency of the water supply, fever, and the general unsuitability of the district adjoining the lake, he will, before expending public money in the erection of a new Government House, consider the advisability of removing the seat of government, temporarily at any rate, to the Kampala district, where the tsetse fly and sleeping sickness are unknown; and if he will, in view of the importance of the East Africa and Uganda Protectorates, endeavour to pay, himself, a visit to the country.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) With regard to the first part of the hon. Member's Question, I would refer him to the reply which I gave to his Question of the 19th July. The Secretary of State is communicating with the Deputy Commissioner of Uganda and Dr. Moffat on the question of the desirability of removing the seat of government in Uganda to Kampala, and when their replies have been received the whole matter will be carefully considered in consultation with the Commissioner. With regard to the second part of the hon. Member's Question, I should particularly desire to pay a visit to the East Africa and Uganda Protectorates if the Secretary of State were to consider that I could be spared from my duties in the House of Commons. But in view of the occurrence of an Autumn Session I fear my wish is hardly likely to be realised this year.

Agricultural Experiments at Nairobi and Naivasha.

Sir C. HILL (Shrewsbury): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the agricultural interest attaching to the records of the experiments in live stock and agriculture at the Government farms at Nairobi and Naivasha, he will lay Reports on them as annexes to the Annual Report by the Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate for 1905–6.

(*Answered by Mr. Churchill.*) The Commissioner will be asked to furnish the Reports desired, and they will be laid accordingly.

Secondary and Technical Schools in Scotland.

Mr. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Secretary for Scotland, in view of the fact that the recently issued Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland shows that 109 schools undertake secondary and technical education, will he state where these schools are respectively situated, distinguishing higher class public schools from endowed schools and schools under voluntary managers.

(*Answered by Mr. Sinclair.*) A complete list of the 109 schools referred to in the Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland will be found on pages 38 and 39 of the Report on Secondary Education (Scotland) for the year 1905 [Cd. 2793]. Pages 30–37 of the same Report contain statements of the income, expenditure, and liabilities of each of these schools which is in receipt of a grant from the Department. Schools under the management of school boards occupy pages 30–35. Schools under the management of authorities other than school boards are given on pages 36 and 37.

Trawling in Moray Firth.

Mr WEIR: To ask the Secretary for Scotland if he will state for what period H.M.S. "Ringdove" has patrolled the Moray Firth, the number of cases of illegal trawling reported by her commander, and the number of convictions secured.

(*Answered by Mr. Sinclair.*) H.M.S. "Ringdove" has patrolled the Moray Firth since 14th February last, but her commander has not reported any cases of illegal trawling since that date.

Housing Cattle in Crofters' Dwellings in Lewis.

Mr. WEIR: To ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he is aware that on August 2nd, 1905, the Lewis District Committee issued an order requiring crofters and others who house cattle in their dwellings to separate the cattle from the living rooms by a substantial partition wall; and will he state in how many instances effect has been given to the order.

(*Answered by Mr. Sinclair.*) I am informed that about 100 houses have been altered in accordance with the terms of the notice referred to by the hon. Member.

Worsthorne Council School.

Mr. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe): To ask the President of the Board of Education whether his attention has been called to the proposal of the Educational Committee of the Lancashire County Council to close the council school at Worsthorne and to extend a denominational school in the same area; and whether such a proceeding will receive the sanction of the Board of Education.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I am not aware of any proposal on the part of the Education Committee of the Lancashire County Council of the nature referred to by the hon. Member, but I may add that so lately as June 2nd last a site was approved by the Board for a new council school.

Cunard Company Agreement.

MR. BELLAIRS (Lynn Regis): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury what is the total approximate sum accruing to the Cunard Company for the whole period during which payments are due in respect of the two fast vessels now building, allowing for both the subsidy and for the difference between the rate of interest which the company are paying on £2,600,000 lent by the Government and the approximate rate of interest at which a limited liability company can borrow in the open market.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) Under the agreement sanctioned by Resolution of the House of Commons on August 12th, 1903, an annual sum of £150,000 will be payable from Votes to the Cunard Company, subject to the fulfilment of certain conditions. This payment is to run, as to one moiety, from the first sailing of the first of the two fast vessels: as to the second moiety, as from the first sailing of the second vessel; and is to continue for twenty years from the latter of these dates. The sum to be advanced to the company for construction of the two vessels is not to exceed £2,600,000. The sum advanced will be repaid by the company in twenty equal annual instalments, of which the first will be payable one year after the date of the first sailing of the second vessel. The advance will bear interest at 2¾ per cent. per annum, on one moiety, from the date of sailing of the first vessel, on the other moiety from the date of sailing of the second vessel. To enable my hon. friend's Question to be answered it would be necessary to know (1) the amount which the Government will ultimately advance; (2) the dates at which the future instalments of advance will be made; and (3) the rate at which a limited liability company can borrow in the open market. I am not prepared to commit myself to an opinion on the third point, and the other two are still uncertain.

Alleged Payment of Wages at Public Houses in Cardiff.

MR. J. H. WILSON: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been directed to a complaint made by Mr. George H. Lock, that numbers of men are being paid their wages every Saturday at the Rising Sun Hotel, Cardiff; whether he is aware that the proprietor of the hotel pays the wages for a stevedore of Cardiff; and, seeing that the payment of workmen's wages in a public-house is a breach of the Truck Act, whether he can say what action he will take in the matter, with a view of preventing workmen's wages being paid in public-houses in future.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone.*) I have called for a report from the Cardiff police on the subject, and am informed that the proprietor of the public-house has been seen and admits that certain men, who were in the habit of frequenting the house, have received their wages there for some time past. It appears, however, from the police report that they were paid by their ganger, and not by the proprietor as stated in the question. The proprietor states that he offered no inducement for the men to be paid at this house, and since his attention was called to the matter at the beginning of last month the practice appears to have ceased. The practice clearly involved a breach of the Payment of Wages in Public-Houses Prohibition Act, 1883. This Act, however, is enforced, not by the Home Office, but by the police, who report that no complaint has been received by them with regard to the matter, but that special attention will be given to the premises in question to prevent any repetition of the offence.

Education Bill—Clause 4.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): To ask the President of the Board of Education whether care will be taken to prevent the general application of Sub-section 4 of Clause 4 of the Education Bill, and to confine its operation to those urban areas which are the subject of the offer of extended facilities made by the principal portions of Clause 4.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) I think there can be no doubt that the sub-section referred to will apply only to schools which fulfil the various conditions of Clause 4.

Housing Proceedings in Birmingham.

MR. STEADMAN (Finsbury, Central): To ask the President of the Local Government Board if his attention has been directed to the case of the Birmingham Housing Committee *versus* John Roderick, in respect of seven houses owned by the latter which had been represented by the medical officer of health under Part II. of The Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, as being in a state so dangerous and injurious to health as to be unfit for human habitation; if he is aware that through several adjournments of this case by the magistrates and their being unable to agree as to the facts of the case, the defendant owner was enabled to evade the proper carrying out of the repairs required by the sanitary authority, and that this action of the magistrates has caused more money to be spent in legal proceedings than would have sufficed to put the houses in a thoroughly sanitary condition; and whether he intends to take any administrative action in the matter or to assist sanitary authorities in their work by legislation.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) My attention has been directed to a report of the Housing Committee of the Birmingham Town Council with respect to this case, from which it would appear that the facts are substantially as stated in the Question. I have, however, no power to review the proceedings of the justices in such a case, and I do not think I could usefully intervene in the matter.

Poor Rates—Proportion due for Education.

MR. REES: To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether it is proposed to so amend the law as to require county and borough councils to inform overseers how much of the demand note for poor rate relates to education; and whether such changes are contemplated in regard to compounding as will enable every ratepayer to know what payment on account of rates is included in payment on account of rent.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) Both the matters referred to in the Question appear to me to be deserving of consideration, but I do not contemplate any immediate legislation with regard to them.

Watford Secondary School—Loans.

MR. MICKLEM (Hertfordshire, Watford): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether the Local Government Board have sanctioned the raising of a loan of £10,000 by the Herts County Council for the purpose of erecting a new secondary school at Watford, to be settled upon denominational trusts; if so, whether such sanction was given before the scheme for the new school was approved by the Board of Education; whether the Local Government Board were aware that the county council proposed to charge £5,000, part of the £10,000, on the Watford Urban District; whether any opportunity was afforded to the urban district council to place their views before the Local Government Board; and, in the event of no such opportunity having been afforded, whether the Local Government Board will withdraw their sanction to the loan until after a public inquiry has been held, and the views of the urban district council ascertained.

(*Answered by Mr. John Burns.*) The Local Government Board have sanctioned a loan of £10,000 by the Herts County Council for a contribution towards the cost of providing a secondary school for girls at Watford. I understand that the school is subject to a scheme, that an amending scheme has been proposed, and that a public inquiry has been held by the Board of Education with regard to it, but that it has not yet been settled. The question as to the parishes to be charged with the cost of the school is one for the county council. I did not receive any representations from the Watford Urban District Council on the subject. The loan, as already stated, has been sanctioned, and I am not in a position to take any further action in the matter.

German Naval Programme.

MR. BELLAIRS: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty to what year's programme the German battleships "Kaiser Barbarossa," "Schwaben," "Wettin," "Preussen," "Braunschweig," and "Deutschland" belong; on what dates were they laid down; on what dates completed; and what time was occupied in building them.

(*Answered by Mr. Edmund Robertson.*) The following table gives the information desired by the hon. Member—

Name.	Programme.	Date Laid Down.	Date Completed.	Time occupied in Building.	
				Years.	Months.
Kaiser Barbarossa -	1898	August 1898	May 1901	2	9
Wettin - - -	1899	October 1899	October 1902	3	—
Schwaben - - -	1900	November 1903	December 1903	3	1
Braunschweig - -	1901	October 1901	September 1904	2	11
Preussen - - -	1902	June 1902	July 1905	3	1
Deutschland - -	1903	May 1903	June 1906	3	1

British Naval Programme.

MR. BELLAIRS: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty to what year's programmes the battleships "Albion," "Montagu," "Dominion," and "New Zealand" belong; on what dates were they laid down; on what date completed; and what time was occupied in building them.

(*Answered by Mr. Edmund Robertson.*) The following table gives the information desired by the hon. Member—

Name.	Programme.	Date Laid Down.	Date Completed.	Time occupied in Building.	
				Years.	Months.
Albion - - -	1896–7	December 1896	June 1901	4	7
Montagu - - -	1899–1900	November 1899	July 1903	3	8
Dominion - - -	1901–2	May 1902	September 1905	3	4
New Zealand - -	1902-3	February 1902	July 1905	2	5

Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Acts—Regulations.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): To ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether the Board, with a view to making the necessary regulations in pursuance of Section 4 of the Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Bill at the earliest possible date will refer to a committee of experts the determination of the limits of error in respect of the warranties as to percentages to be stated in invoices under the Act, and the consideration of the varying conditions under which home manufactured and foreign imported fertilisers and feeding stuffs have to be placed on the market, both as regards the percentages which can be guaranteed and as regards the time necessary for handling and for properly sampling these articles; and whether, in framing regulations as to sampling articles under the Act, the Board will make it clear that official samplers may take samples, by order of the local authority or the Board, in districts other than the county or borough for which they are appointed.

(*Answered by Sir Edward Strachey.*) Yes, it is the intention of my noble friend the President of the Board to appoint committees to consider and advise as to the regulations to be made by the Board in pursuance of the Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Bill. The suggestion made by my hon. friend in the concluding part of his Question will receive our careful consideration.

The Case of Ex-Inspector M'Carthy (Metropolitan Police).

MR. NOLAN (Louth, S.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether Ex-inspector John M'Carthy, of the Metropolitan Police, on January 28th, 1904, after twenty-two and a-half years' service, was dismissed on the unsworn and uncorroborated statement of a street-betting man named David Curtis; and whether he proposes to take any further steps in the matter, in view of the fact that M'Carthy has sworn that the charge made against him by Curtis is absolutely false.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Gladstone*): The charges against Inspector M'Carthy were investigated with the utmost care by the Commissioner of Police, who, after giving him every opportunity for his defence, came to the conclusion that he was guilty and that it was impossible to retain him in the force. This conclusion was fully confirmed by the verdict of a jury in March, 1905, when M'Carthy brought an action for slander against Curtis. Curtis then gave his evidence on oath, and it was supporled by the sworn testimony of other witnesses. The jury, after a trial that lasted four days, gave a verdict for defendant, and I have not the slightest doubt that they were right.

Customs House Quay—Open Space.

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he can now announce his decision in respect of the open space at the Custom House Quay.

(*Answered by Mr. Asquith.*) The Corporation has been informed that, as the proposed use of the quay for fish market purposes would interfere with the work of the Custom House and also detract from the amenities of the area as an open space, I do not see my way to comply with their request.

Portmagee—Suggested Appointment of Justice of the Peace.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that although the petty sessions district of Portmagee, county Kerry, consists of the two parishes of Prior and Keelemilah, covering an area of over 80 square miles, and has within it police stations at Ballinskelligs and Portmagee, where petty sessions are held, there is not a single resident justice of the peace, and that if a summons has to be signed or a complaint made the person concerned must go a distance of 10 miles; and whether, in view of the fact that the general public are inconvenienced thereby, and that the rural district council has forwarded a resolution on the subject to the Lord Chancellor, steps will be taken to remedy this grievance by the appointment of a resident justice of the peace.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I have referred this Question to the Lord Chancellor, who informs me that he is causing inquiries to be made into the matters alleged in the Question. The resolution of the rural district council referred to has only been received within the last few days, and there has not been time to complete the inquiries. The Lord Chancellor informs me that the matter will not be overlooked.

Bourke Cochran Trust.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Committee of Inquiry into the Department of Agriculture, etc., ruled that the question of the misapplication or loss of the Bourke Cochran trust fund was not within the scope of their inquiry, and has he any reason to suppose that this view will not also be applied to any statement on the subject submitted by Mr. Bourke Cochran's solicitor; was any member of the Department a director of the company which issued the statement in its prospectus that the Sligo Sawmills and Joinery Company, Limited, was launched under the auspices of the Department, and was that statement ever denied or repudiated until after the public had taken shares and lost its money; and will he take steps to have the whole transaction properly investigated, and the loss of the £10,000 given by Mr. Bourke Cochran and the rest of the share capital explained.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I understand that the statement of Mr. Bourke Cochran's solicitor will be considered by the Committee. No member of the Department was a director of the company. The statement in the prospectus, which, as I have already informed the hon. and learned Member, was not made with the authority or knowledge of the Department, was not withdrawn by them. As a matter of fact, the statement did not come under the notice of the Department until long after it was made, and all the money was invested. I see no cause for any such action on the part of the Government as is suggested in the Question.

Conduct of Councillors Madden and O'Reilly—Dublin Corporation Inquiry.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the proceedings of the Dublin Corporation on the 11th of last month, when they unanimously adopted Report No. 58 of a Committee of the Whole House, dated 30th March, which met to investigate the conduct of Councillor Anthony Madden, High Sheriff of the city of Dublin, and Councillor Thomas O'Reilly, Deputy Chairman of the Licensed Vintners Dublin Association; whether he is aware that Madden and O'Reilly, acting in collusion, appointed a partner of Madden's named Thomas Murphy, afterwards changed on the minutes of the Improvements Committee to James Murphy, to carry out the work previously done by a Mrs. Malone, and that a sum of £7 15s. had been paid to Murphy before the irregularity of the proceeding had been discovered by the corporate officials; and will he say whether any steps will be taken to remove Councillor Madden, who was chairman of the Paving Committee, from the office of High Sheriff of the city.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I have no information concerning the proceedings of the Dublin Corporation in this matter beyond that which may be obtained from the newspaper reports. According to those reports it would appear that the Corporation have taken all steps which may be necessary in the matter, and I am not aware that there are any grounds for taking the action suggested in the latter part of the Question.

County Armagh—Employment of Direct or Contract Labour.

MR. McKILLOP (Armagh, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether a sworn inquiry was recently held by an inspector of the Local Government Board in county Armagh with reference to the question of the employment of direct labour or contract labour; and, if so, what decision the Local Government Board have come to on the subject.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative. The Local Government Board have not yet received their inspector's report on the matter, and no decision has, therefore, been arrived at.

Dog Licences in County Down.

MR. McKILLOP: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the clerk of the petty sessions of Holyrood, Bangor, and Newtownbreda, county Down, has not made a correct Return of the improperly stamped dog licences; whether the Return of the £4 12s. worth of dog stamps, and their destruction, make complete the stamps purchased and used in reference to all the dogs licensed; whether the clerk returned particulars of licences issued for dogs for which stamps had not been cancelled; whether steps will be taken to obtain particulars of cases of mistake; whether steps have been taken to protect from prosecution the holders of licences, in which more than one dog appears, and for which the proper amount of duty has been paid, but which have been improperly stamped; and whether it is usual in such matters, when irregularities are admitted, to accept the excuse of the clerk concerned without taking steps to ascertain the accuracy of his explanation.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I beg to refer to the very full reply given by the Attorney-General for Ireland to the hon. Members' Question on this subject on 20th June. The registrar of petty sessions clerks informs me that he has satisfied himself, by personal investigation on the spot, that the clerk of petty sessions has correctly accounted for all fees received by him for dog licences. The register of dog licences shows full particulars of the licences issued, including the number of dogs in each licence, and these have been fully accounted for. No prosecution will be taken against those persons whose licences were insufficiently stamped owing to the accident described in answer to the previous Question.

Engineer Services—Checking Measurements.

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH: To ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state whether any and what saving resulted to the public through the visit made by the inspector when checking certified measurements for engineer services in the Southern Command on 30th July; what is the cost to the public for the inspector's salary, travelling, and hotel expenses for this inspection; and if inspection of this sort is effective, will the Secretary of State for War consider the advisability of relieving local officers of the trouble and responsibility connected with measurements, leaving it to the inspector to make and be responsible for all measurements.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) There is no information at the War Office in regard to the inspection mentioned in the Question. There is no intention of relieving local officers of any of their present duties and responsibility.

Yeomanry—Return of Discharges.

MR. BRODIE (Surrey, Reigate): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to the fact that headquarters of Imperial Yeomanry regiments are required to make a weekly return, under Army Form B 2055, being nominal list of permanent staff whose discharges have been confirmed by officers commanding such regiments; and whether, in view of the fact that changes in permanent staff of Imperial Yeomanry regiments are very infrequent, he will save public money and time by causing the returns in question to be made yearly instead of weekly.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) It has been decided that this Return shall only be rendered when a discharge of a member of the permanent staff has taken place. Steps are being taken to carry out this decision.

Return of Measurements of Recruits.

MR. BRODIE: To ask the Secretary of State for War what is the object of the annual Return giving the measurements, etc., of all recruits, whether they pass medical inspection or not, which is made under Army Form B 215.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) This Return gives valuable information as to the physical development of the recruit-giving class, and aids the War Office in framing standards for recruits. The information also affords statistics of the general condition, trades and callings of those who offer themselves for enlistment.

Imperial Yeomanry—(Return as to Recruits).

MR. BRODIE: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can see his way to substitute an annual for a monthly Return of recruits for the Regular Army now made by Imperial Yeomanry regiments, seeing that very few, if any, recruits for the Regular Army apply to Yeomanry headquarters.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane*). It is essential that the War Office should be informed monthly of the work done by the permanent staff of the Yeomanry regiments, who are *ex officio* recruiters. It is hoped that the recruits obtained through this agency will be more numerous in future.

Imperial Yeomanry—(Return of Expenditure).

MR. BRODIE: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the fact that in Imperial Yeomanry regiments practically no money is expended in travelling claims, and not charged to the annual training grants, he will give instructions for the expenditure Return of such moneys to be made annually instead of quarterly.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) Returns of expenditure under Vote 6 are required to be rendered quarterly for the Army at home as a whole, and to render these complete the Returns of the expenditure referred to in the Question are required from the Yeomanry for the same periods.

Alleged Attack on Connaught Rangers.

MR. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been directed to an occurrence in Donegal on July 24th, when a party of Nationalists attacked a number of men of the Connaught Rangers because they were wearing the uniform of the British soldier, forced them upon their knees, and compelled them to curse the King and the British constitution and promise not to re-enlist in the Army when their term expired; and what action he intends to take to protect the soldiers of the King from such treatment.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) No information has reached the War Office from the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Ireland, as to the alleged occurrence.

Lancashire Royal Field Artillery Militia—Efficiency in Drill and Shooting.

MAJOR SEELY (Liverpool, Abercromby): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to the efficiency in drill and shooting attained by the Lancashire Royal Field Artillery Militia this year, and the Report thereon of the Inspector-General of Horse and Field Artillery; and whether he will consider the advisability of extending this organisation to other parts of the country.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) As regards the first part of the Question the Report of this year's practice has not as yet reached the War Office. As regards the second part of the Question, a scheme for training Artillery Militia in field artillery duties is being prepared.

Establishment of Rifle Ranges.

MR. REES: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether the Army Estimates provide for contributions towards the establishment of rifle ranges in such centres as are conspicuously suitable for depots of auxiliary forces.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) No contributions towards ranges for auxiliary forces are provided for in the Army Estimates, but the War Department provides rifle ranges for Militia and Yeomanry, either by hiring under Vote 10, or by the use of War Department ranges.

Public Hospitals and Rates.

MR. BRODIE: To ask the Prime Minister whether he can see his way, by legislation or otherwise, to secure for all recognised public hospitals complete exemption from rates and taxes.

(*Answered by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.*) The Question is one which raises many difficulties, and it will no doubt have to be considered whenever the revision of local taxation is taken up. In the meantime I am not prepared to make any general statement on the subject. I understand that hospitals are already exempt from certain Imperial taxes.

Description of "Granite" in Admiralty Contracts.

SIR EDWARD BOYLE (Taunton): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the Board of Admiralty will, in all future contracts involving the use of granite, insert before the word granite, the word British; and if not, will he say why this should not be done.

(*Answered by Mr. Edmund Robertson*). I have nothing to add to the reply given on this point to a Question asked by the hon. Member for the Thanet Division of Kent on March 3rd last.

Treatment of Crew of the "Melville Island."

MR. J. HAVELOCK WILSON: To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been drawn to the suffering endured by the crew of the sailing ship "Melville Island;" whether he is aware that those men complained of being short of their allowance of food, and that the men were placed on board of the vessel at Melbourne by magistrate's order, which was afterwards set aside by Mr. Justice Cossen, Judge of the High Courts; and whether, in view of the allegations made against the master that he had seamen smuggled on board of his ship who had deserted from a Russian vessel, he will cause a Board of Trade inquiry to be held into this matter on the arrival of the "Melville Island" in this country.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) The Board of Trade have, so far, no information with regard to the case of which my hon. friend refers, but full inquiries shall be made in the matter, and in due course he shall be informed of the result.

Supply of Jam under Admiralty Contracts.

Mr. CATHCART WASON: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if, in further contracts for supply of jam, due care and inspection will be provided to see that only pure sound fruit is used.

(*Answered by Mr. Edmund Robertson.*) The existing contract arrangements provide that only pure, sound fruit shall be used in the manufacture of jam for the Admiralty, and the contractors' deliveries are subject to a minute and exhaustive examination by expert officers before they are accepted.

New Writ for the County of Denbigh (Eastern Division), in the room of Samuel Moss, esquire (Judge of the County Court of Chester and North Wales).—(*Mr. Whiteley.*)

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

The Army and Political Gatherings.

Mr. MORRELL (Oxfordshire, Henley): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether it is open to officers and men in His Majesty's Army to take part in their military capacity in a political entertainment, organised by a political club for party purposes, at which entertainment a charge of 6d. a head is to be made for the benefit of the political club in question; and, if not, whether he will take steps to prevent such a breach of regulations.

The SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (Mr. Haldane, Haddington): Officers and men are not permitted to participate in entertainments of the kind and under the conditions mentioned, and the particular arrangements to which my hon. friend probably refers have been cancelled.

Mr. MORRELL: As the engagement referred to in the question was widely advertised will the right hon. Gentleman see that equally public announcements are made of its cancellation?

Mr. HALDANE: I think my Answer to this Question will suffice.

Leckhampton Hill—Reduction of Sentences on Rioters.

Mr. SEARS (Cheltenham): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, considering that the petition in the Leckhampton Hill case has been in his hands for eighteen days, and the evidence for over three weeks, that the men, one of whom took no part in the riot, have already suffered four weeks imprisonment, and are condemned to four and six months hard labour, whether he can give his decision thereon, or will he do so before the House rises for the Recess, or when will the decision be made known, and will he say what is the cause for the delay which is taking place; is he aware that it is intended to test the question of the public right to this Hill in a higher Court.

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Gladstone, Leeds, W.): There has been no avoidable delay in dealing with this petition. The case is an important one presenting many features of difficulty, and it has involved correspondence with the learned Judge and the police, besides the examination of voluminous documents. I am now, however, in a position to make the statement my hon. friend desires. While I agree with the learned Judge in regarding the offence or offences of most of the prisoners as serious, and in considering that substantial punishment was required to safeguard the proper observance of the law, on a full review of all the circumstances I am of opinion that the requirements of the case will be met by less severe sentences than those which were given. I have therefore advised His Majesty that Barrett should be released on this day week, when he will have served six weeks in prison, and that the other men should be released as follows:—Sparrow after two months imprisonment, Williams, Young, Luce, and Wallace after three months, and Ballinger and Heaven after four months.

London County Council—Expenditure on Bills in Parliament.

Mr. THORNTON (Clapham): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he will grant, as an unopposed Return, a statement of the expenses incurred by the London County Council in promoting and opposing Bills in Parliament during each of the years 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, and 1906, estimated (in continuation of the House of Lords Return, No. 214, of Session 1903).

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. JOHN BURNS, Battersea): I have no objection to giving a Return on this subject if the hon. Member will move for it. I will communicate with him later in the day as to the form of the Return.

Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

MR. SUMMERBELL (Sunderland): I beg to ask the hon. Member for South Somerset, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, if he will give a detailed Return of all plants sent out to private establishments from the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, for the past five years, with those received in exchange during the same period.

SIR EDWARD STRACHEY (Somersetshire, S.): As I stated in reply to a similar Question by the hon. Member for Enfield on June 27th,† the preparation of such a Return would entail considerable labour and expense without any corresponding advantage, and my noble friend regrets therefore that he does not see his way to grant it.

MR. SUMMERBELL: Then is there no possibility of getting the information asked for?

[No Answer was returned.]

Blairgowrie Water Storage.

MR. WILKIE (Dundee): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether he is aware that at the Blairgowrie, Rattray, and District Water Provisional Order inquiry, held in Edinburgh on July 19th and 20th, the Commissioners passed the Order, not only taking water from, but depriving two flax spinning mills in Blairgowrie of their storage for water, without allowing a compensation clause, such as Section 16 of the Newcastle and Gateshead Waterworks Act of 1894, thereby endangering the employment of fifty people, and the prospective employment of about some thirty more; and whether he proposes to take any steps in the matter.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. SINCLAIR, Forfarshire): As my hon. friend is aware, the procedure in connection with Orders under the Scottish Procedure Act of 1899 is statutory, and the Secretary for Scotland is not constituted a Court of Appeal from the decision of Commissioners. I will look into the matter he refers to, but I cannot give any pledge.

Drumraney (Westmeath) Outrage.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH (Maidstone) On behalf of the hon. Member for Mid. Armagh, I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the police have succeeded in discovering the person or persons who fired shots into the dwelling of John Cassell at Drumraney, Westmeath, on June 26th.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. BRYCE, Aberdeen, S.): I am informed that the police have made all possible inquiries into this case, but have so far not succeeded in discovering the offender.

The Connaught Rangers.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH: On behalf of the hon. Member for Mid. Armagh, I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on July 24th, near the town of Donegal, a number of men of the Connaught Rangers were set upon by a crowd of Nationalists, who roughly handled them, forced them to kneel and curse the King and the British Constitution, and promise not to re-enlist in the Army at the expiration of their term of service; whether the police know the perpetrators of this outrage; and what action is to be taken in the matter.

MR. BRYCE: I am informed by the police authorities that two soldiers have reported that on July 24th, near the town of Donegal, they were roughly handled by several men—it would appear not a crowd—but whether these persons were Nationalists or not there is no information. One of the alleged assailants is known, and proceedings are being instituted against him. This being so, it is undesirable that I should enter into the particulars of the case; but, so far as my information goes, there is no foundation for the matters of fact alleged in the Question, beyond the facts which I have already stated.

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† See (4) *Debates*, clix., 935.

Sessiaghoneill Co-operative Stores.

MR. McVEIGH (Donegal, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether it has been ascertained that Mr. M'Monagle, secretary to the Sessiaghoneill East Donegal Co-operative Society, was unjustly imprisoned; whether it has transpired that the shares and books which he refused to surrender were the property of his own society and not of the prosecutors; and whether the Government will consider any claim for compensation to Mr. M'Monagle.

MR. BRYCE: The prosecutions in this case, which occurred last year, were not at the instance of the police, but of private prosecutors. I have no information whether the fact is as stated in the second part of the Question. I understand that the defendant has taken an action against the prosecutors for false arrest, but has failed. As at present advised, I do not see that the matter is one in which the Government are called upon to intervene.

TRADE DISPUTES BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[MR. EMMOTT (Oldham) in the Chair.]

Clause 2:—

*MR. FELL (Great Yarmouth) moved an Amendment to limit the number of persons engaged in picketing to "not more than three for each door, gate, or exit of the houses, works, or places." He said that at the last sitting of the Committee some discussion took place on this topic. This Amendment, while limiting the number of persons entitled to picket on behalf of a trade union body, somewhat enlarged the scope of their action. The Attorney-General had stated that while one or more persons were appointed for the purpose they would constitute a small body, while if 50 or 100 were sent it would amount to intimidation. He did not see what objection there could be to a body of three attending at or near the house or business place of a person from whom it was desired to obtain or to whom it was wished to communicate information and whom it was desired to advise to abstain from work. Three persons indeed could do that as well as or even better than a larger body. From the words "one or more" contained in the Bill it was clearly the intention that the body should be limited in numbers, but as had been pointed out by the Attorney-General there were works at which there were a good many exits, and a very small body certainly would not meet such a case as that mentioned by the hon. Member for Clitheroe, where there were forty exits. His Amendment would cover such a case, and he thought it desirable to have such provision clearly enacted in the Bill rather than that the number should have to be settled hereafter in the Law Courts.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 13, after the word 'persons,' to insert the words 'but not more than three for each door, gate, or exit of the houses, works, or places after mentioned.'"—(*Mr. Fell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

*THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir JOHN WALTON, Leeds, S.) said he could not accept the Amendment. The clause provided that the picketing must be done "peaceably and in a reasonable manner." The reasonableness of such a proceeding depended upon various considerations, not merely the number of persons engaged in it but such things as the place, the hour of the day or night, the language used, and if only one of these considerations was mentioned in the clause it would throw into subordination the other elements which any tribunal would have to consider if called upon to decide whether the persuasion had been carried out in a reasonable manner. The Amendment, in his opinion, would not strengthen the clause, but on the contrary would weaken it.

SIR E. CARSON (Dublin University) said he thought that on a former occasion the Attorney-General pledged himself to some such Amendment as this.

*SIR JOHN WALTON: I distinctly declined to pledge myself.

SIR E. CARSON said that when this question was being considered the Attorney-General said he would consider by the Report stage whether he could find words to meet the point, whereupon an hon. Member got up below the gangway and said he hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman would not consider it. Apparently he had not considered it.

*SIR JOHN WALTON: That is not a fair description of what occurred. I have considered the point, and I have given my reasons for not accepting the Amendment.

SIR E. CARSON said that the hon. and learned Gentleman had not considered it, because of what fell from an hon. Member below the gangway on this side of the House.

MR. WALTERS (Sheffield, Brightside) said the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dublin University had no right to make such an observation.

SIR E. CARSON: I have a right to say it, and I will not be stopped from saying it, because it is the fact. The whole question of numbers is most important, and that is the very point we are seeking to raise by this Amendment.

SIR. F. BANBURY (City of London): Do I understand the Attorney-General to say he has considered the matter and has come to the conclusion that it would be wise to introduce words defining what are reasonable numbers?

*SIR JOHN WALTON: I think the question whether the right is exercised by a body of persons in a reasonable manner must involve the consideration whether the number is calculated to intimidate. I do not see how such an element can be excluded, but at the same time I do not think it wise to mention only one consideration in the clause to the exclusion of all others.

SIR F. BANBURY agreed that the Attorney-General promised to consider whether or not he would introduce certain words. Apparently he had done so and had come to the conclusion that the inclusion of the words was not advisable. It was the fact that an hon. Member below the gangway got up and expressed a hope that the point would not be considered, and hon. Members of the Opposition must be excused if in view of what took place in the earlier proceedings on the Bill they felt that the intervention of hon. Members below the gangway had something to do with the decision arrived at. But personally he was not at all sure that the introduction of the words would meet with his approval. They might make the sense a little better, but the clause was a bad one, and the best thing would be to move its rejection later on, as he proposed to do. To amend it now as suggested might prevent them dividing against it later on. As a matter of fact three men might be as intimidatory as fifty if they had at their back the power of the great trade unions. He regretted that their attempts to amend the Bill were not accepted in the spirit they should be. It was clear from their cheers and attitude that hon. Members below the gangway representing the Independent Labour Party wanted the Bill and nothing but the Bill. He believed the passing of the Bill would be bad for the country, and that it would injure the hon. Members and their friends more than it would the employers.

Question put, and negatived.

*MR. BOWLES (Lambeth, Norwood) moved an Amendment to provide that persons engaged in picketing should be duly appointed by and act on behalf of a trade union. It seemed to him that the principle of the Bill was to regard capital and labour as two separate and distinct opposing armies and to make rules for their internal and external regulation. The Bill contemplated disputes between trade unions of workmen on the one hand and employers on the other. That might be a good thing or it might be a bad thing, but he desired to exclude from the conflict purely private persons who would be under no discipline and owing allegiance to nobody, possibly having no connection in the world, direct or indirect, with the dispute—people, for instance, like loafers, the assistance of whom neither side could properly desire and whose intervention must often result in undeserved anxieties to both. If the Government was determined to range capital against labour in this way, at least let the actual fighting be confined to the regular soldiers on each side, and let the camp followers and hangers-on of each side be excluded.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, lines 13 and 14, to leave out the words 'acting on their own behalf or,' and insert the words 'duly appointed by and acting.'"—(*Mr. Bowles.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Sir JOHN WALTON said he had several objections to this Amendment. In the first place the practical effect would be that workmen employed in the same works could not persuade each other. If workmen A and B wanted to persuade workman C it would be necessary for them to go first to the union and be appointed agents.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) complained that there was nothing in the clause to prevent such things as occurred in a recent colliery strike in France, where the strikers followed a miner to his house on his return from work and so irritated him by their conduct that he shot the ringleader dead.

*The CHAIRMAN: I do not think that question arises on this clause. It would be covered by the words—

"peaceably and in a reasonable manner."

Sir F. BANBURY said the Amendment would not prevent workmen from discussing their affairs in the workshop, but it would prevent persons other than the authorised representatives of a trade union from going in a deputation to the house of a workman in order to persuade him. He would like to ask that body other than a trade union would send a deputation? [An Hon. Member: The Temperance organisation.] Well, he knew that temperance bodies were very bigoted. ["Oh, oh."] [Another Hon. Member: And the Tariff Reform League.] He did not think the Tariff Reform League ever did such an unreasonable thing. What they must avoid was enabling the use of indirect pressure for which it would be possible for the trade union to escape responsibility.

*Sir FRANCIS POWELL (Wigan) reminded the Committee of what was done by Lord Cross's Act of 1875. The Conservative Government of that day did not think necessary the precautions which thirty years later it was declared were necessary.

Amendment negatived.

Mr. F. E. SMITH (Liverpool, Walton) moved an Amendment that it should be lawful for one or more persons acting on their own behalf or on behalf of a trade union, "whether of workmen or masters," to attend at or near a house or place to obtain or communicate information or exercise peaceful persuasion. The object was to extend the same privilege to employers as was being extended to workmen, and he hoped the Attorney-General would render discussion on it unnecessary by at once intimating his acceptance. It was only consistent that this should be done, and was undoubtedly the original intention of the Bill. Hon. Members below the gangway had always declared that they desired nothing better than that their unions should be placed in the same position as associations of masters, and surely it was only fair that if trade unions were to be allowed to picket employers should also have the right in an industrial dispute to avail themselves of an analogous practice.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 14, after the word 'union,' to insert the words 'whether of workmen or masters.'"—(*Mr. F. E. Smith.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir JOHN WALTON said that he could not accept the Amendment. He held that it was not needed. He pointed out that if the employers were organized as a trade union they came within the definition of "trade union" contained in the Act of 1876, which, among other things, said that a trade union was a union between masters and masters. It was obvious, therefore, that persons might exercise this right either because they chose themselves to exercise it or as a right belonging to the men or the masters. There was nothing in the Bill to limit its scope to unions of men or to confine the right of persuasion to the representatives of the men. A man might persuade on behalf of the union, and a man might also do so on behalf of his master. That, he thought, was abundantly clear on the parallel of the legislation which he had mentioned.

*Mr. HILLS (Durham) said he quite understood that it was right that both masters and men should have the right of persuasion. What he wished to know, however, was whether the Attorney-General meant that the words trade union always included an association of employers.

Sir JOHN WALTON: Yes; that is so under the former Act.

*Mr. HILLS thought that the Attorney-General ought to define what was meant by trade disputes and trade organisations. If he did so, he thought that all parties would be satisfied.

Sir E. CARSON did not think that the argument of the Attorney-General would hold water. He thought the words "trade union" might be held to exclude associations of masters. He might also point out that the Attorney-General had himself put into his new clause the words, "trade unions of masters and workmen," and it appeared to him that if those words occurred in the new clause they would give rise to serious doubt hereafter, because they would tend to show that it was not intended to throw the question back on the previous Act. If already the term "trade unions" included associations of masters, he did not see why a definition was necessary in this Bill. They ought definitely to settle this question of whether trade unions included associations of employers one way or the other.

Lord R. CECIL (Marylebone, E.) did not think the Attorney-General had considered the difficulty of this matter. He quite agreed that the provision that a trade union should not be liable for any action in tort should, if such a revolutionary principle were introduced at all, apply to masters as well as men. When, however, it came to a question of peaceful picketing everybody knew that it was desired by the men for the purpose of exercising pressure upon those who were not members of their union, and he thought that the introduction of this clause might lead to a system of industrial war instead of a system which regularised the ordinary practice now prevailing. Up to the present, however, it had not been the practice of the masters to picket, in any sense of the term. There would therefore be no harm, he thought, in inserting the words of the Amendment "whether of workmen or masters" in order to make it clear that the masters were to be placed in the same position as the workmen.

Question put, and negatived.

*The CHAIRMAN suggested that the substance of the decision appeared to cover the Amendment of the hon. Member for Norwood, which appeared next upon the Paper.

Mr. BOWLES inquired whether the Chairman said that his Amendment to insert after the word "union" the words "or of an employer" was out of order.

*The CHAIRMAN said he had not ruled that it was out of order, but he had said that he thought that the points raised by it were practically though not technically, disposed of by the decision at which the Committee had just arrived. He could not, however, ay that it was out of order.

*MR. BOWLES: Then I should be justified in moving it?

*THE CHAIRMAN: Oh, yes, the hon. Member can move it.

*MR. BOWLES then moved to insert after the word "union" the words "or of an employer." He said that this Amendment differed very considerably from that which had been just negatived. It would be seen from the clause that a definite legal right to picket was conferred upon two different classes of persons, and two different classes of persons only. These acts might be done by persons who were entirely unconnected with the dispute acting on their own behalf, or persons acting on behalf of a trade union, and they now understood that trade union included an association of masters as well as an association of workmen. Therefore it came to this, that in contemplation of or during a trade dispute "picketing" of the kind contemplated by the clause was only lawful when it was carried on by persons acting on their own behalf, or by persons acting on behalf of a trade union, whether the trade union was composed of men or masters. This left out one class altogether who would be incapable of taking any action in their own defence. The clause as it stood entirely excluded the case of the employer—probably the small employer—who did not belong to any association of employers at all. That employer would, if he were involved in a trade dispute, have no power whatever to avail himself of the immunities and rights conferred by the clause, although they might be used against him in a most direct manner by an association of workmen. That was not reasonable nor fair, and the object of his Amendment was simply and solely to protect the single employer, who was not a member of an association. He hoped it would not be contended that under this Bill every employer would have to combine and join some association of masters. The notion that industry was to be divided into two great camps, and organisation was to take the place of freedom, was calculated in the end to lead to industrial anarchy. He held that industrial disputes did not differ from any other disputes, and were equally capable of being dealt with by the ordinary and equitable laws of civilisation. That was not the object of the Bill, which took out of the ordinary equitable laws of civilisation one set of disputes and one set only, namely, trade disputes. Surely, then, if that was to be done, the great and exceptional immunities and powers of the Bill ought at least to be conferred with an equal hand upon every person who might have become a party to such a dispute.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 14, after the word 'union,' to insert the words 'or of an employer.'"—(*Mr. Bowles.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*SIR JOHN WALTON said the scope of this clause was to legalise acts of combination. But it did not deal with the acts of individuals, which were regulated by the ordinary law. Any employer who within the law sought to persuade his men not to leave their work was entitled to do so, and his case did not call for any special legislation in his favour, because he had the rights of an ordinary citizen.

MR. F. E. SMITH thought the Attorney-General was entirely in error when he said that the clause only dealt with acts done in combination, because it dealt with the acts of a person acting on his own behalf.

*SIR JOHN WALTON said he had not implied that the words "a person acting on his own behalf" would come within the word "combination." What he had said was that it was unnecessary to deal with the case of the employer who was not a member of an association and who endeavoured to induce his men to remain at work.

MR. F. E. SMITH said the hon. and learned Gentleman stated that the Bill dealt only with the rights of people acting in combination, and did not deal with individuals. But that was quite different from the construction he had put upon the words of the clause only a moment or two ago. He said that an employer was perfectly well able to take care of himself, and he supposed that an association of employers would *a fortiori* be able to take care of itself. He did not appreciate the logic upon which the hon. and learned Attorney-General took up his position. It was perfectly clear that his hon. friend was right in the contention which he had put forward. Let them take the case of an ordinary employer who did not belong to a ring or union of employers. Strangers could come down and picket his men while the individual employer not belonging to a trade union was not allowed to take any action.

*SIR JOHN WALTON: I never said anything of the sort.

MR. F. E. SMITH said he wished in view of that assertion to ask two questions. He wished to ask first of all whether it was still the view of the hon. and learned Gentleman that under this clause an association or union of employers could counter-picket, and, secondly, was it his opinion that the individual employer could himself employ pickets under the clause.

SIR JOHN WALTON was afraid that he did not make himself clear, but he thought as a lawyer the hon. Member would have understood what he said. The individual employer might under the ordinary law persuade his workmen not to leave their work, but a combination of employers if they acted together in doing so might be found guilty of conspiracy although the act which they committed if committed by an individual might not be criminal at common law. Apart altogether from the act of combination it was perfectly clear that an individual master might, if he did not commit a nuisance or trespass or violate the law in any way, persuade his own workmen. That was the common law and it was quite unnecessary to amend this clause in the manner suggested.

LORD R. CECIL said he was simply amazed at the statements of the honourable and learned Attorney-General. He could not understand what he meant. Here was a clause that was going to legalise something that was not now lawful. It was going to make it legal to persuade men to work or not to work as the case might be. If it was lawful now to persuade a man not to work or to work, as the case might be, then they did not want this clause at all, but if it was not lawful so to persuade a man then they wanted to legalise it not only for the men but for the masters also. He thought they were all agreed on that.

SIR JOHN WALTON: We are not agreed. I pointed out that if it was a combination it was not legal.

LORD R. CECIL said the hon. and learned Gentleman did not follow the point. It was perfectly plain. The hon. and learned Attorney-General said it was a matter of combination. If three men were used by a master to counter-picket it was not lawful. If they did it on their own behalf they were protected by this clause; if the master said "go and do it" it was not legal. It was plain there was no protection if the men were acting on behalf of an employer, whilst there was if they were acting on behalf of a trade union. It was true that the unions of the masters were protected as well as the unions of the men, but the particular individual employer was not protected. Where was the justice of that? One of the two parties to these industrial wars, constantly, was the single employer, and the other was the trade union. This clause said to the trade unions, "You can employ two or three persons to picket," and it said to the employers, "You are not to have two or three men to counter-picket." "It shall be lawful for any person or persons," those were the people who were protected, the people who were employed by a trade union or on their own behalf, to do what? To picket. They must be people acting on their own behalf or on behalf of a trade union. This clause was limited to persons representing a trade union or a union of employers, but not to single employers. He thought that when hon.

Members looked at it they would agree with him that this was not fair. He was quite sure hon. Members representing labour wanted to be as fair to the employer as to the workman. Therefore he thought some such words as those suggested by his hon. friend should be inserted.

SIR E. CARSON said that he was, he supposed, one of those stupid persons who could not follow the arguments of the hon. and learned Attorney-General. The hon. and learned Gentleman had stated that this was a clause dealing with combinations, but he failed to agree with that, because they had agreed in the previous clause that acts of combinations should not be legal unless they were acts that could be legally performed by one person. The question was a very simple one; it was whether under Clause 2 an employer sending out pickets could have the benefit of this security. As he understood the section and the argument of the hon. and learned Attorney-General, he could not. If the hon. and learned Attorney-General meant that, he meant to pass one-sided legislation. He saw no harm in the Amendment of the hon. Member. While the Government was giving permission to the unions to picket it was absolutely refusing that right to an employer who did not join a ring of employers. If that was what the Government intended, if the single employer was not to have this right, let them say so.

*MR. HILLS asked whether he might make one more appeal to the hon. and learned Gentleman to accept this Amendment. After the Act of 1875 picketing was allowed for the purpose of obtaining or communicating information. They all knew that those words were narrow, and as one hon. member had told them, did not cover certain acts which he had performed. It was intended by this Bill to carry that a step further and allow picketing for the purposes of peaceful persuasion to work or to abstain from working. Before the Act of 1875 no union of workmen or association of employers or a single employer could picket without running great risks. After the Act of 1875 they could picket within certain limits. Now it was suggested by this Bill that certain persons should picket within very wide limits. Who were those persons? They were either associations of employers or associations of workmen, but there was no right in this clause for a single employer to introduce counter-picketing on his own behalf. If he did he ran a great risk. All they wanted was perfect fairness. Why should an employer who was not one of an association of employers be put in a worse position than a member of such an association? All they wanted was that the extended rights of this Bill should be granted to the employer who was not a member of an association of employers. The hon. and learned Attorney-General said the single employer had his rights under common law, but, the rights of an employer under common law were very small rights, and they were putting him, by this Bill, back into the position from which the trade unions of working men were rescued in 1875. Of course if he was wrong he was perfectly prepared to be corrected, but he could not see what answer there was to his contention.

*SIR JOHN WALTON said he quite agreed that if its effect would be to put the single employer into a worse position, the clause ought to be modified, but as he read the clause it was intended to deal with cases in which the act of combination changed its legal character by reason of its being an act of a combination. If these words "one or more persons acting on their own behalf or on behalf of" were not put in, a combination of masters and men could not exercise powers under this clause if the act was of tortious act owing to the character of it. The employer who was an individual and the master of workmen might undoubtedly in a peaceful way, either personally or through persons he might appoint to do so. It was idle to say this clause put the individual employer in a worse position.

LORD R. CECIL: I would venture to point out that we have not received an answer to the point I tried to put to him.

MR. BOWLES: I really must ask the hon. and learned Attorney-General——

SIR JOHN WALTON rose in his place, and claimed to move "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 169; Noes, 22. (Division List No. 301.)

AYES.

Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Asquith, Rt.Hn.Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker,Joseph A.(Finsbury, E.)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Bertram, Julius
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black,Arthur W.(Bedfordshire)
Brace, William
Brigg, John
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L.(Lancs.,Leigh)
Brunner, Sir John T. (Cheshire)
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Causton,Rt.Hn.RichardKnight
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clancy, John Joseph
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett,CH(Sussex,E.Grinst'd)
Cowan, W. H.
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dickinson,W.H.(St.PancrasN.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duckworth, James
Duncan,C.(Barrow-in-Furness)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gill, A. H.
Gladstone,Rt.Hn.Herbert John
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Hall, Frederick
Hardie,J.Keir(Merthyr Tydvil)
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazleton, Richard
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kelley, George D.
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lamont, Norman
Leese,Sir JosephF.(Accrington)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald,J.M.(Falkirk B'ghs)
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh,Jeremiah (Down,S.)
MacVeigh,Charles(Donegal,E.)
M'Callum, John M.
Maddison, Frederick
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Molteno, Percy Alport
Montagu, E. S.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morse, L. L.
Murphy, John
Napier, T. B.
Nicholls, George
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Grady, J.
O'Malley, William
Parker, James (Halifax)
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Raphael, Herbert H.
Richards,Thomas(W.Monm'th)
Richards, T. F.(Wolverh'mpt'n
Richardson, A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Robertson,Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee)
Robertson,SirGScott(Bradf'rd)
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rowlands, J.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C.E.(Manchester)
Scott,A.H.(Ashton under Lyne)
Sears, J. E.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. Hawick,B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Snowden, P.
Stanley, Hn.A.Lyulph(Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Thorne, William
Toulmin, George
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Rt Hn. Sir Alex. F.
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cavendish, Rt. Hon. Victor C.W.
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Du Cros, Harvey
Fell, Arthur
Forster, Henry William
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.
Hills, J. W.
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington)
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Valentia, Viscount

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. Hicks Beach and Mr. Bowles.

Question put accordingly, "That the words 'or of an employer' be there inserted."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 23; Noes, 173. (Division List No. 302.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood, Rt Hn. Sir Alex. F.
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cavendish, Rt. Hon. Victor C.W.
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Du Cros, Harvey
Fell, Arthur
Forster, Henry William
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.
Hills, J. W.
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Thomson, W. Mitchell-(Lanark)
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. Hicks Beach and Mr. Bowles.

NOES.

Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Bertram, Julius
Billson, Alfred
Black, Arthur W. (Bedfordshire)
Brace, William
Brigg, John
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Sir John T. (Cheshire)
Burke, E. Haviland
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clancy, John Joseph
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C. H (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cowan, W. H.
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duckworth, James
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gill, A. H.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Hall, Frederick
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazleton, Richard
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kelley, George D.
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lamont, Norman
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs)
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.
M'Callum, John M.
Maddison, Frederick
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Molteno, Percy Alport
Montagu, E. S.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morse, L. L.
Murphy, John
Napier, T. B.
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Charles N. (Donc'st'r
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Grady, J.
O'Malley, William
Parker, James (Halifax)
Paul, Herbert

Paulton, James Mellor
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Raphael, Herbert H.
Richards, Thomas (W.Monm'th
Richards, T. F.(Wolverh'mpt'n
Richardson, A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Robertson, Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee
Robertson,Sir G.Scott(Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rowlands, J.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C.E.(Manchester)
Scott, A.H.(Ashton under Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick, B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Snowden, P.
Stanley, Hn. A.Lyulph(Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Thorne, William
Toulmin, George
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

Sir JOHN WALTON claimed "That the Question 'That the words of the Clause to the word "peaceably" in line 15, stand part of the Clause' be now put."

Question put. "That the Question 'That the words of the Clause to the word "peaceably," in line 15, stand part of the Clause' be now put."

The Committee divided: Ayes, 178, Noes 24. (Division List No. 303.)

AYES.

Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Asquith,Rt.Hn.Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A.(Finsbury, E.)
Baring,Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Bertram, Julius
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W.(Bedfordshire
Brace, William
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner,J.F.L.(Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Sir John T. (Cheshire)
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Causton,Rt.Hn.RichardKnight
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clancy, John Joseph
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett,C.H(Sussex,E.Grinst'd
Cowan, W. H.
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dickinson,W.H.(St.Pancras,N.
Dilke, Rt.Hon.Sir Charles
Duckworth, James
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gill, A. H.
Gladstone,Rt.Hn.HerbertJohn
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Hall, Frederick
Hardie,J.Keir(Merthyr Tydvil)
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazleton, Richard
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharp
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelly, George D.
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lamont, Norman
Leese, Sir JosephF.(Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald,J. M.(Falkirk B'ghs
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh Jeremiah (Down, S.)
MacVeigh,Charles(Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
Maddison, Frederick
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marnham, F. J. W
Massie. J.
Molteno, Percy Alport
Montagu, E. S.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morse, L. L.
Murphy, John
Napier, T. B.
Nicholls, George

Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Grady, J.
O'Malley, William
Parker, James (Halifax)
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinburgh, Central)
Raphael, Herbert H.
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'th
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mptn
Richardson, A.
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln
Robertson, Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rowlands, J.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C. E. (Manchester)
Scott, A. H. (Ashton under Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick, B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Snowdon, P.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Thorne, William
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S,)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke-upon-Trent)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES.—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Rt. Hn. Sir Alex. F
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cavendish, Rt. Hon. Victor C. W.
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E,)
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Du Cros, Harvey
Fell, Arthur
Forster, Henry William
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, South
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.
Hills, J. W.
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Thomson, W. Mitchell (Lanark)
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard

TELLERS FOR THE NOES.—Mr. Hicks Beach and Mr. Bowles.

Question put accordingly.

The Committee divided: Ayes 181 Noes 22. (Division List No. 304.)

AYES.

Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Bertram, Julius
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W. (Bedfordshire
Brace, William
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Brunner, Sir John T. (Cheshire)
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Causton, Rt. Hn Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clancy, John Joseph
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C H (Sussex, E. Grinst'd)
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cowan, W. H.
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duckworth, James
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness)
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gill, A. H.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Right Hon. Lewis
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Henderson, Arthur (Durham
Higham, John Sharp
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.

Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D.
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lamont, Norman
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs)
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh Jeremiah (Down S.)
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
Maddison, Frederick
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Molteno, Percy Alport
Montagu, E. S.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morse, L. L.
Murphy, John
Napier, T. B.
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Grady, J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Philipps, Owen C. (Pembroke)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C.E. (Edinburgh, Central)
Raphael, Herbert H.
Richards, Thomas (W. Monmth
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n)
Richardson, A.
Robertson, Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee)
Robertson. Sir G Scott (Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rowlands, J.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Sir C. E. (Manchester)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Scott, A. H. (Ashton under Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick, B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Snowden, P.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Thorne, William
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke-upon-Trent
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES.—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Rt Hn. Sir Alex. F.
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cavendish, Rt. Hn. Victor C. W.
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Du Cros, Harvey
Fell, Arthur
Forster, Henry William
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, South)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington)
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Smith, F.E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Thomson, W. Mitchell- (Lanark)
Valentia, Viscount

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Hicks Beach and Mr. Bowles.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucester, Forest of Dean) said the Committee now came to deal with a matter which was really very hard-fought in the Standing Committee last year, namely, the subject of picketing. It was the subject of a very long debate, and after a great deal of objection had been raised to the picketing clause words were proposed to be inserted substantially the same as were now in this Bill. An offer was made by the hon. Member for the Spen Valley Division, who was then in charge of the Bill, to put in these words. That offer was made to meet the opposition to this clause in a private Member's Bill, which was opposed by the Government in the Standing Committee, where the opponents of the measure had a larger proportional representation than in the House. Whilst there was a large majority in the House in favour of the Bill, in the Committee the majority was very small indeed. Finally, as a compromise, these words were offered. He admitted that they were taken from the Act of 1859, by which peaceable persuasion was definitely and formally recognised as lawful. After long debate, the present Lord Chancellor spoke very strongly against the insertion of these words. On the 5th April, Sir Robert Reid said that these words had been offered reluctantly by the hon. Member for the Spen Valley Division, and that their insertion had been reluctantly assented to by the friends of the Bill. The present Lord Chancellor also said that they were offered as an effort at conciliation; and that, if the Amendment was accepted, he would not offer that opposition which otherwise he should have offered to the inclusion of the words, That course on his part was dependent on whether the Conservative Government would give their support to the Amendment. Sir Robert Reid ended his speech by saying—

> "I say emphatically that I do not think the insertion of the words necessary, and I think they may produce unfortunate results."

The words were rejected by the Committee on a division, on the ground which he had quoted from the speech of the present Lord Chancellor. The objection was that the word "reasonable" was dangerous, and that it was not desirable to put such a vague word into the Bill. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

> "In page 1, line 15, to leave out the words 'peaceably and in a reasonable manner.'"—(*Sir C. Dilke.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

*SIR JOHN WALTON said he could not accept the Amendment. It was essential to the success of this Bill that these words should remain in the clause. It was obvious that when they were going to legalise the right of a number of persons to assemble with a view to persuading others, that right should be qualified in some proper manner by placing it under reasonable restrictions. There were two ways in which that might be done—they might specify the various conditions that must be observed in order to gauge the character of the gathering, and the proceedings of the people assembled. They might say, as had been suggested, that words should be inserted in the clause to indicate the hours within which the gathering might take place; they might specify the spot at which persons might assemble, and they might point out that they must not cause intimidation, or make use of language and demonstrations which would cause alarm or danger. That would be a cumbrous clause, and would cause as great difficulty in construction as the expression which the Government, as an alternative, had put into the Bill. On the one hand they would have a clause indicating the things and the conditions which must be observed by the men who were engaged in the operation, and on the other hand they would leave it to the discretion of the Courts of law to say what was reasonable. He accepted the view that some difficulty might arise in construing the word "reasonable." No doubt it was an extremely flexible expression. He felt, though he did not know whether his opinion was shared by others, just as great difficulty in setting out the conditions and qualifications subject to which this right might be exercised. While he thought it possible that the word "reasonable" might raise some difficulty in application, he could not conceive an expression more appropriate and more likely to do justice on the whole to all parties concerned.

MR. ATHERLEY-JONES regretted that the Attorney-General could not see his way to accept the Amendment. He respectfully differed from his view that any limitations were necessary. The commission of an act at or near a place did not involve the commission of an illegal act; and if an illegal act of violence or intimidation or an act of a criminal character was committed, it would be open to the parties to take action. The words proposed to be left out, it appeared to him, were not only unnecessary but mischievous, because it was not put to the magistrate to deal with a matter of fact, but to find on a matter of opinion, and no law court could interfere with the decision which he arrived at when the words which were to be found in an Act of Parliament conferred discretion on him. The Attorney-General's illustration was inaccurate. He said that the clause might indicate certain hours. It might be an unreasonable hour, but it was for the magistrate to decide whether it was or was not a reasonable hour. It might be an hour perfectly reasonable in his view, and in the view of a trade union, and yet the magistrate might not think that it was a reasonable hour, and there would be no power to review his decision. He objected to loose language of this description in an Act of Parliament. He said with some considerable experience of the working of the Acts relating to trade unions that the retention of these words would mean handing over to the magistrates an absolutely unlimited discretion in arriving at a conclusion whether picketing was or was not reasonable. For these reasons he urged the Attorney-General to be satisfied with the general conditions of the law, that a person who committed a criminal offence might be punished, and not to put in words which handed over picketing entirely to the mercy of the magistrates.

MR. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe) said that on the Second Reading of the Bill these words were mentioned, and it was understood that they would be matter for consideration on the Committee stage. He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean in this matter. They would prefer that these words should be left out. He wished some compromise could be brought about in this matter. He would suggest that if the word "peaceably" was retained it would amply cover the intention of Parliament in regard to what might happen in picketing. The word "reasonable" in the opinion of Labour Members gave the Courts too much scope. The Courts might decide that an action was unreasonable though it was not unlawful. He would urge the Attorney-General to consider whether the word "peaceably" would not cover the case. Trade unions did not wish to waste their money in regard to cases before the Courts. They wished to do the fair thing. Two magistrates might say that this or that was unreasonable, and there would be no appeal from their decision. Besides, this word gave an undue amount of power to a constable, for he had only to give his opinion that certain actions were unreasonable, and he would not need to give his reasons for coming to that conclusion. The opinion of the police was held to be of importance in police-courts. He appealed to the Attorney-General to consider whether the word "peaceably" would not cover all possible cases.

*SIR FRANCIS POWELL said that in the discussion which had just taken place they were asked not to insert a maximum for a picket, because the Government was about to introduce the word "reasonable." He confessed that that remark of the Attorney-General influenced his vote, and he hoped the Government would stand by the announcement which they then made.

SIR E. CARSON said he was very glad the Attorney-General had made the announcement that he would adhere to these words. Any member who would consider the matter would see that it was absolutely necessary to have some limitation, and he could not conceive any words which were more capable than these of being applied to the very varied circumstances which might arise in these matters. If they put no words of limitation into the clause the question then arose, were they not entitled to carry out what they here legalised, no matter what might be the methods or the effect on the people concerned? To leave it at large like that, and to legalise picketing, no matter what might be done, or under what circumstances, seemed to be legislating entirely in the dark, and in the wildest possible fashion.

MR. PARKES (Birmingham, Central) thought that the words "peaceably and in a reasonable manner" were passively assented to in the earlier discussions on this matter by the hon. Members below the gangway, and it was astonishing to be told now that they were not necessary. For those who did not agree with this Bill and looked upon it as very drastic and extreme it was altogether too much to be told that these saving words were to be taken out. He did not think this Amendment would further the objects of trade unionists either in the House or anywhere else, indeed he did not think it would appeal to the common-sense of the people of this country. If a strike was not to be conducted in a peaceable and reasonable manner it was much to be regretted. Whether or not the words in question were necessary was a pure point of law, but from a common-sense point of view he thought labour disputes should clearly be conducted in a peaceable and reasonable manner, and it was only right that the House should express the opinion that these words should be retained. If they were deleted it would open the flood-gates to a great deal of lawlessness on the part of those who conducted strikes. It would react on both sides. Time after time when he had read this clause he had looked upon these words as the great safeguard it contained against lawlessness or against any severe methods with which trade disputes might be conducted. The Attorney-General had taken that view, and he was glad to say he had stood by his former declaration that the word "reasonable" was a necessary safeguard. If the word were left out they had the right to ask the Government to put a limitation upon the numbers of pickets. He hoped that the good sense and fairness of the Committee would lead them to reject the Amendment.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said there were at present three dangers to the workmen engaged in picketing. There was the danger of being hit under the words about molestation or obstruction; there was the danger of being hit under the word "reasonable," and there was the possible danger—which he thought was a real one—of being hit under the law of nuisance. They were all agreed as to the words "molestation" and "obstruction" The question they had now to argue was as to the other two words. He would point out that the word "reasonable" was voted against in the proceedings of the Standing Committee by five Members of the present Government, including the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the ground, as stated by the present Lord Chancellor, that the words were unnecessary and dangerous. He feared that in the absence of any statement on the part of the Government as to the Amendment on the word "nuisance," he should have to carry this Amendment to a division.

MR. KEIR HARDIE pointed out that what had been suggested by his hon. friend the Member for Clitheroe was not that they should strike out all the words "peaceably and in a reasonable manner," because they were quite prepared to agree to the retention of the word "peaceably." What they said was that, in trying to amend the law, they should not leave further opportunities tor thwarting the obvious will and intention of the House by placing it within the power of the magistrates to take away, by a side wind, a right conferred by the House. He submitted that al that the Attorney-General desired, and that hon. Members on his own side of the House desired, could be met by retaining the word "peaceably" and leaving out "in a reasonable manner," which words constituted a source of real danger. If the right hon. Baronet opposite would agree that his Amendment should take that form probably it would be accepted by the Government, but if not he would suggest that the right hon. Baronet should proceed to a division.

SIR JOHN WALTON said that it was of course impossible to accept the Amendment, because the discussion had been conducted all through on the assumption—and he had met proposals of Amendments for safeguards on that very ground—that there was this provision in the Bill as it stood. If this clause were a declaration giving persons the right of picketing, which they might exercise providing they did so without violating the conditions prescribed, it was impossible that while they were exercising that right they should be doing anything illegal, because the object of the clause was to describe lawful conduct. The question whether it was proposed to picket in such a way as to cause a nuisance or a trespass must enter into the consideration whether or not the conduct was reasonable. If it was lawful conduct it could not be a nuisance or a trespass. He thought that his right hon. friend would recognise that it would not be reasonable to allow that right to be exercised without any kind of restriction. In the view of the hon. Member who had just spoken the word "peaceably" would be a sufficient restriction, but he did not think that it was any less vague or less difficult of construction than the word "reasonable." If they were to accept the view that there was to be some sort of restriction, he did not think that they could carry that view practically very much further than if they said that the assembly which was legalised under the clause must be peaceable and reasonable and must be conducted in a reasonable way. They had to face the danger of some harsh and restrictive construction being placed upon the clause, and he did not think they appreciably diminished that danger by striking out the word "reasonable." All the apprehensions that they had heard in the course of the debate were he thought ill founded, but he thought there would be a perfect feeling of security if it was provided that the powers given by the clause should be used reasonably. None of them contemplated the alternative of an unreasonable exercise of the power, and therefore they ought not to reject the proposal that the exercise should be of a reasonable character. For these reasons it was impossible for him to accept the Amendment.

THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN (Mr. CALDWELL, Lanarkshire, Mid.) said the words which he should have to put from the Chair would be that the words "peacably and in a reasonable manner" stand part of the Question. He was bound to put the Question in that form unless the Amendment was withdrawn.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said he would withdraw the Amendment.

Permission to withdraw the Amendment was refused.

Question put, "That the words 'peaceably and in a reasonable manner' stand part of the clause."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 140; Noes, 91. (Division List No. 305.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood,Rt Hn SirAlex.F.
Agnew, George William
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury,E.)
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beach,Hn.Michael Hugh Hicks
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Bellairs, Carlyon
Bertram, Julius
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W. (Bedfordshire
Bowles, G. Stewart
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brunner, J. F. L.(Lancs.,Leigh)
Brunner, Sir John T. (Cheshire)
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Cameron, Robert
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Causton,Rt.Hn.RichardKnight
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Corbett,C H (Sussex,E.Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Craig,Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crossley, William J.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duckworth, James
Elibank, Master of
Everett, R. Lacey
Fell, Arthur
Ferens, T. R.
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gladstone,Rt.Hn.Herbert John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gordon, J.(Londonderry,South
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harcourt, Right Hon. Lewis
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Henderson, J.M.(Aberdeen,W.
Henry, Charles S.
Hills, J. W.
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Horniman, Emslie John
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jardine, Sir J.
Kearley, Hudson E.
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Leese,Sir JosephF.(Accrington)
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Mackarness, Frederic C.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mallet, Charles E.
Marks, G.Croydon(Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Menzies, Walter
Molteno, Percy Alport
Montagu, E. S.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Napier, T. B.
Nicholson,Charles N.(Donc'st'r
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Parkes, Ebenezer
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Philipps,Col.Ivor (S'thampton)
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rawlinson,John Frederick Peel
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rickett, J. Compton
Robertson, Rt. Hn. E.(Dundee)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann,Sir C. E. (Manchester
Sears, J. E.
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick, B.)
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smith,F.E.(Liverpool,Walton)
Stanley, Hn.A.Lyulph (Chesh.)
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Tennant,Sir Edward (Salisbury
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson, J.W.H.(Somerset,E
Thomson, W. Mitchell-(Lanark
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Alden, Percy
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Bell, Richard
Billson, Alfred
Brace, William
Brooke, Stopford
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Byles, William Pollard
Clancy, John Joseph
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Cooper, G. J.
Crooks, William
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Ffrench, Peter
Gill, A. H.
Glover, Thomas
Hall, Frederick
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Higham, John Sharp
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D.
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lehmann, R. C.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs)
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.)
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.)
Maddison, Frederick
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Masterman, C. F. G.
Mooney, J. J.
Murphy, John
Nicholls, George
Nolan, Joseph
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Grady J.
O'Malley, William
Parker, James (Halifax)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinburgh, Central
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'th
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Richardson, A.
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Rowlands, J.
Scott, A. H. (Ashton under Lyne
Shackleton, David James
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Snowden, P.
Steadman, W. C.
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Thorne, William
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Arthur Henderson and Mr. Fenwick.

*MR. BOWLES moved to insert the words "any entrance to" after the word "near" in page 1, line 16, so that the clause should read "at or near any entrance to a house or place where a person resides or works or carries on business or happens to be." The object of the Amendment was simple. It was to restrict the acts contemplated by this clause, which were of an extremely wide and general nature, to the entrances of the places in regard to which they were to be allowed, and not to allow them anywhere irrespective altogether of the places in respect to which they were committed. Hon. Gentlemen would see that this clause proposed to give power to picket to obtain or communicate information or peacefully to persuade. He did not believe it was contemplated by this clause that men, either acting on their own behalf or on behalf of a trade union, should be allowed to go, expressly as he had stated, anywhere they chose. They should be restricted in some degree at any rate, and he suggested that it was a very reasonable restriction to say that they should obtain this information and peacefully persuade where after all they might reasonably expect that their efforts might be crowned with success, namely, at the entrance of the works or house or other place. He put this forward with the view of restricting in some degree the operation of this powerful and drastic clause, and he hoped the honourable and learned Gentleman, if he was not prepared to accept it, would give some reason why these people should be allowed to go everywhere as they chose, and why they should not be restricted in the manner he suggested. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 16, after the word 'near,' to insert the words 'any entrance to.'"—(*Mr. Bowles.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR JOHN WALTON said he thought the word "reasonable" covered this. If men were entitled to congregate near a house they must necessarily attend near the entrance. He hoped he hon. Gentleman would not press this Amendment.

LORD R. CECIL hoped after the appeal that the hon. and learned Attorney-General had made, his hon. friend would be allowed to withdraw his Amendment. He hoped he would not press it.

MR. BOWLES said he appreciated the statement of the hon. and learned Gentleman, and begged leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY moved to insert after the word "person" the words "concerned in such trade dispute." The object of the Amendment was to limit the action of the clause so that it should be lawful for one or more persons acting on their own behalf or on behalf of a trade union to attend peaceably and in a reasonable manner, "at or near a house or place where a person concerned in such trade dispute resides or works." That would prevent a trade union sending a picket to attend the houses of people not then concerned in the particular dispute, but who might possibly be drawn into the dispute later on. By that he meant that if a man had been engaged to take the place of a person engaged in a strike, and that man lived at a distance it would be lawful to attend at the house of that workman though it was at a great distance away. If these disputes arose largely on the question of wages it might be said that the insertion of these words would render the clause nugatory, but these disputes arose not only upon the question of wage but on a variety of other questions, as, for instance, whether a non-union man was to be employed. If a dispute arose on that ground, unless the words he moved were inserted, it would be open to the trade union men to attend at the houses of the non-union men and prevent them from earning an honest livelihood. It was perfectly well known that such disputes must arise, and his reason for moving the Amendment was that while it might be perfectly lawful and right for a trade union not to allow their men to work with non-union men if they did not desire them to do so, on the other hand it was not right to allow them to picket the houses of hundreds of non-unionist men who were not concerned in the dispute and prevent them from getting an honest living. Although he was afraid the Attorney-General would not accept it he thought the Amendment was a reasonable one; therefore he begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 16, after the word 'person,' to insert the words 'concerned in any such trade dispute.'"—(*Sir Frederick Banbury.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be inserted."

SIR JOHN WALTON said the purpose of this clause was to allow certain persons to meet outside the houses of others for the purpose of peacefully persuading them in the case of a trade dispute to abstain from working or to work as the case might be. He could not accept the Amendment, as he could not imagine a person concerned in a trade dispute waiting outside the house of a person who was not concerned in that trade dispute.

LORD R. CECIL said that if the hon. and learned Attorney-General was right as to his facts then his contention was a correct one, but the information that reached him was that in cases of dispute it was quite a common thing for the men to picket not the houses of other men but the houses of their relatives if they were not amenable. That was quite common. He did not suggest that any hon. Member of this House would countenance any such thing at all, but they must be conscious of it, because they were reasonable men and must know that cases did occur from time to time—isolated cases they might be—which they all deplored. It was clearly desirable that hon. Members below the gangway and hon. Members opposite should not permit that class of thing of which they disapproved. So long as picketing was confined to persons concerned in the dispute it was one thing, but with regard to the other matter it was quite different. There could be no object in permitting the picketing of persons not concerned in the dispute. He was also told by those who had a greater knowledge of these disputes than he pretended to that there was another practice which was not uncommon, and that was to picket the lodging-house keepers and others in whose houses the men lived. That was a very serious matter, and one that, so far as he could see, was not dealt with by this clause. These words were not purely otiose and ridiculous. They were words to which those familiar with the question attached great importance. It was an Amendment that had been singled out to him as one of the most important to this oppressive clause, and therefore he hoped that the hon. and learned Gentleman would reconsider the matter and regard it more favourably.

MR. VERNEY (Buckinghamshire, N.) said one of the most important parts of the duty or privileges of a picket was to obtain information. Very likely he might have to go to someone not directly concerned in the dispute to obtain that information, and that part of the clause was surely not going to be left out. Moreover, he thought the phrase "concerned in the dispute" did include a large number of people not actually on strike. Many might be concerned in a dispute who were not directly concerned, and therefore he thought the Amendment proposed could not possibly be accepted.

SIR E. CARSON said it was entirely a matter of taste whether persons would like to have pickets outside their house or not, although they were not concerned in any dispute. The hon. Member who had just sat down appeared to think it was quite right and quite possible, and that this House ought to lay down that some person not concerned in a trade dispute ought to be picketed because information was required. He should have thought that that was a serious infringement of the liberty of the subject, and that no Act of Parliament contemplated anything of that kind. The Attorney-General took another line. He said he could not conceive a person picketing anybody else unless that person was concerned in the dispute. That was exactly contrary to the argument taken last year when he was in charge of a Labour Bill in this House. What he was then told was that it was absolutely necessary for a trade union in connection with a strike at times to interfere with others by picketing persons who were not concerned in the dispute but whom it might be desirable to get to join in the dispute. He was told that that was the whole object of the measure. That was what they on the Opposition side of the House objected to. They said that the principle which the House ought to lay down was that it should not to be allowed by that section to picket persons who were not concerned in the dispute. He thought that was a moderate Amendment and worthy of the consideration of the hon. and learned Gentleman and of the country.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY called attention to the fact that evidence was brought before the Commission—he took his information from the *South Wales Daily News* of November 3rd, 1904—to the effect that when the non-unionists were found to be lodgers the women insisted upon instant notice to quit being given them, with the result that all were very shortly put out. When the Attorney-General said nobody would attend and picket the house of a person not concerned in the dispute he begged to call his attention to the fact that here was a case where they attended and picketed lodging-houses.

THE CHAIRMAN said the words under discussion had nothing to do with the owners of lodging-houses.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY said his Amendment was to prevent picketing at or near the house of a person not concerned in the trade dispute. The Attorney-General said that the words he proposed to put in were useless, because he knew of no instance in which a person would attend at or near the house of a person not concerned in the dispute. His object was to show that a person could and would so attend.

SIR JOHN WALTON said that if the hon. Gentleman looked at the clause he would see that it permitted picketing for the purpose of persuading a person to work or not to work. It could not be necessary to picket a man who was not concerned in the dispute. The only object that could justify picketing was that it was intended to persuade a man who was concerned in the dispute, and he would say non-unionist men were clearly persons to whom they were entitled to go for the purpose of persuading them to work or not to work.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY asked the hon. and learned Gentleman whether, if this clause were passed in its present form, it would be legal for a picket to attend a lodging-house and persuade the keeper to turn out any man concerned in the trade dispute.

SIR JOHN WALTON said it was only for the purpose of persuading a person to work or abstain from work; it would not apply to a lodging-house keeper.

MR. RAWLINSON (Cambridge University) said he did not propose to take part in the discussion on the merits of the clause, but he wanted the Committee to understand what it was voting for. For the Attorney-General to get up and say this Amendment was absolutely ridiculous on the ground that no person would be likely to picket the house of a person not concerned in the trade dispute was hardly in accordance with the experience of a person like himself, who had had something to do with strikes.

SIR JOHN WALTON: I said for the matter of persuading.

MR. RAWLINSON said he was dealing with the first speech of the Attorney-General, in which he said there was nothing in the Amendment, because he could not conceive anyone being so foolish as to go to the house of a man who had no concern in the dispute at all. It must be perfectly well known to people who had had anything to do with strikes that isolated cases had ocurred in which persons had gone to houses for the purpose of obtaining or communicating information. Even in his second speech, the Attorney-General was not putting the issue clearly and directly before the Committee. Isolated cases had occurred where pickets had gone to the houses of people not directly connected with the dispute. Take the case of a young labourer who was working and living somewhere near the works, and the picket went to the mother or father, who might live some little distance away, for the purpose of obtaining information, that being the best place to get information about the young man in question. That was a power which might or might not be right. He was not going into the merits of the dispute, but the hon. and learned Gentleman must know that unless this Amendment were accepted it was possible for the picket to do it. The issue before the Committee was this: if they passed this Amendment they restricted the power of pickets to go into a lodging-house or into a house where a man happened to be. That was the restrictive power of this Amendment. If they did not pass this Amendment, then the pickets had the power, not only to go to the house, or the place where the man might be, but to go to his relatives any distance away, and seek to obtain information from that man's relatives. The view had been expressed on the Opposition side that that was a power which ought to be stopped because it was liable to abuse. He was not, however, dealing with that point now. What he was protesting against was the way in which the Attorney General was dealing with the whole of the Bill. He had no right to treat the Amendment in such an off-hand fashion.

SIR JOHN WALTON said the hon. and learned Member, who apparently had come from a more heated atmosphere, and criticised his conduct to-day, had completely misapprehended the whole question. He did not seek to draw any distinction between attending for the purpose of persuasion, or for the purpose of giving or receiving information. What he wanted to point out was that it would clearly be an illegal thing for a picket to attend a house in order to exercise coercion.

SIR E. CARSON said he did not think the hon. and learned Gentleman yet comprehended the point they had made. He entirely agreed with the Attorney-General that if the words, "reasonable manner" meant what he said, neither at the house of anyone concerned nor at the house of anyone unconcerned could they proceed to exercise coercion.

Therefore, it necessarily followed that they could not go to the house of a person unconcerned in the trade dispute for the purpose of exercising that coercion; but what they objected to was that they could go to the house of a person unconcerned in a dispute, not for the purpose of exercising coercion but for the purposes of picketing at all. What was the justification for going to their houses? Let them leave these people alone. Let it not be possible, because for some reason a trade union felt hostile to some person outside the dispute, that therefore they should be allowed to go down and exercise this right which would be exercised for the first time. The Amendment was one they ought to press and divide upon.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 23; Noes, 224. (Division List No. 306.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood, Rt. Hn Sir Alex. F.
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (City Lond
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Bowles, G. Stewart
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Craik, Sir Henry
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Forster, Henry William
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Morpeth, Viscount
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Thomson, W. Mitchell-(Lanark)
Valentia, Viscount

Tellers for the Ayes—Lord Robert Cecil and Sir Frederick Banbury.

NOES.

Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, Sir J. Williams (Devonp'rt
Bertram, Julius
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W. (Bedfordshire
Brace, William
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Causton, Rt. Hn Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clancy, John Joseph
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C. H. (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cowan, W. H.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duckworth, James
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gill, A. H.
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.)
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hills, J. W.
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D.
Kettle, Thomas Michael
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs)
Mackarness, Frederic C.

Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal,E.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marks,G. Croydon(Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Menzies, Walter
Molteno, Percy Alport
Montagu, E. S.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murphy, John
Napier, T. B.
Nicholls, George
Nicholson,Charles N(Doncaster
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Grady, J.
O'Malley, William
Parker, James (Halifax)
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rees, J. D.
Richards, Thomas(W.Monm'th
Richards, T.F.(Wolverh'mpt'n
Richardson, A.
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Robertson,Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee
Robertson,Sir G.Scott(Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C.E.(Manchester)
Scott, A.H.(Ashton under Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Snowden, P.
Stanley, Hn.A.Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant, Sir Edward (Salisbury
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson, J.W.H.(Somerset,E
Thorne, William
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
Ward, W.Dudley(Southampton
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Whitley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

SIR JOHN WALTON claimed, "That the Question 'That the words of the clause to the end of page 1, line 20, stand part of the clause,' be now put."

Question put, "That the Question 'That the words of the clause to the end of page 1, line 20, stand part of the clause,' be now put"

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 223; Noes, 26. (Division List No. 307.)

AYES.

Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A.(Finsbury,E.)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn,Sir J.Williams(Devonp'rt
Bertram, Julius
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W.(Bedfordshire
Brace, William
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brunner, J.F.L.(Lancs.,Leigh)
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton,Rt. Hn.Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Causton,Rt.Hn.RichardKnight
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins,SirWm.J.(S.Pancras,W.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett,C.H.(Sussex,E.Grist'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cowan, W. H.
Craig, Herbert J.(Tynemouth)
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dickinson,W.H.(St.Pancras,N.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duckworth, James
Duncan,C. (Barrow-in-Furness)
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gill, A. H.

Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Hall, Frederick
Halpin, J.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardie,J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J.M.(Aberdeen,W.)
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D.
Kettle, Thomas Michael
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Leese,Sir Joseph F.(Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J.M.(FalkirkB'ghs)
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Macpherson, J. T.

MacVeagh, Jeremiah(Down,S.)
McVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Mansfield, Harry (Northants)
Marks, G.Croydon(Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Menzies, Walter
Molteno, Percy Alport
Montagu, E. S.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murphy, John
Napier, T. B.
Nicholls, George
Nicholson,Charles N.(Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O Brien,Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Grady, J.
O'Malley, William
Parker, James (Halifax)
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinburgh,Central
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rees, J. D.
Richards,Thomas (W.Monm'th
Richards, T. F.(Wolverh'mpt'n
Richardson, A.
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Robertson, Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee)
Robertson,Sir G.Scott(Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rogers, F. E. Newman

Rose, Charles Day
Samuel, Herbert L.(Cleveland)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann,Sir C.E.(Manchester)
Scott,A.H.(Ashton under Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Snowden, P.
Stanley, Hn.A.Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant,Sir Edward (Salisbury
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson,J.W.H.(Somerset,E.
Thorne, William
Toulmin, George
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent
Ward,W.Dudley (Southampton
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Patrick (Meath, North
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood,Rt Hn.Sir AlexF.
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour,Rt.Hn.A.J.(City Lond.
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Beach,Hn.Michael Hugh Hicks
Bowles, G. Stewart
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R.(Marylebone, E.)

Craik, Sir Henry
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Forster, Henry William
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hills, J. W.
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Morpeth, Viscount
Parkes, Ebenezer

Pease,Herbert Pike(Darlington
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Rawlinson,John Frederick Peel
Smith, F. E.(Liverpool,Walton)
Thomson, W. Mitchell (Lanark
Valentia, Viscount

TELLERS FOR THE NOES — Si. Frederick Banbury and Mr. Evelyn Cecil.

Question put accordingly.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 225; Noes, 24. (Division List No. 308.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy

Allen, A.Acland (Christchurch)
Asquith,Rt.Hon.HerbertHenry
Astbury, John Meir

Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.

Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, F. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn,Sir J.Williams(Devonp'rt
Bertram, Julius
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W.(Bedfordshire
Brace, William
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J.F.L.(Lancs.,Leigh)
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton,Rt. Hn. Sidney Charles
Cameron, Robert
Causton,Rt.Hn.Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Collins,Sir W.J.(S.Pancras,W.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett,C H (Sussex,E.Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cowan, W. H.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dickinson, W.H.(St Pancras,N.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duckworth, James
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gill, A. H.
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Hall, Frederick
Halpin, J.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardie,J.Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson,J.M. (Aberdeen,W.
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hills, J. W.
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy N.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D.
Kettle, Thomas Michael
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Leese,Sir Joseph E.(Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald,J.M.(Falkirk B'ghs
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh,Jeremiah (Down,S.)
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal,E.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Marks,G.Croydon (Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Menzies, Walter
Molteno, Percy Alport
Montagu, E. S.
Mooney, J. J.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murphy, John
Napier, T. B.
Nicholls, George
Nicholson,CharlesN.(Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Grady, J.
O'Malley, William
Parker, James (Halifax)
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C.E.(Edinburgh,Central)
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rees, J. D.
Richards,Thomas (W.Monm'th
Richards, T. F.(Wolverh'mpt'n
Richardson, A.
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Robertson,Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee
RobertsonSir G.Scott (Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann,Sir C.E.(Manchester)
Scott,A.H (Ashton-under-Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F.(Leitrim,S.)
Snowden, P.
Stanley, Hn.A.Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant,Sir Edward (Salisbury
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson,J.W.H.(Somerset,E.
Thorne, William
Toulmin, George
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L.(Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent
Ward W.Dudley(Southampton
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood,RtHn.SirAlex.F.
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour,Rt Hn.A.J.(City Lond.
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Beach,Hn.Michael Hugh Hicks
Bowles, G. Stewart
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Craik, Sir Henry
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Forster, Henry William
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Lyttelton, Rt.Hon. Alfred
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Morpeth, Viscount
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease,HerbertPike (Darlington
Rawlinson,John Frederick Peel
Smith, F. E.(Liverpool,Walton
Thomson,W. Mitchell-(Lanark)
Valentia, Viscount

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Frederick Banbury and Mr. Evelyn Cecil.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE moved to insert in line 20 after "working" the words "and such attending shall not be held to be a nuisance." He said the Amendment raised the question whether those who engage in picketing should be subject to the law of nuisance. Nuisance was an offence which could be dealt with in two different ways—a public nuisance by indictment and a private nuisance by injunction. It was by injunction that they would have to deal with it before the courts. This was the subject of a great deal of discussion before the Standing Committee, and a great deal of evidence was given in regard to it before the Commission. The principal witness on the law with relation to the subject was Mr. Askwith, K.C. Mr. Askwith's evidence extended over two or three different sittings of the Commission and was of extreme interest. In giving his original statement he said that peaceable-persuasion-picketing might be struck at as a nuisance under common law. He read the words of the Master of the Rolls and Lord Lindley to show that picketing might amount to a private nuisance, and be subject to injunction, or that it might be indicted as a public nuisance. He was examined by Mr. Arthur Cohen, who was one of the highest authorities on the subject, and in that examination he said that if peaceful persuasion was authorised by the Bill, and if a new sub-section were passed, it did not follow that it would prevent persons from taking action against picketing, and that an injunction might be obtained against workmen engaged in peaceful persuasion in respect of its being a nuisance. The matter was brought up on several subsequent occasions, and it was suggested that the Bill should contain a clause as to picketing on different lines from the clause now before the Committee, but very similar to a clause which was before the Commission in different Bills they examined. It was called Mr. Haldane's suggestion. Mr. Cohen put a whole series of questions to Mr. Askwith with regard to that suggestion. His answers were reported at page 37 of the evidence. Mr. Haldane's suggestion appeared to have been that picketing should be dealt with as a public or private nuisance, and that matter was pursued for some time. Mr. Askwith did not appear to understand the exact point put to him. He said that picketing was already a nuisance, and that those who engaged in it were liable to action for public and private nuisance, in the way both of indictment and injunction. Whether they should leave those engaged in peaceful picketing to be liable to four forms of prosecution—for molestation or obstruction, under the word "reasonably," indictment for public nuisance, and injunction for private nuisance—was clearly a matter which ought to be raised on this clause, and it was for that reason that he ventured to move the Amendment to see what view the Government took upon it.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 20, after the word 'working,' to insert the words 'and such attending shall not be held to be a nuisance.'"—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR JOHN WALTON said he took it that the words proposed to be left out were necessary. His right hon. friend was no doubt right in saying that picketing in the sense in which that expression was understood before the passing of the more recent legislation in regard to trade disputes was under the common law of the nature of a nuisance, and that those who engaged in it were liable to a prosecution or an action. Under the Act of 1875 the only authorisation of picketing was by way of qualification of the section which made it an unlawful act for any person to watch or beset. This Bill put picketing upon an entirely new footing. It was a distinct declaration that certain proceedings should be lawful, and it was perfectly clear if the framework of the clause was considered that any acts which came within its scope were lawful acts; and if they were lawful acts they were lawful for all purposes, and they could not say that certain acts which were lawful acts could be deemed to be a nuisance, because a nuisance was an unlawful act, and therefore they would have a contradiction in terms. It followed that any picketing which was held to be peaceable and reasonable and which was conducted with the view of exercising rights under this section would be held by a Court to be lawful and could not be held to be a nuisance. It was unnecessary to say that conduct which Parliament declared to be lawful should not be unlawful in the sense of being a nuisance.

MR. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, N.E., Clitheroe) said he wished he could be satisfied with the assurance of the Attorney-General, but he was afraid he could not. The words of the old Act dealing with this question were fairly safe. The words were—

> "Attending at or near a place where a person resides or works."

Peaceful persuasion under that clause had been held to be a nuisance. That was their difficulty. Justice Chitty stated—

> "Proof that the nuisance was peacefully to persuade other people would afford no defence for such an action."

At present, persons might be peacefully persuaded provided the method employed was not a nuisance to other people. That was the whole danger of the situation, and if these words were not accepted he was afraid they would confer certain powers by the clause which could be knocked out by a charge of nuisance.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE drew attention to the fact that on page 11 of the Report of the Commission was set out the clause of the Bill of the Member for Spen Valley, and that clause began with the words—

> "It shall be lawful."

The Commissioners added—

> "although the evidence might be such as to constitute a nuisance."

They seemed to take the opposite view to the Attorney-General.

SIR JOHN WALTON said the Commissioners pointed out that it might be held to be a nuisance, but if they put the word "reasonable" in, and the Court held that the right was exercised in a reasonable way, it could not be a nuisance, because if it were a nuisance it could not be reasonable.

MR. ATHERLEY-JONES differed from the Attorney-General, and said he was perfectly clear in his own mind that the objection urged by his right hon. friend the Member for the Forest of Dean was well founded. The law did not authorise illegal acts. This section did not authorise illegal acts. Supposing they showed that either intimidation or a nuisance or molestation had been committed, the clause would not protect against an action. Therefore the clause was perfectly illusory and afforded no protection in respect of nuisance. The clause did nothing more than state what the existing law was, with the exception that it provided that they must also prove that the acts allowed were done in a reasonable manner. If the clause passed in its present form, therefore, trade unions would be worse off than before, because they would have to establish that picketing was conducted in a reasonable manner. He believed his right hon. friend's Amendment was good law and good sense.

MR. J. WARD (Stoke-on-Trent) gathered from the observations of the Attorney-General that he agreed that it was necessary to provide that picketing should not be treated as a nuisance, but that his contention was that the clause was already framed to meet that. But trade unionists were not satisfied that the clause as drafted did meet it. If the Attorney-General agreed with them in principle, what objection could he have to the inclusion of the words suggested in the Amendment? He hoped the question would be put to the vote and that those who at the General Election agreed to restore trade unions to the position they occupied prior to the Taff Vale and other adverse judgments, would be found voting for the Amendment.

Question put.

The Committee divided: Ayes 122, Noes 127. (Division List No. 309.)

AYES.

braham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Alden, Percy
Atherley-Jones, L.
Balcarres, Lord
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Beale, W. P.
Bell, Richard
Billson, Alfred
Brace, William
Brooke, Stopford
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Castlereagh, Viscount
Clancy, John Joseph
Cleland, J. W.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett,C.H.(Sussex,E.Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cowan, W. H.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crooks, William
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duncan, C.(Barrow-in-Furness)
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Ffrench, Peter
Flynn, James Christopher
Gill, A. H.
Glover, Thomas
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Hall, Frederick
Halpin, J.
Hardie,J.Keir(Merthyr Tydvil)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Hazel, Dr.A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hills, J. W.
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D.
Kettle, Thomas Michael
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lehmann, R. C.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald,J.M.(Falkirk B'ghs)
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down,S.)
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal,E.
Maddison, Frederick
Mansfield, Harry (Northants)
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Masterman, C. F. G.
Mooney, J. J.
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, Philip
Murphy, John
Nicholls, George
Nolan, Joseph
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Grady, J.
Parker, James (Halifax)
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh. Central)
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Rolland
Richards,Thomas (W.Monm'th
Richards, T. F.(Wolverh'mpt'n
Richardson, A.
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C.E. (Manchester
Scott,A.H.(Ashton under Lyne)
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Smith, F. E.(Liverpool, Walton
Smyth, Thomas F.(Leitrim, S.)
Snowden, P.
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Thorne, William
Toulmin, George
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
Weir, James Galloway
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Arthur Henderson and Mr. Fenwick.

NOES

Acland-Hood,Rt Hn SirAlex.F.
Agnew, George William
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Asquith, Rt.Hn.Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury,E.)
Balfour,Rt Hn.A.J.(CityLond.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Barrow, Percy (Bedford)
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beach,Hn.Michael Hugh Hicks
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn,Sir J.Williams(Devonp'rt
Bertram, Julius
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black,Arthur W.(Bedfordshire
Bowles, G. Stewart
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brunner, J. F. L.(Lancs.,Leigh)
Bryce, J. A. (Inverness Burghs)
Buxton,Rt.Hn. Sydney Charles
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Causton,Rt.Hn.RichardKnight
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clarke, C. Goddard
Clough, W.

Collins, Stephen (Lambeth)
Craik, Sir Henry
Crossley, William J.
Dickinson, W.H.(St.Pancras,N.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duckworth, James
Elibank, Master of
Everett, R. Lacey
Ferens, T. R.
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Henderson, J.M.(Aberdeen,W.)
Hobart, Sir Robert
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jardine, Sir J.
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Kearley, Hudson E.
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Mackarness, Frederic C.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mallet, Charles E.
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston
Marnham, F. J
Massie, J.
Menzies, Walter
Molteno, Percy Alport
Montagu, E. S.
Morse, L. L.
Napier, T. B.
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncaster
Nield, Herbert
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Parkes, Ebenezer
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rees, J. D.
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Robertson, Rt. Hn. E.(Dundee)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Sears, J. E.
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Stanley, Hn. A.Lyulph(Chesh.)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Tennant, Sir Edward (Salisb'ry
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson, J.W.H.(Somerset,E
Thomson, W. Mitchell (Lanark)
Ure, Alexander
Valentia, Viscount
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Ward, W.Dudley(Southampton
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilson, Henry J.)York, W.R.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

MR. KEIR HARDIE desired to ask the Chairman's ruling upon a personal matter. In the Division Lobby while the division was being taken the hon. Gentleman opposite, the Chief Government Whip, sought to induce Members not to vote for the Amendment on the plea that if they did so the Government would move to report progress and certain consequences might follow. But that was a mere preliminary. The personal matter upon which he wished to ask the Chairman's ruling was that the hon. Gentleman said—

> "If you vote for this Amendment you are playing this fellow's game—"

pointing to himself (Mr. Keir Hardie) when he said "this fellow." He wished to ask whether a personal remark of that kind was in order?

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not think that is a point of order.

MR. KEIR HARDIE: What is it then?

*****THE CHAIRMAN**: There is no threat of an improper character in saying that the Government would report progress in certain circumstances or in saying that "You are playing this fellow's game." It seems to me to come under the head of persuading peaceably and in a reasonable manner.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. GEORGE WHITELEY (Yorkshire, W.R., Pudsey): The description of the conversation which the hon. Member has given is absolutely correct. It was the great necessity of avoiding an accident to the Bill which made me say so, and I hope the hon. Gentleman will take this incident to heart.

MR. KEIR HARDIE: I wish to ask why the Chief Whip does not think that as a matter of personal honour he should withdraw the offensive remark "This fellow."

MR. GEORGE WHITELEY: If the hon. Member thinks it offensive I will withdraw it. But it was not intended to be offensive.

*MR. CLAVELL SALTER (Hants, Basingstoke) had an Amendment on the Paper to move—

"In page 1, line 20, after the word 'working,' to insert the words 'provided that nothing in this section shall make it lawful to procure the breach of any contract or to act so as to cause reasonable apprehension in the mind of any person that violence will be used to him or his family, or damage be done to his property.'"

*THE CHAIRMAN said the first part of the hon. Member's Amendment was in order, but the second part was not. It was in order down to the words "breach of contract."

*MR. CLAVELL SALTER accordingly moved a proviso to the effect that nothing in this section should make it lawful to procure the breach of any contract. He said he wished to insert words which would make it clear that picketing should not be used for the purpose of inciting and procuring persons to break their contracts. When he had the honour of speaking on a previous occasion he pointed out that this Bill would have the effect of making it possible for pickets to incite people to break their contracts without punishment, and he thought the learned Solicitor-General dissented from that view. He then asked that words should be inserted in the Bill which would make the matter clear. He noticed that the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean proposed to deal with this matter on Clause 3, and if it was left generally that a picket was allowed to solicit people to abstain from work when those people were under contract, the sentence would be ambiguous in the highest degree upon the point whether it would be unlawful to solicit persons to break their contracts. He would ask the Attorney-General whether following the declaration of the Solicitor-General he did not think it was desirable that this question should be dealt with, either in the form he suggested, or in some other and better form, in order to make it clear that the picketing and solicitation which were to be sanctioned by the clause should not be such as to procure breaches of contract.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 20, after the word 'working' to insert the words 'provided that nothing in this section shall make it lawful to procure the breach of any contract.'"—(*Mr. Clavell Salter.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*SIR JOHN WALTON said he could not accept the Amendment. He had previously explained to the Committee why he could not do so. He did not think the Amendment would be in the interests of fair play and free speech, and it would make the application of the clause exceedingly difficult. The hon. Member for Derby told the Committee that he went down to a town in South Wales to persuade a number of railway employees, who had been recruited in the East End, not to interfere with the strike, and he made a speech to them at the station, and that it turned out, although he had no knowledge of the fact, that these men were brought down under a contract by the company, and were bound to work during the strike. He did not think this Amendment was in the interests of free speech which might be inspired by a desire to get fair play. On these considerations he had come to the conclusion that he could not accept the Amendment.

SIR E. CARSON said he found very great difficulty in ascertaining either what was the view of the Attorney-General on this Amendment, or what was the meaning of the section. He could not say whether this section would threaten or persuade men to break their contracts or not, but he thought it was a clause that must bring very great difficulty to any tribunal before which it might come. If he were a younger lawyer than he was he would be delighted with it. He really thought they ought to make this thing clear. They were divided very sharply about this question and he did not hesitate in the least to put his own views. What was the use of passing a section in this Bill which would cost years of argument and hundreds of pounds to take it up to the House of Lords to decide exactly what this House meant to settle in this matter. If they were going to legitimise nuisance or crime or anything illegal let them say so in plain terms. As sure as this clause was passed what would happen would be that they would find these questions coming before the Courts; they would be argued at great length and the Courts would decide. The Courts might decide it in a way the Government did not intend and then they would have hon. Members coming down and saying, "It is all the fault of the Courts who have made a law we did not intend to make." That was a very unfair thing to say of the Courts, because they put these things in such a manner that it might be fairly said to mean that one was only to persuade a man not to break a contract or to be open to the construction that the man was at once to cease work and to disregard his contract. If the Courts were asked to find out what it was this House of Commons determined they would always assume that anything that had hitherto been illegal was still illegal, unless this House said in the plainest possible terms that they intended to alter it; the Courts could only alter it in the very narrowest way, because they would naturally say the House of Commons could not have intended to make legal that which had hitherto been illegal. He once heard a Judge when construing a section of an Act say—

> "As regards this Act of Legislature I am in the position of a person trying to construe the will of an illiterate testator. I cannot make out what he meant, and he is not here for me to ask."

That was exactly the case here. If the House desired to authorise a person to break his contract it ought to say so. He was not going to argue the question, but he did say in all sincerity that there was an important and difficult question of law arising on this point, and he thought the House ought to decide the matter for itself one way or the other.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 29; Noes, 231. (Division List No. 310.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood, Sir Alex. F.
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (City Lond.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Bowles, G. Stewart
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cave, George
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Du Cros, Harvey
Forster, Henry William
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, South
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Nield, Herbert
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton
Thomson, W. Mitchell- (Lanark
Valentia, Viscount

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. Salter and Mr. Evelyn Cecil.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Bell, Richard
Bellairs Carlyon
Benn, Sir J. Williams (Devonp'rt
Bertram, Julius
Billson, Alfred
Black, Arthur W. (Bedfordshire
Brace, William
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Bryce, J. A. (Inverness Burghs)
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C H (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cowan, W. H.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N.
Dilke Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duckworth, James
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)

Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Flynn, Peter Christopher
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gill, A. H,
Gladstone, Rt Hn. Herbert John
Glover, Thomas
Gooch, George Peabody
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Hall, Frederick
Halpin, J.
Harcourt, Right Hon. Lewis
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.)
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hills, J. W.
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D.
Kettle, Thomas Michael
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.

Lever, W. H. (Cheshire, Wirral)
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Maclean, Donald
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Menzies, Walter
Molteno, Percy Alport
Montagu, E. S.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Murphy, John
Napier, T. B.
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien, Kendal (Tiperary Mid)
O'Grady, J.
O'Malley, William
Parker, James (Halifax)
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinburgh, Central
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rae, Russell (Gloucester)
Rees, J. D.
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'th
Richards, T. F. (Wolverhampt'n
Richardson, A.
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Robertson, Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas

Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C. E. (Manchester)
Scott, A. H. (Ashton under Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Snowdon, P.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant, Sir Edward (Salisbury
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson, J. W. H. (Somerset, E
Thorne, William
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent
Ward, W. Dudley (Southampton
Weir, James Galloway
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

Sir JOHN WALTON claimed, "That the Question 'That Clause 2 stand part of the Bill' be now put."

Question put, "That the Question 'That the clause stand part of the Bill' be now put."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 231; Noes, 31. (Division List No. 311.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy

Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.

Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)

Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn,Sir J.Williams(Devonp'rt
Benn,W.(T'w'r Hamlets,S.Geo.
Bertram, Julius
Billson, Alfred
Black,Arthur W.(Bedfordshire)
Brace, William
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner,J. F. L.(Lancs.,Leigh)
Bryce, J. A. (Inverness Burghs)
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton,Rt.Hn.Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins,SirWm.J.(S.Pancras,W.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett,C.H.(Sussex,E.Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cowan, W. H.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dickinson, W.H.(St.Pancras,N.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duckworth, James
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gill, A. H.
Gladstone,Rt.Hn.Herbert John
Glover, Thomas
Gooch, George Peabody
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Hall, Frederick
Halpin, J.
Hardie,J.Keir(Merthyr Tydvil
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J.M.(Aberdeen,W.)
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D.
Kettle, Thomas Michael
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Leese,Sir JosephF.(Accrington)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, W. H. (Cheshire, Wirral
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Maclean, Donald
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.)
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal,E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Menzies, Walter
Molteno, Percy Alport
Montagu, E. S.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Napier, T. B.
Nicholls, George
Nicholson,CharlesN.(Doncaster
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien,Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Grady, J.
O'Malley, William
Parker, James (Halifax)
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert(Staffs. Leek)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price,C. E.(Edinburgh,Central)
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rees, J. D.
Richards, Thomas(W.Monm'th
Richards, T.F.(Wolverh'mpt'n
Richardson, A.
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Robertson, Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee)
Robertson,Sir G.Scott(Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C. E.(Manchester)
Scott, A.H. (Ashton underLyne
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick, B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Snowden, P.
Stanley, Hn. A.Lyulph(Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant,Sir Edward (Salisbury
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson,J.W.H.(Somerset,E.
Thorne, William
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
Ward, W.Dudley(Southampton
Weir, James Galloway
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas

Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt Hn. A.J. (City Lond.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Bowles, G. Stewart
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cave, George
Cavendish, Rt. Hon. Victor C. W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone,
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Du Cros, Harvey
Forster, Henry William
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, South
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.
Hills, J. W.
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Nield, Herbert
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton
Thomson, W. Mitchell- (Lanark)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

Question put accordingly.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 238; Noes, 31. (Division List No. 312.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, Sir J. Williams (Devonp'rt
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Bertram, Julius
Billson Alfred
Black, Arthur W. (Bedfordshire
Brace, William
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs. Leigh)
Bryce, J. A. (Inverness Burghs)
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clancy, John Joseph
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C. H (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cowan, W. H.
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duckworth, James
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gill, A. H.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Glover, Thomas
Gooch, George Peabody
Grant, Corrie
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Hall, Frederick
Halpin, J.
Harcourt, Right Hon. Lewis
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hazel, Dr. A. F.
Hazleton, Richard
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.)
Higham, John Sharp
Hills, J. W.
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Issacs, Rufus Daniel
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Micheal
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D.
Kettle, Thomas Micheal
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, W. H. (Cheshire, Wirral)
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Maclean, Donald
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W.

Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Marnham, F. J.
Massie, J.
Menzies, Walter
Molteno, Percy Alport
Montagu, E. S.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morrell, Philip
Morse, L. L.
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murphy, John
Napier, T. B.
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Grady, J.
O'Malley, William
Parker, James (Halifax)
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinburgh, Central
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rees, J. D.
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'th
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Richardson, A.
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Robertson, Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee)
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C. E. (Manchester)
Scott, A. H. (Ashton-under-Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick, B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Snowden, P.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant, Sir Edward (Salisbury
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson, J. W. H. (Somerset, E.
Thorne, William
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent
Ward, W. Dudley (Southampton
Weir, James Galloway
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Partick (Meath, North)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Rt. Hn. Sir Alex F.
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (City Lond.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Bowles, G. Stewart
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cave, George
Cavendish, Rt. Hon. Victor C. W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Du Cros, Harvey
Fletcher, J. S.
Forster, Henry William
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, South
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Morpeth, Viscount
Nield, Herbert
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Valentia, Viscount

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr Rawlinson and Mr. Salter.

Clause 3:—

*MR. BOWLES moved an Amendment on page 1, line 24, to leave out the words 'contemplation or.' He could not understand why those words were placed in this clause at all. In an ordinary trade dispute any act done which interfered with the trade or employment of some person, or, what was far more important, the right of some person to dispose of his labour as he willed, now gave rise to action as a tort. It was proposed by this clause to differentiate and withdraw that kind of remedy from the person who was so interfered with. Was it necessary to extend that immunity altogether outside the four corners of an existing trade dispute, to the illimitable horizon of a contemplated trade dispute? In a former debate he said that hon. Gentlemen below the gangway, and the trade union leaders generally, were always contemplating trade disputes. [Cries of "No."] Since then he had had the advantage of referring to an interesting article written by the hon. Member for Leicester, published in the *National Review*, upon this very Bill. The hon. Member said in that article—

> "A trade union is organised primarily for industrial purposes. Its essential characteristic is that of a fighting machine. No

> other feature it may have acquired in the course of time can be allowed to obliterate that. . . . . . No one has any right to expect that intelligent and clear-sighted workers will be cajoled into any other view of trade unionism than that it is an engine of war performing humane and beneficent functions during peace."

He supposed that whilst a trade union was contemplating a trade dispute would be a time of industrial peace. He could understand giving power of an altogether extraordinary character to trade unions of masters and men during an industrial war, but he could not understand upon this clause any more than upon the other why they should extend those immunities, the only defence of which was that they were necessary because of the extraordinary conditions of industrial war, to a time which was admittedly one of industrial peace during which these disputes were merely in contemplation. The words were extremely wide. The view of the hon. Member for Leicester was that trade unions were engines of war.

THE CHAIRMAN: May I point out to the hon. Member that what this clause deals with is "an act done by a person in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute." The hon. Member is talking about trade unions, and a trade union is not a person.

*MR. BOWLES contended that a member of a trade union was a person. The avowed policy of this clause was to apply only to a time of industrial war, and he did not understand why it should be extended to the mere contemplation of a trade dispute. He hoped the learned Attorney-General would be able to explain why this very wide extension of this principle was considered necessary.

SIR JOHN WALTON said this clause was inserted to meet the suggestion that it would be well to give legislative effect to the decision of the House of Lords in the case of Allen *v.* Flood. The Commissioners had themselves framed a provision even wider than that contained in the present Bill, and the words "in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute" were a restriction which the Commissioners suggested as an improvement of the law. The majority Report stated—

> "That an Act should be passed to declare that an individual shall not be liable for doing any act not in itself an actionable tort only on the ground that it is an interference with another person's trade, business, or employment."

He took that view himself. He thought the hon. Member for Norwood would acknowledge that he had discussed at considerable length the effect of the words "contemplation or" in connection with Clause 1, and in regard to this Amendment he had used much the same arguments. Consequently he had repeated the answer which he gave upon an earlier Amendment.

SIR EDWARD CARSON said he did not want to prolong this discussion in regard to the words "contemplation or." He understood that it was not proposed to alter the law at all by this section, but the Attorney-General merely wished to make the law clear as it had been laid down in the Courts.

*MR. BOWLES said he remained of the same opinion, but as he did not desire to detain the Committee, he asked leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

The next Amendment stood in the name of Mr. Clavell Salter as follows:—

> "In page 1, line 15, after the word 'dispute,' to insert the words 'between employers and workmen.'"

*MR. CLAVELL SALTER said he moved an Amendment in regard to this matter on the first clause. It was defeated by a substantial majority and he did not desire to take up the time of the Committee in moving this Amendment. The Committee would remember that on the occasion of the discussion of the other Amendment the Attorney-General admitted the necessity of defining "trade dispute," and said he would consider the matter. He did not know whether it would be convenient for the hon. and learned Gentleman now to give the definition. He thought it would be of great assistance to know what were the terms of the definition of "trade dispute" which he proposed to incorporate in the Bill.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think the hon. Member had better move, as there is nothing before the Committee.

*MR. CLAVELL SALTER: Then I beg to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 15, after the word 'dispute,' to insert the words 'between employers and workmen.'"—(*Mr. Clavell Salter.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR JOHN WALTON said he could not formally at this stage give a definition in reply to a question of this kind. He said he would do so on the Report stage, and he certainly would.

*MR. CLAVELL SALTER asked leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

LORD R. CECIL moved to leave out the words "as a tort." He did not know the meaning of the words as used here, and he did not like to assent to the inclusion of words in a Bill of this kind unless he knew what they meant. He could not understand how an act could be actionable otherwise than as a tort. He would be glad to be instructed on the matter.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 25, to leave out the words 'as a tort.'"—(*Lord R. Cecil.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

SIR JOHN WALTON said he could not see how it could be actionable as a tort under this clause. He could not accept the Amendment.

LORD R. CECIL said he did not desire to press the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said he did not know whether the Attorney-General was inclined to accept the Amendment of which he had given notice, to insert after "only" the words "that it induces some other person to break a contract of employment or." If he was not prepared to accept it he must proceed to argue it.

SIR JOHN WALTON: I am willing to accept it.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said he understood that from his previous speech.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 26, after the word 'only' to insert the words 'that it induces some other person to break a contract of employment, or.'"—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

LORD R. CECIL said he strongly held that these words did make this a different clause indeed, and he thought the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean considered it better not to explain, being an old Parliamentary hand, how far the words went. Here they were proposing to say that provided an act, which unquestionably would be actionable under other circumstances, was done in furtherance of a trade dispute, it was not to be actionable whether it was done by a trade union or anybody else. Any act done with the view of inducing another to break his contract was to be free from any action. That was a very serious proposition indeed. It would make a considerable difference in the circumstances which he thought should be actionable. It would make an enormous difference in a large number of commercial transactions.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: It is quite recent law.

LORD R. CECIL said it had been law for more than half a century now. The right hon. Baronet said it was quite recent law. That only meant that it was so declared, and that the point had never arisen before. It was always the law, and that was the assumption they had to make. It was only the first time that the Courts had had it brought before them. It was an important and a far-reaching matter, and he did hope that the Attorney-General would not assent to the insertion of the words at five o'clock on a Friday afternoon.

Mr. CAVE (Surrey, Kingston) said this was a serious matter. He had the Report of the Commission before him, and he found that the Commission expressly negatived this very Amendment. It was directly contrary to the recommendation of the Commission, and he would suggest to the Committee that it should not be accepted without much consideration.

Mr. LYTTELTON (St. George's, Hanover Square) said the Amendment moved by the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean was not only absolutely against the recommendation of the Commission, but absolutely against the common law, and so far from its being applied merely in the case of trade disputes, it altered the whole of the general law. The matter did not stop there. It was not only against the advice of the Commissioners and the common law, but it was against the view the Attorney-General formerly expressed. The right hon. Baronet might not have been present when the Attorney-General said it was against his opinion. What he said to his hon. and learned friend a moment ago was that this clause was declaratory, and that it involved no amendment of the existing law. No one could contend that that opinion was in harmony with the acceptance of the right hon. Baronet's Amendment.

*Mr. RUFUS ISAACS (Reading) thought there was some confusion in regard to this matter. Surely no one would state that it was against the common law merely to induce some other person to break a contract of employment, though it was actionable to do so maliciously. This clause did not touch that. All it said was that merely to induce a person to break a contract of employment was not actionable. He should just give an instance to bring home to the mind of the Committee the distinction between the two classes of cases. He instanced a man whose daughter was engaged to be married—a promise which was a contract at common law. Suppose after the promise of marriage the father came to the conclusion that it would be very undesirable that his daughter should marry the man. There was no ground in law, nothing had happened which would justify a breach of contract in the ordinary sense, but nevertheless there were circumstances which plainly indicated to the father that it was desirable his daughter should not marry this man to whom she was engaged under a valid contract at common law, and he induced her to break the contract which she had made to marry the man; and therefore he persuaded his daughter—persuaded her with effect, which was inducing—to break the contract by refusing to marry. Thereupon, if the view of the law was as stated by the right hon. Member for St. George's, Hanover Square, an action could be brought by the man against the father for having unlawfully induced his daughter to break the contract. The father would say in answer, "Well, I thought it was my duty to advise my daughter to break this contract, which could not possibly lead to a happy marriage." Thereupon, if the jury came to the conclusion that he acted honestly under a sense of duty, he did not believe an action could be maintained. That was an instance of inducing a person to break a contract, but it was an instance of doing it not maliciously. Again, suppose a particular work which was carried on by the men of a union was most injuriously affecting the health of the men. Thereupon the trade union leaders said to the men, "It is true you are under contract to give a month's notice, but if you wait to serve that month the result will be that you may not all be alive at the end of the month, and therefore what we advise you to do is to break your contracts and come out, and let an action be brought by the employers against us, the officials of the union, for having induced you to break your contracts."

Sir F. BANBURY: They would not do it.

*Mr. RUFUS ISAACS said he quite agreed. They would not do it, and why? Because it was only inducing a person to break a contract of employment, but if it was maliciously inducing a person to break a contract of employment then it was actionable. It had been laid down by the Courts of law that it was actionable to induce a man to break a contract if the inducement was malicious; and the Courts had said that maliciously to induce a person to break a contract meant to induce him to do it without just cause or excuse. Where, he thought, there was a difficulty—and he was afraid always must be a difficulty in the present state of our law—was to determine on which side of the law the inducement was to fall, whether it was with or without just cause or excuse. The trade union representatives would remember a case, in which this point was raised, which went to the House of Lords, when the matter was discussed at great length. The point then was in respect of the action taken by the South Wales Miners' Federation in inducing men to break their contracts of employment in order to restrict the output of coal, so that they might keep up the rate of wage, which it was their duty to maintain. The question was whether that was a malicious inducement to break a contract. There was considerable divergence of opinion on the point, which he might illustrate by saying that in the first Court it was held that these men having acted honestly and done what they conceived was right in pursuance of their duty as members of the trade union, their action could not be held to be malicious, and the case was decided in favour of the trade union. On appeal, however, it was held by the majority of the Court of Appeal and by the House of Lords that these circumstances did not afford just cause or excuse. In that case the tribunal was pressed very hard, both in the Court of Appeal and in the House of Lords, to explain what they thought would be just cause or excuse in the case of a trade union; but the Courts contented themselves with saying that in their view this particular case did not fall within the lines of being an inducement with just cause and excuse. He had only referred to these cases for the purpose of pointing out to the Committee that what they were asked to do by the insertion of these words was not to change the law unless they inserted also in that same clause the word maliciously, which the right hon. Baronet did not propose to insert, and which had not been accepted by the Attorney-General. The clause would, if it was intended to change the law, have to be so amended as to read after "only," "that it maliciously induces some other person to break a contract of employment." In his view the words proposed to be inserted would not be construed by the Courts as changing the law, but would be held as the remaining parts of the clause admittedly were, merely declaratory of the law.

SIR E. CARSON said that what he understood from the hon. Gentleman was that the words made no change at all. But it had been held that if they intentionally procured a man, he did not use the word "maliciously" at all, but if they did it intentionally and without some just cause or excuse they did then give rise to something that was actionable. What he wanted to know was, was the Amendment before them not intended to cover or relieve a case where a trade union, or any person, in the course of a trade dispute intentionally brought about a breach of contract. If it was only going to cover a case where it was a breach of contract lawfully brought about, and if all these words meant was that it should be lawful hereafter to do what had hitherto been lawful, then he would not oppose the insertion of the words; but his own opinion was that there would be a very strong argument upon the words hereafter, and how it would be decided he did not think any lawyer could say.

*MR. SHACKLETON said that so far as the legal gentlemen were concerned they might argue the point for an hour, but he and his friends knew this matter from experience. He would give an instance which occurred to himself, and he thought the Committee would realise that this was a case which ought to be covered. In this case, after considerable delay and after every effort to bring about a settlement, they had a strike in a Lancashire own. The dispute was not about wages; it was about the quality of the material supplied to the operators. They endeavoured to get compensation for the bad material and they failed. Eventually the weavers themselves demanded that they should cease work rather than go on as they were, and the union had to consent to this and to serve notice in a proper manner. The employers immediately sent out a circular, advertised in the newspapers, and placarded the town all round to this effect—

> "Wanted, weavers for——mill. Standard list of wages paid."

No operative who had been out of work for two years would refuse to rush to the firm for work where the employer had declared that the trade union rate of wages was paid. As the result of that advertisement they got the workmen. As secretary he claimed the right to call a meeting of those weavers and explained to them, "You have been brought here under a wrong impression. The dispute is not about wages at all, but about bad material, which has in effect reduced wages. We ask you to consider whether it is a fair thing for you to come down here to take positions on information of this kind which is only part of the truth and not altogether true." He proceeded no further and said not another word to those weavers, but the effect of that statement of the other side of the case was that they refused to go on any longer or to assist the employer in his effort to force on the old employees bad material, and they broke the contract. They were under a contract to give seven or fourteen days notice. Was he, for simply stating the facts of the case in that way, to be held responsible as an individual? It had been held to be illegal to induce those people to break their contracts, and therefore he thought the Committee would fully realise that it was unreasonable to put them in such a position that they would be landed in serious consequences for simply stating the facts of the case. In that case, however, he left these people to decide for themselves whether they would break the contract. He knew how risky it was under the law as it then stood and he refused to go any further than simply state the true facts. He thought they were entitled to exemption in regard to an action such as that.

*SIR JOHN WALTON said he had not spoken after the right hon. Baronet moved the Amendment because that very question arose in the discussion on an earlier clause. It was then stated that the doctrine of Bowen *v.* Hall was inapplicable in the course of such disputes as were contemplated by this Bill, and he gave the Committee some reasons for supporting that view. In the first place that doctrine, novel as it was, depended entirely upon the consideration whether the persuasion used was malicious. The ordinary cases of persuasion of which they had had illustrations in the speech just made could scarcely be held to be malicious in any fair sense of the term, although so regarded by the law; that was to say, if the men conducting the strike were fairly stating the case of labourers who had struck to labourers who were imported they could scarcely call that proceeding malicious. There were many cases in which workmen were engaged in ignorance of or under some misrepresentation of the true nature of the dispute. If the law were to put a stop to every effort at persuasion in regard to men, however numerous, who had entered into contract under misapprehension, however grave, it would be impossible that these disputes should be conducted on equal terms.

*MR. HILLS did not think the Amendment went far enough. Even if a person induced a man to break his contract for a malicious motive and for the exclusive benefit of the person who induced the breach, he held that justice would be satisfied by giving the person whose contract was broken a right of action against the person breaking it, and not against the third person who had induced the breach. In all these disputes a great many wrongs were done for which there was no legal remedy.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY moved as an Amendment to the Amendment to insert after "induces" the words "otherwise than maliciously." The hon. Member for Reading had told them that the Amendment was of no practical effect, as it was covered by the law as it stood at present. Great harm was done by not making the clauses perfectly clear, and all he desired to do was to make distinct what was the opinion of the House of Commons on this point. This was not a question of a father seeking to prevent a daughter carrying out a foolish marriage contract. They were now dealing with grown-up men who were supposed to know what they were doing. Take the case of a colliery dispute. The men might go on strike because of a dispute about wages or something else. As a result the colliery might be flooded and hundreds of thousands of pounds worth of damage done. Surely it would be absolutely wrong to sanction such a thing as that. He wished by his Amendment to introduce a safeguard against such damage as that being done to the industry of the country.

Amendment proposed to the proposed, Amendment—

" After the word 'induces' to insert the words 'otherwise than maliciously'."—(*Sir Frederick Banbury.*)

Question proposed, " That those words be there inserted in the proposed Amendment."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (City of London) said that this was one of those cases in which there was a general agreement as to what ought to be done, but a difference as to how it should be done. He agreed that such action as that described by the hon. Member for Clitheroe ought not to involve a legal liability. On the other hand, he did not like to see introduced into an Act of Parliament words which, on the face of them, seemed to justify a wrongful act. A trade union official ought to be protected in making a true statement of facts; but to suggest that there were interests in the country which must be relieved from the ordinary incidence of the ordinary law was a thing repellent to every law-making assembly. All that it was desired to save would be saved by the Amendment to the Amendment, and he hoped, therefore, that favourable consideration would be given to the suggestion of his hon. friend.

*SIR JOHN WALTON said the cases which had been described by the hon. Member for Clitheroe would, he feared, be held by a court of law to be cases of malicious persuasion. Gye *v.* Lumley was the case of an opera manager inducing a singer under contract with a rival to break her contract and enter his employ. In that case it was held that there had been a seducing of the servant of one employer to join the service of another. Bowen *v.* Hall was a very similar case. Supposing they had the case of a trade union secretary or representative trying to induce a number of workmen brought in from an outside district to leave their work from a feeling of *camaraderie*, and they had entered into contracts for some months in advance—suppose he tried to induce them to leave their employment notwithstanding their contracts. What would be the argument? It would be said that the persuasion used had a self-regarding motive and was not done upon any ethical ground or under the obligation of any family or social tie, but that it was malicious within the meaning of the law. What the Government had felt was that this word " maliciously " under the construction it received at present would prevent operations which were almost essential to a strike and which Parliament meant to sanction. Take the illustration given by the hon. Member for Derby, who went down into the country to explain the merits of his strike to a large number of men imported by the railway company whom he wished to join the men who had struck. He was enjoined by injunction by the High Court on the ground that he was maliciously inducing them to break their contracts. Under these circumstances the conduct of a strike was exceedingly difficult.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said he could not argue as to the meaning which the courts of law would attribute to the word " maliciously," but the contention of the hon. and learned Gentleman entirely destroyed the meaning of the English language and made the business of the House exceedingly difficult, if not ridiculous.

MR. ATHERLEY-JONES thought that this was an important and debatable Amendment, and agreed with much that had been said by the Opposition. To advise a person to break a contract was an illegal act and an action would lie for it to recover damages. The only defence was a justification. That was if a person could show that from family relation or that from a fiduciary position he gave the advice, then it was justified, and then only could he escape the consequences. The word "malicious" was entirely made meaningless. It had no meaning in law in regard to a civil action except in regard to a malicious prosecution case or an action for slander or libel. Malice in an ordinary action at civil law meant nothing except that the acts should be done intentionally, because if it was done inadvertently no action would lie. Supposing A advised B to break a contract, the Court would find quite apart from the fact whether his act was malicious or not that an action would lie, and the only answer was that it was done in consequence of the relation between the parties such as that of father and son, who were entitled to give advice one to the other. What the Committee had to do was to make an exception in the case of trade unions, and to say that whereas all other persons might not advise breaches of contract with impunity trade unions might so advise. [Cries of "Oh!"] He adhered to his statement, and he should like to hear any lawyer get up and point out in what respect it was not correct. It was sought to be laid down that in the case of a trade union it was not to be illegal to induce a person to break a contract, and he said that whereas in respect of other persons who induced a person to break a contract it was actionable, if this clause passed, in the case of trade unions it would not be actionable. Now was it desirable to allow this Amendment to pass? Taking it away from the narrow point of law he thought it desirable. Undoubtedly the action of trade unions in the case of strikes was to induce persons not to enter into the employment of an employer in whose works a strike existed, and the effect might be an inducement to break a contract although it was not intended to indicate breaking of contracts as a general line of policy. A very learned Judge, Lord Cairns, drew that distinction between advice for a general policy of breaking contracts and advice for the breach of an individual contract. The trade unions naturally trod the narrow dividing line between legality and illegality, and therefore it was necessary that the law should exercise great indulgence in respect to their liabilities and actions under the law. Therefore he thought that the Amendment of the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean should be accepted. The question of "maliciously" did not enter into the matter at all, the point being whether there was advice to beak a contract and whether that advice could or could not be justified upon the narrow lines which the Courts had laid down.

Lord R. CECIL wished to call attention to the rather strange position in which they were placed owing to the speeches of the Attorney-General and of the hon and learned Member for Reading. He wished to ask the Government a plain question: Did they think the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean unamended made any change in the present law? If it was going to make any change then it ought not to be put into this clause, because this clause had been recommended to the House as making no change in the law, and as being simply declaratory of the existing law. If the Government were going to make any change in the law in this respect it ought not to be done in this portion of the Bill, but in a subsequent clause. If they were going to put in any change of the law here they were going to do something which they were not entitled to do. The present position appeared to be characteristic of the Government's attitude right through the Bill. They said to the Opposition, "You need not mind this: we assure you it makes no change or very little change in the existing law." Then they turned to the Labour Members and said, "Now, we are giving you all that you ask." That was exactly what the Government had done in respect to this Amendment. The hon. and learned Attorney-General made a speech which might be taken either way; either that it made a change in the law or that it did not make any change in the law. But the hon. and learned Gentleman must make up his mind which horse he was going to ride. He must make up his mind as to whether this did or did not make any change in the law. The hon. and learned Gentleman had grounds for his statements, but he thought he could explain the meaning of the word "malicious" in this connection. Malicious meant with an indirect motive. It was a little complicated. The meaning was settled many years ago, and at the time that it was settled that was its ordinary meaning. It was not the lawyers who changed the meaning of the word "malicious," but the ordinary public. There was a very interesting decision with regard to this, under which it was laid down that "malicious" originally meant what the lawyers attributed to it but that the ordinary people had changed its meaning. In the process of time many words had changed their meaning, but the law being conservative by tradition had stuck to the original meaning of the word. He did not think it was fair to put it in the way in which the hon. and learned Gentleman put it. There must be something more than an inducement to break a contract. It must be done with some indirect motive. That was the nearest they could get to the true sense of the word "malicious."

SIR JOHN WALTON: That is not the view of Lord Herschell.

LORD R. CECIL said he had not read his judgment, but if Lord Herschell took the other view he (Lord R. Cecil) was wrong. But his impression had always been that malicious meant some indirect motive. His objection to the Amendment of the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean was that it appeared to make a change in the law and it was put in with a view to inducing hon. Members to believe that a change in the law was made, but he believed no change was made; and that they would not get any improved position from it. The only effect of the Amendment would be that it would result in a great number of conflicting decisions which could not be settled except by the House of Lords at great expense. He hoped the Committee would reject the Amendment.

MR. MARKHAM (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield) said he would like to ask the hon. and learned Attorney-General one question on this Bill. He attached more importance to this clause than to any other clause of the Bill. What he could not understand about the clause was this: when this Bill was before the last Parliament the Solicitor-General of that day differed from the present learned Attorney-General on the construction of the language of the clause. Here in this case learned counsel on both sides of the House did the same thing. He wanted to put this simple question to the hon. and learned Attorney-General: supposing that he was connected in his business with a colliery and that a strike had taken place at a colliery which did not affect his mine. The trade union thought from the nature of the case it was necessary to have a strike at the adjacent colliery which had no interest in the dispute, but was thereby drawn into it. If in any one of his collieries the union drew out his men, had they a right under this clause to call his men out without giving him the usual fourteen days notice? Because if they did, what happened? He did not say that they would do it. The trade union leaders with whom he had had to deal had always dealt with him with the greatest moderation, and owing to their moderation had saved strikes. Hon. Members opposite who had no knowledge of these matters could not understand the assistance they obtained from trade union leaders in preventing strikes. But if trade unions were allowed to draw out men without any notice what would be the result? Was it reasonable that colliery men should throw down their tools without notice? If in the course of a dispute he imported blacklegs he admitted at once that he would have no objection to their proceeding to break their contracts. But where there was no dispute between him and his men, with whom he was on the happiest of terms, then he said it was wrong. He hoped under the circumstances that the hon. and learned Gentleman would give an assurance that he did not intend to adopt the language suggested on the opposite side of the House.

*SIR JOHN WALTON said he understood the illustration of the hon. Member to be this: A strike was going on, not owing to a dispute between the hon. Member and his own workmen, but in a neighbouring colliery, and the workmen in the employ of the hon. Member agreed to strike in order to support the action of other men in the employ of other masters. If they agreed to strike, they were engaging in a secondary strike, it being due to the action of men in the employ of other masters, whose proceedings it was desired to protect. There they had one of the conditions of a trade dispute. There they had it proposed that a number of men should leave their work and the question arose whether they should leave their work without giving notice. If they did so they were liable to the process of the law. This clause proposed to enact that if these men broke their contracts and it turned out that they had been induced to break them that an action should not be brought against the persons who had induced them to break their contract. To make that conduct actionable they must act maliciously, which either meant without just cause or with an indirect motive. To accept the Amendment to the Amendment would make it impossible for the leaders of the trade unions to know what they could do and what they could not do, and under what different circumstances they could or could not act.

LORD R. CECIL: Does the Amendment make a change in the law or does it not?

*SIR JOHN WALTON: I say it does.

Question put, "That those words be there inserted in the proposed Amendment."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 30; Noes, 257. (Division List No. 313.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood, Rt. Hn. Sir A. E.
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J (City Lond.)
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh H.
Bowles, G. Stewart
Carson, Rt. Hn. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. Maryiebone, E.)
Douglas, Rt. Hn. A. Akers-
Fletcher, J. S.
Forster, Henry William
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H.B.
Lyttelton, Rt. Hn. Alfred
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Morpeth, Viscount
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield
Nield, Herbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herb. Pike (Darlington
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Rawlinson, John Frederick P.
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Smith, F.E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Thomson, W. Mitchell-(Lanark)
Valentia, Viscount

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Frederick Banbury and Mr. Cave.

NOES.

Abraham, Wm. (Cork, N.E.)
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert H.
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, Hubert (Eastbourne
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, Sir J. Williams (Devonp't
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Bertram, Julius
Billson, Alfred
Black, A. W. (Bedfordshire)
Brace, William
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Bryce, J. A. (Inverness Burghs)
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hn. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Chas.
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard K.
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Sir W. J. (S. Pancras, W.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cooper, G. J.
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herb. J. (Tynemouth)
Crooks, William
Crossley, Wm. J.
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hn. Sir Charles
Duckworth, James
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness)
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Essex, R. W.
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Chas.
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Rt. Hn. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gill, A. H.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herb. John
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford

Gooch, Gearge Peabody
Grant, Corrie
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Hall, Frederick
Halpin, J.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.)
Higham, John Sharp
Hills, J. W.
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Johnon, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, Wm. (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D.
Kettle, Thomas Michael
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Leese, Sir J. F. (Accrington)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, W. H. (Cheshire, Wirral)
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk Bgs.)
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Maclean, Donald
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S
MacVeigh, Chas. (Donegal, E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Menzies, Walter
Molteno, Percy Alport
Montagu, E. S.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morrell, Philip
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murphy, John
Napier, T. B.
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Chas. N. (Doncaster)
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary Mid.)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Grady, J.
O'Malley, William
Parker, James (Halifax)
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C.E. (Edinb'gh Central)
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rees, J. D.
Richards, Thos. (W. Monm'th)
Richards, T. F. (Wolverhampt'n
Rchardson, A.
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Chas. H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson, Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rowlands, J.
Samuel, Herb. L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C. E. (Manchester
Scott, A. H. (Ashton under Lyne)
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hn. T. (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hn. John
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Snowden, P.
Stanley, Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesb.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant, Sir Edwd. (Salisbury)
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson, J. W. H. (Somerset E.
Thorne, William
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
Ward, W. Dudley (Southamp't'n
Weir, James Galloway
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Yoxall, James Henry

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

Question put, "That the words 'that it induces some other person to break a contract of employment or' be there inserted."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 255 ; Noes, 30. (Division List No. 314.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch(
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, Hubert (Eastbourne
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, Sir J. Williams (Devonp'rt
Benn, W. (T'w'r H'mlets, S. Geo.
Bertram, Julius
Billson, Alfred
Black, Arthur W. (Bedfordshire

Brace, William
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Bryce, J. A. (Inverness Burghs)
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt. Hn. Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C. H. (Sussex, E. Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dickinson, W. H. (St. Pancras, N.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duckworth, James
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Essex, R. W.
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ffrench, Peter
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gill, A. H.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn Herbert John
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Grant, Corrie
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Hall, Frederick
Halpin, J.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J. M. (Aberdeen, W.)
Higham, John Sharp
Hills, J. W.
Hobhouse, Charles E. H.
Hodge, John
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D.
Kettle, Thomas Michael
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lever, W. H. (Cheshire, Wirral
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J. M. (Falkirk B'ghs
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Maclean, Donald
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal E.)
M‘Callum, John M.
M‘Kenna, Reginald
M‘Killop, W.
M‘Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Marks, G. Croydon (Launceston
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Menzies, Walter
Molteno, Percy Alport
Montagu, E. S.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morrell, Philip
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murphy, John
Napier, T. B.
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, Charles N. (Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid)
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Grady, J.
O'Malley, William
Parker, James (Halifax)
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinburgh, Central)
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rees, J. D.
Richards, Thomas (W. Monm'th
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Richardson, A.
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson, Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee
Robertson, Sir G. Scott (Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C. E. (Manchester)
Scott, A. H. (Ashton under Lyne
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allesbrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Snowden, P.
Stanley, Hon. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant, Sir Edward (Salisbury
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson, J. W. H. (Somerset, E.
Thorne, William
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent
Ward, W. Dudley (Southampt'n
Weir, James Galloway
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire

White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Wood, T. M'Kinnon
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Rt. Hn. Sir Alex. F
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt Hn. A.J. (City Lond.
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Bowles, G. Stewart
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Du Cros, Harvey
Forster, Henry William
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Morpeth, Viscount
Nicholson, Wm. G. (Petersfield
Nield, Herbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Rawlinson, John Frederick Pee
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Smith, F.E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Thomson, W. Mitchell (Lanark)
Valentia, Viscount

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Frederick Banbury and Mr. Cave.

LORD R. CECIL moved to leave out from the word "interference" in line 26, and insert the words "in restraint of trade." What those words at the end of the clause meant he did not know, but he knew what the legal doctrine of restraint of trade meant, and the sooner it was abolished the better. It was a doctrine which was adopted when it was part of the duty of the Courts to regulate trade relations, and it was then laid down that any agreement or act that was done in restraint of trade must be on grounds of public policy wrong. He did not think it would be unreasonable for the Committee to lay down generally that in respect of trade disputes no action should be brought upon the ground only that the act complained of was in restraint of trade. That would be a beneficial alteration, and it would have considerable effect in dealing with trade unions. It would be much more intelligent than the words proposed by the Government in the latter part of this clause. He did not know what was in the mind of the Government in regard to that point. He should like the Attorney-General to explain in detail what those words meant, and mainly with the view of obtaining that information he begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 1, line 26, to leave out from the word 'interference' to the end of the clause, and to insert the words 'in restraint of trade.'"—(*Lord R. Cecil.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

*SIR JOHN WALTON did not think the words which the noble Lord proposed to substitute for the words at the end of the clause were quite appropriate. This was not a question of restraint of trade. The object of this clause was to prevent its being held that conduct was unlawful merely because it tended to interfere with some other person in the conduct of his trade or business or employment, or with the right of some other person to dispose of his capital or his labour as he liked. The whole of the clause, with the exception of the last phrase, had been based upon the Report of the Commission. For these reasons he could not accept the Amendment.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said that an answer on this point to the argument of the noble Lord would be found on page 30 of the Report of the Royal Commission, where there was a memorandum on Allen *v.* Flood by four of the Commissioners.

MR. RAWLINSON said the words he would like to call the Attorney-General's attention to were—

"Or with the right of some other person to dispose of his capital or his labour as he wills."

Those words were entirely new, as far as he was aware, in any Act of Parliament. He submitted, without going into the question of policy, that those words were too wide, and ought to be carefully considered between now and the Report stage, because they might be taken to have a very much wider meaning. The words recommended by the Commission were—

"An individual shall not be liable for doing any act not in itself an actionable tort only on the ground that it is an interference with another person's trade, business, or employment."

The additional words at the end had been suggested since. It was not absolutely clear to the Committee what would be the effect of the words they were voting on, and he ventured to say that the interpretation given to the words might be a great deal wider than was now known.

Lord R. CECIL said he did not mean to ask the Committee to divide on this point, but he wished to say that he was left completely in the dark as to what the hon. and learned Gentleman meant. He really thought that they ought to know what these words meant. They appeared to be very wide. He could conceive of their interfering with the rights of a person to dispose of his capital. It was not easy, on the spur of the moment, to give instances, but he must say that it appeared to him that the words went very far indeed, and unless the Attorney-General could point to the kind of thing he had in his mind he really asked him not to insist on the retention of these words.

Sir JOHN WALTON said the object of these words was simply to make it clear what the nature of the interference was.

Lord R. CECIL asked leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

Sir FREDERICK BANBURY proposed the omission of the clause on the ground that it legalised boycotting. The clause had been varied from the form in which it originally stood when introduced into the House. It legalised boycotting and all sorts of steps which would cause hardship to honest people. Since the clause was introduced it had been made ten times worse by the addition of the words proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean. There was a long discussion on that Amendment, which not only added to the evils of the clause as introduced, but went very much farther, and allowed people to induce others to break their contracts. They had had a very interesting speech from an hon. Gentleman on the other side of the House who represented one of the divisions of Lancashire. He gave an instance of what might happen in the case of a dispute at a colliery, and that was ruled out of order, because it was not the question before the Committee. But it was the question before the Committee at the present moment, and as the clause stood now, the following might happen. Suppose there was a dispute at a colliery—quite a trivial dispute, something like the case of a foreman being dismissed and his reinstatement demanded by the trade union and refused by the owners—and a strike was ordered, and the business of that colliery was taken by another colliery. Possibly an arrangement might be entered into by these two collieries whereby the colliery where the strike had taken place should receive a certain portion of the profits on the coal which would have been supplied by it had there been no strike. He could conceive of that being done by arrangement between the masters. He could conceive that as an easy way, or a very good way, of endeavouring to fight, as the masters were entitled to do. Let the Committee consider what the position would be if this clause became law. There had been a strike at Colliery A and Colliery B had supplied coal to the customers of Colliery A. The strikers found that the strike was not inflicting the injury on Colliery A which they wished to be done, and they went to the colliers employed at Colliery B and induced the men who were employed there to break their contracts and come out. They would not be liable for that act under this clause, and not only so, but owing to the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean, it would not be possible for the owners of Colliery B to bring an action against the colliers in Colliery A. It might be said that the owners of Colliery B could bring an action against the colliers in their employment for breach of contract. But supposing there were 5,000 or 6,000 men, the owners of the colliery would have to bring an action against each of these men, and it might be that the men would not have a sufficient amount of money to pay the fine. What would be the good of taking action? The colliery proprietors would have lost their money, and gained nothing. It seemed to him that that would be a most disgraceful case, because the union interfered avowedly and admittedly from a desire to deal with certain people whose only fault was that they were not members of the union. Under this clause that would be permissible. It had been argued that the majority Report of the Commission said that it was advisable to alter the law on account of the decision which was given in the case of Allen *v.* Flood. Though he admitted that the members who composed the majority of the Commission were gentlemen to whose opinions and recommendations great importance and weight should be attached, there was another gentleman on the Commission who gave a very different opinion. His opinion was that in the case of workmen who did not wish to join in a strike persuasion might involve interference with their liberty of action. [Cheers] He was glad to hear that statement cheered because it was expressed in weighty words. What really this clause did was to put into the hands of a trade union power to say what people might do and what they might not do. An employer, henceforth, might not conduct his business as he liked. He might not employ whom he liked, he might be boycotted by a trade union if he did not do what they told him. [AN HON. MEMBER: What about employers who boycott working men?] He was not in favour of any legislation to exempt employers. If they did what was wrong they should be prosecuted. At the same time a trade union, if they did what was wrong, should be punished. The hon. Member for Newcastle-on-Tyne, on the Second Reading of the Bill, actually claimed immunity from the law for trade unions. That was really what they were wanting at the present moment. He said that was absolutely wrong. He believed that when they understood what was being done the people would not approve of the claim that was made to allow a trade union power to say that a man might not earn his living.

MR. SHACKLETON: I think the hon. Member is unfair in that statement. It was a mere slip on the part of the hon. Member, and he corrected himself immediately on attention being drawn to it.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY said he did not understand the hon. Gentleman to dispute the statement he made with regard to the opinion attributed to the hon. Member for Newcastle-on-Tyne. He understood him to say that the hon. Member made the statement, and that he afterwards withdrew it. He was not in the House at the time, but he saw it reported in *The Times* newspaper, and he did not know that he withdrew it. If he had known he would not have made the remark. While he desired that trade unions should be allowed to do what was lawful in this country, and that there should be no liability put upon them which was not put upon anybody else, he objected to their being allowed to use their power to prevent people earning their livelihood in any way they chose. He objected to their being allowed to put coercion on people who were not really connected with any strike or dispute, and whose only offence was that they had business relations with one of the parties to a strike. This clause would permit of those people who were perfectly innocent being ruined and wrecked in their businesses by trade unions, and they would have no civil remedy at law. That was an unreasonable proposition, and if it were passed he was certain all the small employers of labour would regret the day that the Bill became law.

SIR E. CARSON said the Attorney-General had now stated that the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean introduced a new principle of law, namely, that a person was allowed in a trade dispute to induce others to break their contracts in cases where they could not have done so before. If that was the law it was a very important matter in itself. He wanted the Attorney-General to reconsider that matter before the Report stage in reference to the first clause. The result of legalising any person to induce others to break contracts was also by virtue of the first clause to allow a conspiracy of persons to induce others to break contracts. That appeared to him to be a wide and serious matter. It might be a matter of little importance for an individual to induce another to break a contract, but if they were to allow a large number of persons to conspire together to get people to break contracts he thought they were passing a law the extent of which it was very hard to realise and the extent of which had not been fully considered.

MR. NIELD (Middlesex, Ealing) said the Amendment of which he had given notice was intended to prevent the infliction of great hardship which it was conceivable might result by reason of the large powers which trade unions would possess under the provisions of the Bill, but since his Amendment could not be moved he ventured to direct the attention of the House to the point which he desired to make. He was one of those who looked upon industrial wars as a necessity; and it was perfectly right that when overbearing employers sought to impose unfairly onerous or oppressive terms upon their workmen there should be methods by which the workmen could resist. He was not prepared to assert that in some respects the provisions of the clause were not justified by what had taken place in the past; but while in the case of a trade dispute on a matter of wages or something which concerned the management of labour where a real grievance existed, or as to the merits of which there was a *bona fide* dispute—there might be conceivable circumstances under which it claimed to be perfectly legitimate to induce men to break their contracts to correct what was regarded as a grave and industrial evil, and independently there might also be justification for the bringing in aid what was described by the Commissioners in their Report as a sympathetic strike of workmen engaged in kindred businesses with a view to bringing the original dispute to a successful termination, yet he was bound to protest against the application of this clause to a case which was illustrated by Quinn *v.* Leathem, where there was no dispute between the employer and his workmen, or any secondary or sympathetic strike, but where men were called out simply because the employer had in his employ men who were not and who did not desire to become members of a trade union. To use the powers proposed to be given by the Bill in such a case as that would be tyranny of the worst kind, and he ventured to hope that in the interests of fair dealing between masters and men some qualification would be introduced into the clause, so that a weapon should not be placed in the hands of trade unions which might be wielded to the detriment of trade and the unsettling of all questions between employers and workmen merely for the purpose of aggrandising the unions and making them compulsory instead of optional and voluntary associations such as they were at present. The very object with which this measure was introduced, so far as could be gathered, or the House could rely upon the declarations of the Government and of those hon. Members who claimed to represent Labour in that House, was that protection was only required when a *bona fide* dispute existed or was imminent, by that he meant a real question affecting hours or conditions of labour or the scale of pay. For these reasons there should be a proviso or qualification of the clause inserted to meet the very real danger to which he had directed attention, and he hoped that the Attorney-General would on the Report stage see the desirability of such a course.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 259; Noes, 29. (Division List No. 315.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, Hubert (Eastbourne
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Belloc, Hilare Joseph Peter R.
Benn, Sir J. Williams (Devonp'rt
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, J. H. (Essex, Romford)
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine

Sir E. Carson.

Black, Arthur W.(Bedfordshire
Brace, William
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner,J.F.L.(Lancs.,Leigh)
Bryce, J. A. (Inverness Burghs)
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton,Rt.Hn.Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton,Rt.Hn.RichardKnight
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clancy, John Joseph
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins,SirWm.J.(S.Pancras, W
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett,CH(Sussex,E.G'inst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S)
Dickinson,W.H.(S.Pancras, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duckworth, James
Duncan,C.(Barrow-in-Furness
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Essex, R. W.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Ffrench, Peter
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Foster, Rt. Hon.Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gill, A. H.
Gladstone,Rt.Hn.HerbertJohn
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Grant, Corrie
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon Sir Edward
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardie,J.Keir(MerthyrTydvil
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazelton, Richard
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J.M.(Aberdeen, W.
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hills, J. W.
Hodge, John
Holden, E. Hopkinson.
Horniman, Emslie John
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones,William (Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Leese,Sir JosephF.(Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J.M.(FalkirkB'ghs)
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Maclean, Donald
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh,Jeremiah (Down,S.
MacVeigh, Charles(Donegal, E.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Marks,G.Croydon (Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Menzies, Walter
Molteno, Percy Alport
Montagu, E. S.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murphy, John
Napier, T. B.
Nicholls, George
Nicholson,CharlesN.(Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Connor,John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Grady, J.
O'Malley, William
Parker, James (Halifax)
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro
Rees, J. D.
Richards,Thomas (W.Monm'th
Richards,T. F. (Wolverh'mp'n)
Richardson, A.
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson,Rt.Hn.E.(Dundee)
Robertson,SirG.Scott(Bradford
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Samuel,Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann, Sir C. E. (Manchester
Scott,A.H.(Ashton-under-Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.
Snowden, P.
Stanley,Hn. A. Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant,SirEdward(Salisbury
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson,JWH.(Somerset,E.)
Thorne, William
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Wallace, Robert
Walters, John Tudor

Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward,John(Stoke-upon-Trent
Ward,W.Dudley(Southampt'n
Weir, James Galloway
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Willkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, P. W. (St. Pancras, S.)
Wilson, W.T. (Westhoughton)
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease

NOES.

Acland-Hood,RtHn.Sir Alex.F.
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour,RtHn.AJ.(City Lond.)
Banner, John S. Harmood-
Beach, Hn. MichaelHughHicks
Bowles, G. Stewart
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cavendish,Rt.Hn.Victor C. W.
Cecil. Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John J. Joicey-
Cecil,Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Craik, Sir Henry
Douglas, Rt.Hon. A. Akers-
Fletcher, J. S.
Forster, Henry William
Gordon, J. (Londonderry, S.)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Marks, H. H. (Kent)
Morpeth, Viscount
Nicholson, Wm.G.(Petersfield)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease,HerbertPike(Darlington
Rawlinson,JohnFrederick Peel
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Smith,F .E. (Liverpool, Walton
Valentia, Viscount

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Frederick Banbury and Mr. Nield.

SIR JOHN WALTON moved to postpone Clause 4 until after new clauses. He stated that when the new clause standing in his name had been discussed, and providing it was carried, he would ask leave to substitute it for the present Clause 4.

Motion made, and Question put, "That Clause 4 be postponed until after new clauses."—(*Sir John Walton.*)

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said the course proposed by the Attorney-General was, he thought, a very unusual one. He never remembered anything like it being done before, merely as a question of procedure. He did not complain of that, because according to his view one of the defects in the present rules of the House of Commons was that the person in charge of the Bill, be he a member of the Government or an unofficial Member, had no power to suggest the dropping of any portion of his measure until the clause had been discussed from beginning to end. He should have thought there was some doubt whether it was in order for the Attorney-General to propose a new clause, which had not yet been read a second time, while there was another clause on the Paper covering the same ground. Of course, if the Chairman ruled that was in order he had nothing more to say on that point except to protest against this clumsy method of procedure. He presumed, however, that this would be the proper time to discuss the general action of the Government in substituting a new policy for the old. He did not intend to make a long speech, but it was necessary he should say something upon a Parliamentary transaction which had very few parallels, and he anticipated many other Members on both sides of the House would be anxious to express their views on the same point. The clause they were now asked to postpone embodied the recommendations of the Royal Commission, which, whether they approved them or not, were the recommendations of men deeply versed in one of the most difficult questions, men to whom the Law Officers of the Crown and hon. Members on both sides of the House owed a great debt of obligation for the time and labour they had devoted to the subject. The Report had behind it the declared opinion of more than one member of the Government, and he was not sure that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not expressed in very clear language his preference for the policy of the Bill rather than that of the Amendment.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. ASQUITH, Fife, E.): Quite true.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR continuing, said the Secretary of State for War, whose authority upon these legal questions must carry great weight on both sides of the House, had also expressed himself with equal emphasis in favour of the original provision of the Bill and against the new clause, which was so suddenly and unexpectedly accepted by the Government, not on the Second Reading of this Bill, but of another Bill which came on in the interval between the First and Second Readings of this Bill. The Attorney-General himself had made an impassioned defence of the very proposal he was now going to desert, and against the proposal which he was now going to ask the Committee to accept. The policy of the Government had gone through an absolute reversal between the First and Second Readings, and the Attorney-General would now curse what he formerly blessed and bless what he formerly cursed. He refrained from further developing the obvious advantages which such a change of front on the part of the Government gave him. He wished to make no personal attack. He would only point out that such a change of policy on the part of the Government laid them open to ridicule, because it indicated the pliability of some members of the Government to the pressure exerted by the Labour Party. He looked with the greatest mistrust, not upon the purity of the motives of the Government, but upon the policy which, under political pressure, they had been induced to adopt. While it was natural that trade unions should press upon the Government this policy of giving protection to their fighting funds, he could not believe that it was a wise policy for the House of Commons to adopt. It was proposed to give a protection to the funds of the unions used for fighting purposes which no other funds in this country would possess. That was the root of the whole trouble. Was it right thus to abandon a principle of law of universal application ? If all that was asked for by the unions was that their funds should not be liable unless there was some moral responsibility—not technical, but real responsibility—brought home to the unions, then he would be heart and soul with them. But the new clause went much further than that, and was deliberately designed to prevent trade union funds being responsible for injuries which the trade unions through their officials had deliberately intended to inflict. From their own point of view, were trade unionists wise in not trying to find some other way out of their difficulty than this new clause which the Attorney-General was about to propose ? He did not believe any defence had been attempted of the new clause, except the argument that these disputes between employers and employed resembled in the main a state of war and must in some aspects be even cruel or brutal like war, and that they did not make things better by hampering either of the parties by these unnecessary restraints. But were they to admit that in a civilised country disputes of this kind must be regarded as subject to a wholly different law ? Were they to say that civilisation was really bankrupt when dealing with trade disputes ? He could not accept so tragic a view. He could not believe that it was not within the wit of man to find some more satisfactory issue of a problem which necessarily weighed on all of them. He was not moved by the argument used by hon. Gentlemen below the gangway that what the law was now going to be made was thought to be the law for many years, and that during that time no serious evil came of it. He was quite ready, for the sake of argument at any rate, to accept both propositions. But they were legislating for a future in which the organisation both of capital and labour was likely to reach a more and more perfected form. Was it wise in face of these growing forces to abolish legislation which from time immemorial they had admitted in every other relation of life ? He did not say the dangers were chiefly to be anticipated on the side of labour. Everyone who watched what was going on in other countries, and especially in the United States, knew perfectly well the anxious preoccupation which the vast combinations and accumulations of capital were causing legislators and publicists. He did not deny that there might be difficulties in dealing with great combinations of labour, but he was certain the difficulties might be just as great in dealing with great combinations of capital. This new clause was rightly bilateral, and could only be so framed. But it was not a prospect that could be looked forward to with unmixed satisfaction. He was convinced that hon. Gentlemen representing trade unions were anxious for no more than that the interests of combinations and the protection of labour should be safeguarded and not unduly interfered with. But strikes were used in many countries not in the furtherance of trade disputes at all, but for objects wholly alien to the minds of the trade union leaders in our country. They knew what they wanted, and respected it. They knew that the trade union leaders did their very best to prevent strikes. But they were not legislating for them alone, but for all organisations, whether of capital or of labour, which might use the power of combination for any purpose. In the clause there was no limitation; it was not confined to trade disputes, but was universal. He confessed he thought the first thoughts of the Government were the best thoughts. The Government did attempt in the drafting of the Bill to deal with this problem in a moderate and statesmanlike spirit, and they had been unduly alarmed and improperly misdirected by the pressure put upon them by some of their friends. He was very sorry they had taken this course. He believed that the country generally and the trade unions themselves would really not have objected to the way in which the Bill was originally proposed. It still had the support, he understood, of some members of the Government, it was the opinion of a very large number of Gentlemen opposite, and perhaps even of some Members representing trade unions. [" No."] Well, at all events, he thought some of his arguments would appear to them to be of substance. Were they deliberately to throw aside the results of the labours of the Government, the Cabinet, the Attorney-General, the draftsman, and the Commission, which had resulted in Clause 4 as it stood in the Bill? Should they not abstain from hastily taking up the new clause on the inspiration, which appeared to have come suddenly to the Prime Minister at about three o'clock on a Friday afternoon, to accept wholesale the rather crude suggestions of the trade unions? Ought they to sacrifice interests which might prove of national importance simply because they thought, and rightly, that the present leaders of labour in this country would not abuse the powers given them? That was not true wisdom; that was not the path they ought to pursue, and he confessed that, as far as he was concerned, he could not, with the best will in the world, bring himself to believe either that the trade unions were in their own interests well advised to ask for this exceptional treatment, or that, if in spite of that view they still asked for it, the House would be well advised to give it to them. He asked that all corporations, be they what they might, should be under one common law and subject to one recognised set of obligations. There was nothing he knew of, either in regard to employed or employers, in the one as little as in the other, which made him think that there ought to be special relaxation on their behalf, and for that reason he must vote against the Motion made by the hon. and learned Gentleman that Clause 4 of the Bill should be postponed for the purpose of discussing that other and far inferior alternative which has been proposed by the Government in deference to the wishes of hon. Gentlemen below the gangway.

Mr. ASQUITH said the right hon. Gentleman had made a very temperate and moderate speech, and he thought he might fairly grant to him that he had not taken undue advantage of the Parliamentary situation, tempting as it undoubtedly was in some respects. But since the right hon. Gentleman had referred to him, and because he had for many years past taken a very great interest in the affairs of trade unions, he would say a few words. How did the problem become a pressing one? Everybody believed that some legislation was required to give trade unions certain advantages. During something like thirty years they would not find a case in which any Court of law had enforced, as against the funds of a trade union, liability for acts done in contemplation or furtherance of, or incident to, a trade dispute, and that state of the law was not only universally understood, but, so far as he knew, was universally acquiesced in by both masters and men, and nobody had succeeded in showing that there was any detriment to the community at large. Then came the Taff Vale decision, and that decision was preceded and accompanied by another series of decisions in the House of Lords and the Court of Appeal. The application of the common law of agency to minor and subordinate agents of the trade unions, coupled with the entirely novel principle that the funds of the unions were liable to be taken into execution for their acts, produced a situation which it was necessary for statesmen to face. Then the question arose, What was the best way of bringing the law back into harmony with what everyone understood it to have been so long without injury to any party? He thought that the simplest and most practical way way of dealing with the matter was to alter the law of agency in its application to trade unions. He was not sure that he did not still think that that would have been the preferable course. There was another plan suggested—the plan embodied in the alternative clause of the Attorney-General—which was to exempt the trade unions from liability even in cases where agency was established. He would never assent himself to a proposition of that kind, unless the same law was applied to the masters as to the men. He never had been and never would be in favour of legislation which would give one set of persons in an industrial dispute an advantage over the other, which would tie the hands of one side and leave the hands of the other side free. Therefore, he could only assent to an arrangement which established perfect equality as between the combinations of masters and the combinations of men, and his objection in principle on this point was met by the alternative clause of his hon. and learned friend the Attorney-General. As he had said, he thought the balance of practical convenience would have been met by the adoption of the course which he had originally suggested. But he had to bear in mind two very important facts. The first was that the solution in the alternative clause commended itself to the vast majority of those concerned. That was not a decisive consideration; but it was one that was not without weight. But a more important point was that upon the whole he had come to the conclusion—gradually he admitted—that there was less risk of actual legislation on disputed questions going to the Courts of law, passing from one stage of appeal to another, and involving loss of temper, money, and time, by adopting the perfectly simple and common-sense method embodied in the alternative clause, than if they were to lay down in regard to industrial combinations a new code of the law of agency. The Leader of the Opposition admitted that if they looked at the past conduct of the trade unions, at the nature of their present operations, and at the character, objects, and methods of their leaders, there was no real and practical danger of power of this kind being abused. For his part, he said—not for the first time and certainly not with any intention of flattering the trade unions, but simply for the sake of historical accuracy and justice—that the operations of those great combinations, since they had been freed by the law which previously held them in restraint, had been in the direction, not of industrial warfare, but of industrial peace. He said the same of the combination of employers. There was no doubt that the recognition by the law of combination, and the operation of the work of combination, in industrial matters, instead of embittering, would reconcile the relations of all parties concerned. If, as the Leader of the Opposition admitted, there was nothing in the present conduct of the trade unions to lead to an anticipation that they were likely to depart from the path of moderation they had so long pursued, why should the right hon. Gentleman frighten them with imaginary dangers of the remote future? It was because he believed it was the duty of Parliament to do everything in its power to place in a position of perfect freedom both employers and employed—freedom of combination and freedom of action within those well-understood and almost traditional limits of moderation which had always prevailed in industrial conflicts—that he should support the new clause.

MR. PIKE PEASE (Darlington) said he had listened with the greatest interest to the speech just made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but he would like to point out that the right hon. Gentleman did not exactly realise the attitude he had taken up in past years in respect to this matter. It was perfectly clear to anybody who took the trouble to look through the speeches of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the attitude he had adopted to-day was absolutely in every respect contrary to the attitude he had adopted in the past. The right hon. Gentleman had now qualified his action by stating that he wished employers to have the same opportunity as the working men of the country in respect to trade disputes. But as this question was not applicable to employers in any case it did not affect the question in any degree. He would refer the Committee again to the speech made by the right hon. Gentleman on February 5th, 1903. It appeared to him that if the right hon. Gentleman had that opinion in respect of this question then, he could not alter it on account of the fact that extra powers had been given to employers in regard to it. He had had a considerable amount of experience in respect of trade unions. He had had the honour and the opportunity single-handed to arrange an eight hours day for a firm of blast furnacemen. If they had to deal with leaders of trade unions in the North of England, they had to deal with men who knew their business. But he could not believe that they should give them a power which they ought not to have. He would like to put to the Committee a case in reference to this question. He was speaking a moment ago of the question of blast furnaces. Supposing a master who owned a blast furnace made arrangements with his men that on both sides a fortnight's notice should be given before the stoppage of work. A leader of the trade union came down and persuaded the men that they should go out before that fortnight was up. If they did, damage might result to the extent of £1,000, and it seemed absolutely unfair that there should be no opportunity of obtaining compensation from the men or the trade union responsible for causing that loss. Of course, it might be said that action might be taken against the men who refused to work; that was perfectly true, but in that case nothing could be obtained, and there could be no object in taking the action. The hon. Member for one of the divisions of Durham, in a letter he wrote to *The Times* last year, said that a Bill before Parliament granted immunity entirely to trade unions for conspiracy. It must be plain to every hon. Member that this Bill also granted immunity from the law of conspiracy to every trade union in the country, and under these circumstances, he did think that at this time of the session the matter was of too much importance to be dealt with. Might he appeal to the Prime Minister to consider whether it would not be possible to take the fourth clause at the beginning of the autumn session?

MR. SHACKLETON: May I appeal to the House not to spend much time on this point, but to get to the clause itself?

MR. F. E. SMITH (Liverpool, Walton) said that although he was extremely anxious, so far as he could reasonably be expected, to respond to such an appeal as that which the hon. Member below the gangway had just addressed to the Committee, he ventured to think on the present occasion the application was an entirely unreasonable one, simply because, as he understood, the question they were now discussing was a matter of broad principle, which would not be open to them to discuss on subsequent Amendments. This was one of the most important and far reaching proposals laid before the House of Commons, and it was almost farcical to suggest that they should abandon the discussion on the first opportunity they had of expressing their views upon the subject. An hon. Gentleman below the gangway said it was not the Second Reading. He would remind the hon. Gentleman that they did have a Second Reading of some proposals but not of this proposal, and if they did not have a discussion similar to a Second Reading on the clause which the Attorney-General introduced, it was very necessary indeed that at some period or another there should be a general and not a detailed consideration of these proposals. The speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was certainly a speech which showed very striking courage, and was marked with very great lucidity throughout. It was such as they would expect from the Chancellor of the Exchequer when there was a discrepancy to be explained between what he said previously and what he said to-night. How far did the basis of that change rest upon Parliamentary convenience and how far did it go down to some great ground of principle? They were entitled, and bound to ask, what that principle was. When the clause was originally introduced it was based upon principle and only upon principle. The Attorney-General made a speech to his House, not on the spur of the moment, but a speech which he had deeply considered, and the arguments of which bore throughout the marks of careful preparation. He came down and told the House that it was the deliberate view of the Government that the clause supported by Gentlemen below the gangway, and which he was now adopting, was practically immoral. At least, he would not deny that he told them that if these propsals were carried out they would be creating a privilege for the proletariat, giving a sort of benefit of clergy to trade unions analogous to the benefit which was formerly enjoyed by certain sections of the population. The hon. and learned Gentleman asked whether they were sure it was wise to remove from these agents a sense of responsibility. He said they were often swept by passion, excitement, and natural feeling, and was it right that their agents should move about with the knowledge that whatever they did was lawful? If the Attorney-General was right in saying that by giving these powers, for which no precedent had been cited, it would destroy or lessen the sense of responsibility on the part of men who had great power over others, surely they were right to-night, before adopting this new clause, to ask for some reason, for the argument which had induced the Government to change their mind. There was no single suggestion from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, one of the most accomplished and ingenious lawyers in the House of Commons, explaining what it was that had induced the Government to change their mind. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said he changed his mind because at the time he adversely criticised the proposals of the trade unions he believed that those proposals were going to be confined to trade unions only. The answer to that was that the language in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had explained those proposals bore no reference at all to any question as to whether or not the privileges were to be extended to associations of employers. The right hon. Gentleman said it was a mistake to extend privileges of this kind to any association, but he did not say whether it was an association of employers or working men. The right hon. Gentleman said that the common sense of the community would not be easily convinced that an association of persons, whether incorporated or not, made not the slightest difference, and that wielding great powers and controlling considerable sums they should not be legally answerable for the acts of agents. They were told to-day by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that although the common sense of the community would not recognise that an association of persons should have these powers, if they had two associations of persons the common sense of the community would tolerate it. That was a striking proposition from one who reinforced his observation and original criticism by pointing out that the objections were that these associations wielded great power and controlled considerable sums. He might mention a case in which the trustees of a trade union started a newspaper, the object of which was to safeguard in every possible way the interest of the trade union. Those who were responsible for that paper inserted a gross and very discreditable libel against a person with whom they conceived they had some quarrel. That person instituted proceedings and recovered damages for libel to the amount of £1,000 from the Court below. The question was raised as to whether the trustees of the trade union were or were not, in the first place, liable to pay the £1,000, and, in the second place, whether if they were liable, they ought, or ought not to be, indemnified from the funds of the union. Was the proposition going to be contended for a moment that if the accredited and chosen representatives of a trade union published a libel at the expense of a citizen, the aggrieved person was to be deprived of his ordinary remedy at law against those who defamed his name? Was it to be suggested that he was not entitled to recover damages? If so, there should be more than the mere statement from the Government; they should have some reason afforded why those who set in motion acts which were bound to injure others should be protected from liability to compensate for those acts. Why should trade unions be protected from the consequences of action which was *ex hypothesi* illegal and which caused injury to other members of the community? It might be that some member of the Government had an argument which would satisfy the Committee, and if so, he hoped he would take an early opportunity of explaining what it was. They had been told that in foreign countries there was some sort of precedent to be found for this immunity. One of the hon. Members for Durham, who had a considerable knowledge of the history of this question, had pointed out in a letter to *The Times* that, in the case of France, they had most curiously safeguarded themselves and the general community from the absolute immunity contained in the present proposals of the Government. France had decided that trade unions should be exempt in all cases except where the governing body had themselves authorised the illegal act in respect of which the complaint was made. So far as there was any precedent in the case of France, it was a precedent directly in favour of the arguments used on the Opposition side of the House. The Attorney-General had also quoted the case of New South Wales, which he agreed was very useful indeed from the point of view of the present discussion, because they were dealing there with an extremely democratic community in which the rights of labour and the power of labour to enforce those rights was certainly not less fully admitted than it was in this country. The Attorney-General quoted with very great approval the circumstance that in New South Wales they could not claim any exemption for the funds of the union unless the authorities of the union were able to show—the onus being imposed upon them—that the governing body of the union were not cognisant of the illegal act and that the moment they became cognisant of it they repudiated it. If that were quoted as being right for New South Wales a few weeks ago, were they to be told that it was wrong in this country? One was driven to the conclusion that the reason, and the only reason why the Government had abandoned a determination deliberately and carefully formed, and stated with weighty arguments to this House on the Second Reading of the Government measure, was that they yielded not to argument, but to clamour from below the gangway. The hon. Member for Leicester and some of his friends were entitled to laugh, but he did not think the Government were entitled to laugh. They had their reward in a three-cornered contest at Cockermouth. Hon. Gentlemen below the gangway had the only claim to merriment in the Parliamentary situation. He happened to be speaking last night in the Cockermouth Division, and a circular was distributed outside the hall informing those who were coming to the meeting that he was the most bitter opponent of trade unions in the House of Commons. In opposing the immunity of trade unions one was not doing a very easy thing in a constituency where there were many trade unionists, because he knew it had already been made the subject of unfavourable comment in his constituency. He should utilise an opportunity in the autumn, however, to explain to his constituents the reason for the speech he had made; and he would at least have the consolation that he held the same views as the Government really held, having reached those views by identical processes of reasoning. He would have the second consolation that, unlike the Government he had the courage to speak and vote for that view. Did the hon. Gentleman who was excited to such merriment think that it was a popular course to take in the country? Did he suggest that it was more popular not to vote for this clause? Because it was the more popular course the Government to-night were going publicly to repudiate the conclusions at which as a Government they arrived a few short weeks ago.

*MR. HILLS (Durham) said that as this was the last opportunity they would have of speaking on the merits of the clause, he wished to explain shortly the reasons why he could not vote for Clause 4. The only two possible remedies were to amend the law of agency, or to give trade unions immunity. He thought by far the best way of dealing with the question was to amend the law of agency. It was of itself an exceptional piece of legislation; but still he thought it was justified. No doubt it was not half so far-reaching as the present proposal, nor half so dangerous. He wanted to explain to the Committee what the clause did and what it did not do. It gave complete immunity to a union for any wrongful act that union might choose to do; as had already been shown, a union might in a most intentional and deliberate way utter a libel, and that libel might cause damage.

THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN said he must remind the hon. Gentleman that the question before the Committee was the postponement of Clause 4, and obviously it was not possible to go into the details of the clause.

*MR. HILLS understood that on this discussion they were to be able to discuss the whole merits of the new clause, and also the old clause, and to contrast them.

THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN said in that case, when the new clause was read a second time, this discussion would have to be taken as having settled the question.

*MR. HILLS said he was only following the argument of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. As he understood, the right hon. Gentleman contrasted the two alternative remedies, and he showed the House his reasons for the course the Government were going to take. He wanted, if he could, to show better reasons against the Government remedy. This clause expressly said that no action for damages was to lie against the union, even for the union's admitted act. The thing that was ruled out was an action for damages. They had not ruled out all legal processes. They had left the remedy of injunction. In his opinion, of all remedies that of injunction was the most dangerous.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: On a point of order, this question of injunction is not one of the differences between the two clauses.

THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman may contrast the policy of the clause, but he must not go into detail.

MR. JOHN WARD (Stoke-on-Trent): Should I be in order in moving that the Question be now put?

*MR. HILLS said the principle raised by this clause could only be dealt with by showing the machinery of the clause.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said this was not a difference between the two forms.

THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN said the question of injunction was not a matter raised by the clause as amended.

*MR. HILLS said with all respect it was almost impossible to discuss this clause unless they discussed what it did not do as well as what it did. His great objection to it was that it was a half-way house, and ought to go much further. One reason, and the main reason, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave for his change of view was that now the master was in the same position as the workman. That was the great reason he had for objecting to it. Placing trade unions outside the law was much less far-reaching than the plan to put employers outside the law. If this new clause was passed they put them into a sort of debatable land, and said they were there to fight out their differences there, and that they could not complain, because each had an equal chance. Perhaps they could not complain; but he did think that the community had a very strong right to complain. All these exceptional positions led to a very strained and dangerous state of feeling. As long as they were confined in the ordinary processes of law it was all right so far as the public were concerned.

SIR JOHN WALTON: May I ask whether the hon. Member is in order in discussing this matter now? He will have an opportunity of doing so when I have moved the new clause.

THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is discussing the question of the policy of the new clause. It is unnecessary at present to go into the details of the new clause. The new clause will, of course, be examined on its merits when we come to it.

*Mr. HILLS said that if they were to have an opportunity of discussing the new clause as a whole he would sit down gladly. What he wished to know was whether they would have an opportunity of talking on the clause as a whole.

Mr. MARKHAM (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield): I beg to move that the Question be now put.

The DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN did not accept the Motion

*Mr. BOWLES said it really seemed to him that they were in an extraordinary position indeed in connection with this proposal.

Sir JOHN WALTON: I beg to move that the Question be now put.

The DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN did not accept the Motion.

*Mr. BOWLES said he understood that the original policy of the Government on this matter which they now proposed to abandon was received with considerable approval, or at all events, without any considerable disapproval, by hon. Gentlemen behind the Attorney-General. But the moment after that solemnly considered policy had been announced hon. Gentlemen below the gangway expressed their dislike of it, upon which, within a short time indeed, the Government proposed absolutely to go back upon their original policy, and substitute in effect the proposal of hon. Gentlemen below the gangway, and they did that without having been good enough to give to the Committee a shadow or a scintilla of reason for having made this extraordinary *volte face*. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had told them the grounds on which he personally had been induced to change his opinion. That was an interesting confession, whatever one might think of the substance of it. But it was not made on behalf of the Government.

Mr. MARKHAM: On a point o order, I beg to call your attention to th fact that the hon. Member has used arguments which have been repeatedly addressed to the House.

The DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: Thes arguments have been used repeatedly by previous speakers.

*Mr. BOWLES said he would take care not to repeat them. All he desired to say was that he found himself in considerable difficulty if this tremendous alteration was to be made on the part of the Government without the slightest reason being given. If the Attorney-General desired to offer an explanation of the Amendment he and his friends would give way, but the Motion ought not to be agreed to without some information as to the grounds on which it was proposed.

The DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: Order, order. The hon. Gentleman is not speaking to the clause at all. There is nothing in his remarks to show that he understands the clause. The Attorney-General did explain his reason for postponing the clause.

Mr. CLOUGH (Yorkshire, W.R., Skipton): I beg to move that the Question be now put.

The DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN did not accept the Motion.

Lord R. CECIL (who was received with cries of "Divide") said he did not intend to be put down by hon. Gentlemen opposite. So far as he was concerned he desired to have some reason for the Motion which the Attorney-General had made. He should be very sorry if the action of hon. Members opposite were to compel him to move that the Chairman report Progress and ask leave to sit again, which, he believed, was the constitutional method of protesting against unauthorised interruption. It was not a course he should care to pursue unless it was absolutely necessary. The Attorney-General moved that the clause be postponed, and the only reason he gave for the Motion was that he desired to move a different clause altogether. He proposed to substitute a clause for the one at present in the Bill. His hon. friend the Member for the Walton Division of Liverpool had called attention to some of the observations which the Attorney-General made in proposing the clause. It would be in the recollection of the Committee that not only did he propose the clause, but he recommended it on the strongest possible grounds, saying that it was required by every consideration of justice and policy. But he went further, and said that it was a clause which was recommended by the responsible leaders of trade unions as a just and proper clause which ought to be inserted in the Bill. He quoted the hon. Member for Derby, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Morpeth. The right hon. Member for Morpeth said—

> "The unions should, in my opinion, frankly accept responsibility for the acts of their agents, when the agents are acting by the authority and under the direction of the executive committee."

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs): I wish to ask whether the noble Lord is in order in going into the merits of the clause.

THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: I have already said that the only question that can be discussed is the postponement of the clause. If the clause is postponed, the merits of the new clause must be considered later on.

LORD R. CECIL said he would endeavour to make his observations as general as possible. It was on the principle laid down by the right hon. Member for Morpeth that the Attorney-General based himself when recommending the clause which he now proposed to postpone without giving a single reason to show that the condition of affairs had changed, or that his opinions had altered, with the view of omitting it from the Bill altogether, and substituting for it a provision which had been put forward as substantially in accordance with Bills introduced by hon. Members below the gangway. The Committee were not being fairly treated. He thought the Attorney-General should give some kind of reason for this change of front. It could not be merely that he was afraid of the vote and the influence of hon. Members below the gangway. At any rate, he was sure he would be the last to say in the House that that was his reason. They were entitled to some reason for this change of policy. He agreed that it was very tiresome for hon. Members to be kept waiting for their Bill, but whether they were impatient or not the Committee were entitled, quite apart from hon. Members representing labour or any fraction of the community, to know the reasons of the Attorney-General for going back from the strong views which he expressed so lately as March 28th. He asked the Attorney-General, before the Question was put, to give some kind of reason for his change of attitude in the matter.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 246; Noes, 22. (Division List No. 316.)

AYES.

Abraham, Wm. (Cork, N.E.)
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury, E.
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barnes, G. N.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, Sir J. Williams (Devonp'rt
Benn, W. (T'w'r Hamlets, S. Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, J. H. (Essex, Romford)
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W. (Bedfordshire
Bottomley, Horatio
Brace, William
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brodie, H. C.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L. (Lancs., Leigh)
Bryce, Rt. Hn. James (Aberdeen
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt. Hn. Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clancy, John Joseph
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Collins, Sir Wm. J. (S. Pancras, W.

Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C.H.(SussexE.Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Cremer, William Randal
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dickinson, W.H.(St.Pancras,S.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duckworth, James
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Elibank, Master of
Essex, R. W.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gill, A. H.
Gladstone,Rt.Hn.HerbertJohn
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Grant, Corrie
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardie,J.Keir (MerthyrTydvil)
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J. M.(Aberdeen, W.)
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hodge, John
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Horniman, Emslie John
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Jowet, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D.
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lamont, Norman
Leese, SirJosephF.(Accrington)
Lehmann, R. C.
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J.M.(Falkirk B'ghs
Maclean, Donald
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Chas. (Donegal, E.)
M‘Callum, John M.
M‘Kenna, Reginald
M‘Killop, W.
M‘Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Marks,G. Croydon(Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Menzies, Walter
Molteno, Percy Alport
Montagu, E. S.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morrell, Philip
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murphy, John
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts., Bassetlaw)
Nicholson,Charles N.(Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien,Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly,James (Roscommon,N.
O'Malley, William
Parker, James (Halifax)
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek
Pearson, Sir W. D. (Colchester
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Radford, G. H.
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Rees, J. D.
Richards,Thomas (W.Monm'th
Richards, T. F. (Wolverh'mpt'n
Richardson, A.
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson,Rt. Hn. E. (Dundee)
Robertson,SirG.Scott (Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann,Sir C. E. (Manchester)
Scott,A.H. (Ashton under Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seddon, J.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Snowden, P.
Stanley,Hon.A.Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson,J.W.H.(Somerset,E
Thorne, William
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds,S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
Ward,W.Dudley (Southampton
Weir, James Galloway
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whiteley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Rt Hn. Sir Alex. F.
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (City Lond.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Beach, Hn. Michael Hugh Hicks
Carlile, E. Hildred
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cave, George
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Forster, Henry William
Hills, J. W.
Keswick, William
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Smith, F. E. (Liverpool, Walton)
Thomson, W. Mitchell-(Lanark)
Valentia, Viscount

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Bowles.

Clause 5 agreed to.

SIR E. CARSON asked the Attorney-General whether he had considered the effect of the language of the Trade Unions Acts, 1871 and 1876, and whether he intended to have any different definition from that contained in those Acts of the term "trade dispute." He did not know whether the hon. and learned Gentleman's inquiries in that question had gone so far that he would be able to give him an answer, but it seemed to him a very important matter.

SIR JOHN WALTON quite agreed that it would be necessary, but there would be an opportunity of considering that definition, and he thought he need not delay the Committee now.

New Clause:

*SIR JOHN WALTON in introducing a new clause (Prohibitions of actions of tort against trade unions except in special circumstances) said that he had been appealed to by the noble Lord the hon. Member for Marylebone to make some explanation of the reason why he put down this new clause on the Paper, having regard to the fact that it was a very different proposal from that which appeared in the Bill. The noble Lord was quite entitled to an explanation of that kind, and he thought he could very briefly indicate what he understood to be the reasons which brought about that change, and which certainly influenced him in regard to that change. The Bill undoubtedly proposed, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer explained, a different method of dealing with the grievance which had arisen, and of which the trade unionists complained, and he gave strong reasons for supporting it. He also pointed out the alternative method, and showed, as he thought it was his duty to show to the House, the arguments which in his opinion could be fairly urged against it, and which, when they were considered, left the advantage to the proposals which appeared in the Government Bill. But he stated, as the members of the Committee would remember, that the question was one for the House, and one for the decision of the House; and that statement was subsequently repeated by the Prime Minister in the discussion on the Second Reading of the Bill of the hon. Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne. That alternative was left to the House for this very obvious reason, that the two proposals were different methods of accomplishing one result. The result was the remedy of a grievance of which trade unions complained, and which had in its operation very largely diminished their funds, and had exposed their funds to further attack in the form of litigation similar to that which had been successfully brought against them. Either method would have relieved the trade unions from that evil. The one would have been, and undoubtedly was, more complete in its character than the other. The Government proposal sought to relieve them from responsibility for any action which was not expressly authorised, or effectively authorised by their governing body. On the other hand, the proposal of the hon. Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne was substantially the present clause, that was to say, a proposal that no action whatever should be brought against these unions. The choice between those two methods was left to the House, and the House contained large numbers of employers of labour, and a large number of Members of very great experience, and he could not imagine a tribunal more qualified to decide whether or not the existing state of the law, as it was believed to be, should or should not continue. The real substantial proposal was this. The trade union legislation of 1871 and 1875 gave a charter to trade unions. That charter was universally construed as conferring an immunity in regard to all actions against trade unions as corporations, by means of which their funds would be made available for meeting claims for damages, and in that sense the charter had been understood for a period of thirty years. It had been generally accepted, and during its currency there were no violations of the terms on which it was granted. There was no apprehension with regard to abuses on the part of those bodies, and therefore there were thirty years of experience which would give the House very good ground for enabling it to determine whether or not that lease of immunity should be renewed. The conflict was whether they should reformulate the law with regard to the future on a correct and legal basis, or whether the existing state of things supposed to be established in 1871 should remain unaltered for an indefinite period. That was the question which the House had to decide, and the Government came to the conclusion that the decision was very clear and explicit on the matter. There was, first of all, the debate on the Government Bill, in which many hon. members below the gangway on the other side expressed their views in very strong terms, and large numbers of Members of the Liberal Party, sitting behind and below the gangway, expressed full concurrence with the views of hon. Members below the gangway on the other side; so far it was clearly the general feeling that the *status quo* should be left undisturbed. There were also hon. Members who sat above the gangway on the other side of the House who took that view, and who thought that the state of the law as it had existed for thirty years should continue undisturbed. Under the circumstances it seemed to him a more important matter to settle this question than to decide between two alternative proposals, against each of which there were objections and in support of each of which there were strong arguments. No less a person than the Leader of the Opposition said that he had no apprehension as to the future operation of this clause.

SIR E. CARSON: When did he say anything of the sort?

SIR JOHN WALTON replied that on the Second Reading the Leader of the Opposition said he had full confidence in those who managed trade unions and in their moderation, although on general principles he thought it unwise to confer on any class such powers as were proposed. This clause was of a similar kind to those which had been included in previous Bills. In the first place, the Government wished to make it perfectly plain on the face of the clause that it was to be bilateral—it did not confer upon workmen a privilege that was not extended to unions of employers. Then it was provided that nothing in this clause should affect the liability of the trustees of unions to be sued in the events provided in Section 9 of the Trade Unions Act of 1871. The Government wished to protect trade union funds and make them as secure as it was possible to make them. If any hon. Member could show that any Amendment of the clause would make the funds more secure he would accept such Amendment. But while the funds of the union were to be protected, the trustees by the proviso were to be liable to sue or to be sued in any action, suit, or prosecution touching or concerning their property. They might prevent any person from trespassing on their property, pulling down their buildings, blocking up their ancient lights, or robbing their funds. All these rights could be exercised through the trustees, and there was a considerable obligation upon them of responsibility to other persons, as, for instance, if they blocked up the light of a man on the other side of the road. The trustees would remain liable under Section 9 of the Act of 1871. So far as it was consistent with the main object in view, the Government had sought to leave the *status quo* as little changed as possible.

New Clause:

"An action against a trade union, whether of workmen or masters, or against any members thereof on behalf of themselves and all other members of the trade union for the recovery of damages in respect of any tortious act alleged to have been committed by or on behalf of the trade union, shall not be entertained by any Court, provided that nothing in this section shall affect the liability of the trustees of such unions to be sued in the events provided for by the Trades Union Act, 1871, Section 9."

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

*MR. BOWLES, on a point of order, asked whether the proposed new clause was not outside the "order of leave" of the Bill. The Bill was to provide for the regulation of trade unions and trade disputes, but he submitted that this clause was a provision for putting them above and beyond all regulation whatever.

*THE CHAIRMAN said he did not think the clause was outside the order of leave. It was, he thought, quite in order, and there was a similar provision in Clause 4 of the original Bill.

SIR E. CARSON did not wonder that the hon. Member for Norwood had raised that point, because a wider exemption than was now being proposed had never been given, and he defied anyone to contradict him when he said that no precedent could be found in the whole course of the laws of this country for the clause submitted by the Attorney-General. What the hon. and learned Gentleman ought to have said so as to make the thing quite complete was—

> "As regards tortious or wrongful acts committed by trade unions, all the laws of the realm, whether statute or common, are hereby repealed."

That was a pretty large enactment to suggest at the end of a prolonged sitting. Or he might have put it in another interesting form. He might have said—

> "The King can do no wrong; neither can a trade union."

The hon. and learned Gentleman might have been even more candid. He did not see why he should not have said that on an action for an admitted wrong committed by a trade union, with admitted damage done, with admitted malice, with admitted crime causing damage, it should be in the power of the secretary of a trade union to enter a *nolle prosequi*, so as to prevent the law of the land being brought to play in the prevention of such acts, for that was the effect of the Attorney-General's clause. He wanted nothing more to condemn this clause than the words the Attorney-General himself used on the First Reading of the Bill, and which he had now ignominiously eaten. The hon. and learned Gentleman apparently thought it consistent with the great office he held, and with the high position he held in his profession and in this House, to come down now and say—'I told you on a previous occasion that black was black, but now I tell you that black is white.' Anything more preposterous than the line that had been taken by His Majesty's Government with reference to this Amendment he could hardly conceive, and it was all the more preposterous because they knew what was the claim of hon. Members below the gangway. If this was a matter which was sprung upon them and they could not go on, he could well understand the position of His Majesty's Government. But how did the matter stand? The claim was made when the Party opposite was in power for immunity of this character and for the repeal of the common law and statute law of the land with regard to trade unions. The Government had that clause before them and also the report of the Royal Commission. They had those matters before them, and they came down to this House and through the mouth of the Attorney-General denounced in language which he would not dare to use—he never laid claim to the eloquence which adorned the benches opposite and which had put them on those benches and removed himself and his friends from them although they were very glad to be got rid of—the proposal for the abolition of the rule of law that the wrong doer should be made to redress his wrong. If trade unions were exempt from this liability the Royal Commission pointed out they would form the only exception, and it would then be held to be right that vast and powerful institutions should be permanently licensed to apply the power they possessed to ruin others and inflict damage to the extent of many thousands of pounds and not be liable to make good that damage out of their funds. Such a policy they declared would be opposed to the very idea of law, order and justice. And what did the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney-General, who was accountable to this House for law, order and justice, do? He came down and proposed a clause which in the view of the Commission was opposed to the very idea of law, order and justice. He did not envy the position of the hon. and learned Gentleman. Even with the emoluments of office he should be sorry to be in the place of the Attorney-General, who now proposed what he had before denounced, and which a Royal Commission declared to be opposed to the very idea of law and order and justice. [LABOUR cries of "A packed Commission; absolutely packed."] He was not picking any quarrel with hon. Members below the gangway, who had taken a perfectly consistent course. When they took up that position last year he had the honour of fighting them almost single-handed in the Committee. He fought them as hard as ever he could, and he was bound to say that they beat him even with his own Party in power, and he hoped he took his beating good-humouredly. He never pretended that he thought their proposals were otherwise than harmful, and neither for their support nor any other political support would he have put forward a proposal of this kind, which whether he was right or they were right went to the very root of the industrial prosperity of this country. He believed that nobody should be beyond the scope of the law; but although he disagreed with hon. Gentlemen below the gangway he respected their views, and he hoped they would give him credit for supporting the views which he held: he had no quarrel with them. He denied that for many years the trade unions had enjoyed this immunity. As far as there had been an absence of decisions holding them liable, it arose simply from the fact that trade unions were originally illegal associations, and therefore could neither sue nor be sued. But directly that was altered they took their place alongside ordinary corporations. [Cries of "No."] Was there any decision of the House of Commons in favour of trade unions being held immune from liability for wrongful acts to the property of others? He defied anybody to bring forward any Resolution in any such sense whatever. He admitted that the law of agency pressed very hardly against trade unions, but it also pressed hardly against every company and every individual. That law ought to be mitigated, but in favour of all classes of His Majesty's subjects, and not of one class only. The Attorney-General said that he gave the same right to masters; but they had never asked to be placed above and beyond the law. If they did he should use exactly the same argument against them as he was now using against trade unions. Why should they be placed above the law? He was not at all sure from his own observation of the trend of events that the time might not be coming, if it was not already come, when they would have to legislate against the combination and association of capital. He was not sure that the time had not come when men acquired wealth not alone for the luxury wealth might bring them but for the great power it might bring in increasing their weight and importance, or in decreasing the weight and importance of others. He was not at all sure that the time might not come when they would have to deal with that in this country; when they had combinations and associations of capital to crush out small men and to prevent that individual effort by which men rose. If that time came and if it was approaching, in this Bill were they not laying down a principle which might be injurious not merely to the question which they had under discussion to-day but in those matters which might be of vast importance to the whole commercial interest and progress of the country? If they laid down now as the Attorney-General did lay down—he said without disrespect to the right hon. Gentleman foolishly laid down—this principle they were going to put these men of capital, with great power and influence in this country by reason of their wealth, beyond and above the law. But if they were going to be immune from the law outside trade disputes he could not think the time would be long in coming when they would repent of what they had done this day, so easily and so lightly, because like many other things it seemed to be plausible at first sight. But when such matters came to be worked out as between the parties they sometimes found they had really done the greatest disservice to the interests they desired to serve by placing these powers in the hands of others. The clause he supposed would be passed. He had not the least hope that anything he might say would have the least influence on anyone present. [Cheers.] He was quite prepared for those cheers, althought he did not want them in the least, but he was glad to have made his protest. Both to himself personally and to his constituency it mattered nothing. If he had any interest in it at all it was in the litigation which he foresaw would necessarily arise under the Bill. But he could assure the House in the observations he made he had very much higher interests at heart than those which hon. Gentlemen who cheered him had. There was one other observation he wished to make, and it was this. He knew the opponents of these proposals were represented very often in the country as desiring to subject to execution under action taken into Court the benevolent and charitable funds which trade unions possessed. For his part he should be very sorry to be associated with any such idea. These sick, benevolent and other funds which trade unions possessed he believed ought to and could be placed beyond all risks so that they might be applied to those objects for which the members of the union had subscribed. He believed that in such an amendment of the law they would be acting in strict conformity with the principles of law, because any person who held a trust fund could place that trust fund out of the reach of his ordinary creditors or obligations of the law. He wished to state most emphatically, and he believed it was the opinion of everybody who supported the view that he was putting forward, that to the fullest extent these funds, benevolent and charitable, not only might be, but ought to be set apart, so that whatever obligation or liability might be incurred by a trade union these funds should not be allowed to be made available for any purpose except that for which they had been subscribed. So far as he was concerned, and so far as hon. Members sitting behind him were concerned, they had always desired these funds to be protected. He ended where he commenced; he said that the House ought to be very careful before they put above and beyond the law any corporation or any number of individuals or any other associations of persons in this country. And when they said that trade unions might not be cast for damages in regard to an illegal or criminal act or an act against property that caused damage, they were getting rid of all the fundamental principle which the law of this country possessed, upon which, whether he be a master or a man, whether he be the head of a shipping company or a docker, or whether he be a man attempting to resist the tyranny of the mob, the liberty of every man in this country depended.

MR. SIMON (Essex, Walthamstow) said he was afraid it could not be palatable to all the Members of the Committee that so large a share of the discussion should have come to be taken up by the lawyers in the House. On the other hand it was unquestionably one of the matters on which litigation might arise and where in consequence those who earned their living by the law should offer their opinion on the subject. He had risen because he had noticed throughout the debate a point of view of what was supposed to be done by this new clause which, with all respect to much greater lawyers than himself, he declined to accept. The proposition put forward was that if the clause was carried they were going to put the trade unions in a position such as no other association had ever been known to occupy. Was there any reason for such a suggestion, could no one suggest other associations possessed of great funds highly organised and capable of considerable mischief, and yet whose funds could not be touched? Let them take a simple and popular instance, the Tariff Reform League, a body with great and somewhat mysterious funds, a body highly organised and capable as some thought of evil as well as good. It was possible that its funds might be used for mischievous purposes. But would anybody get up and say that if Mr. Vince was to perpetrate a tort, say publish a libel on the members of the Cobden Club, would he be jeopardising the funds of the Tariff Reform League, and that they would be liable ?

AN HON. MEMBER: Yes, certainly.

MR. SIMON said he should like to see that action tried. The whole of the discussion had caused a deal of confusion; there were many bodies in England to-day with large funds at their disposal, which no lawyer would recommend anybody to sue. If hon. Members wanted to sue a West End club they had to pick out the secretary or some member of the committee, and the damages, if they got them, would come out of the pockets of those persons, and not out of the funds of the club at all. He asked whether that which was the plain state of affairs at the time trade unions became legal was to be continued in truth and in fact and be their position now. It was no answer to that observation to say that till the year 1870 trade unions were illegal associations. Since 1870, when trade unions became legal associations, these actions were not brought, and they were entitled on all sides of the House to point to the fact and to rely on it that although since 1870 it had been possible to bring such actions nobody had thought of doing so. And lawyers who spoke with such certainty now, if they had been asked ten years ago would have said such actions could not be brought. What Parliament was believed to have accomplished was acted on for a generation without any of the mischief that had been suggested would arise. There was another reason why special consideration should be given to trade unions in that matter. One need not be a lawyer to see that trade unions had very great difficulty in getting level justice in a Court. One of the matters that would be thoroughly approved of was that the clause provided that an action for damage should not be brought against a trade union, because damages were assessed by juries, and in the case of masters special juries. The Workmen's Compensation Act worked in that way. The man who was going to claim could not choose a jury. No workman under the Workmen's Compensation Act could choose a jury, because Parliament took away from them the right of getting a County Court jury. They therefore never got a jury of their own class. That was perfectly proper in order that level justice might be done, and that being so they were right in saying that if an action was brought against a trade union it ought to be left to a judge to decide. For this reason he submitted that the proposed new clause was abundantly justified. Since 1870 trade unions had conducted themselves with credit and ability, without violence, and with that good sense which was in itself the best of all reasons why they should get the protection they now asked. It sometimes appeared as if lawyers were horrified that no action could be brought. Was there, even from the lawyer's point of view, anything so wonderful about it ? Three eminent Lords Justices in the Court of Appeal once declared, in Allen *v.* Flood, that such an action could not be brought. In determining what the law should be for the future they should not be debarred by a decision which had produced such unexpected consequences. They should legislate for the situation as they found it, and support the clause of the Attorney-General.

*MR. CLAVELL SALTER (Hants, Basingstoke) said the point from Allen *v.* Flood, on which the hon. Member had rested his able speech, was no better than a technicality. Whatever might be the precise technical position of the trade unions, what was it in substance that this new clause intended to introduce into the daily life of the country ? When the clause had become law a union, by direct order of its most responsible leaders and by direct action of its recognised and accredited agents, might do the worst of injury to a man through the power of its funds, and yet those funds would be exempt from making compensation. Both masters and men would only have to form themselves into a trade union and they would be raised above the law; and he looked forward with dread to what industrial warfare would be like when both parties to the dispute had been thus put above the law. What are they doing here ? They were raising above the law and rendering immune every trade union in the country. What struck him about this matter was that in order to remedy that which they were told by the leaders of organised labour was their real grievance it was not necessary to do the extraordinary thing which the House was asked to do. It was said to be hard that their funds should be made liable for the reckless acts of those who should be personally liable. If it were desired to remove that grievance, surely it could have been done without making this revolutionary change. Surely they might have had special provision in reference to trade unions, that the ordinary rules of agency should be relaxed, and that it should be open to them promptly to disavow the acts of branch secretaries and persons of that kind, on which condition the union should be free from the ordinary consequences. The grievance put forward did not justify anything of the kind proposed. He spoke with real feeling when he said that he had spent all his life in helping to administer the law in this country, and perhaps those who did not belong to the great profession of the law hardly realised how lawyers felt about a suggestion of this kind, and how proud they had always been of British law, its fearlessness and purity, and, above all, its equality between man and man. They were for the first time in modern history openly setting up a privileged class of men who, when proceedings were taken against them as against any other men, would be allowed to say, "I can do what I have done because I am a trade unionist; I belong to a trade union, and I am immune." He did not know whether to laugh or to weep, when he found a change of this kind being introduced at the outset of their career by the so-called Liberal Party.

MR. PAUL (Northampton) said it was not part of his duty, and certainly not his inclination, to defend the change of policy of His Majesty's Government so admirably illustrated at an earlier period of the evening by the ingenious speech of his right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer. But he had observed that sometimes a body of very clever men would do what the least clever of them would not do if left to himself, isolated from the contagion of collected wisdom. But the question they had to consider was not how this new clause came to be on the Paper, but whether it was a good clause now that it was there. He had said, for reasons which he would not repeat, that he did not believe in the general doctrine of the imperative mandate, but one of the few promises which he did give to his constituents before his election, and which he believed was given by the large majority of hon. Gentlemen on the Ministerial side of the House, was that he would vote for the Trade Union Bill introduced into the late House of Commons by the hon. Member for Clitheroe, of which this clause embodied the most substantial part. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, in approaching this question from the point of view of a lawyer, appealed to the great power which combinations had in the United States, and suggested that if they gave to workmen, and also to employers, some special privilege they might hereafter abuse it as it was abused in the United States to-day. He did not think that the greatest hindrance to business in this House was the existence of a Party system. He thought it was the too great abundance of eminent and distinguished lawyers who sat in this House, not one of whom could be found to tell the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition that a trade union was not a corporation. The eminent lawyers who sat here seemed to be too much under the influence of the knowledge of the law, which they had laboriously acquired, and which they variously interpreted, and they did not like any legislation which conflicted with what they had learnt. It was said that nothing in this country was above the law. There was one thing in this country which was above the law, however, and that was Parliament. They were here to say not what the law was, but what the law ought to be; not whether it coincided with decisions which had already been given, but whether it was in the general interest of the community at large. How did this question come before them at all? It had a legal origin. It arose from the decision given in another place. Another place did not cease to be another place because it met in the morning instead of the afternoon, and because it consisted of four or five Members instead of twenty or thirty. The impartiality of the judges in ordinary cases in which they had no interest was as undoubted as it was beneficial; but anyone who told him that a man who had all his life been interested in politics and held strong political views could altogether divest himself of politics when he sat upon the Bench, made a draft upon his credulity, which, large as his credulity was, he confessed it was unable to honour. If anybody wanted to know what an eminent and a universally respected lawyer might feel about trade unions, he recommended him to read the judgment of Lord Lindley in the Taff Vale case. They were very fond of saying here that things were not Party questions. It was his belief that if a Motion could be made in this House by the Archangel Gabriel, and if it were seconded, as it probably would be, by the hon. Member for Morpeth, it would be a Party question in less than half an hour. But he was a little surprised that any question connected with trade unions should be regarded as one of Party. Why, his hon. friends below the gangway, the Labour Members, knew perfectly well that the Conservative Party had done quite as much for trade unions as they who now sat on the Ministerial side of the House. It was the Liberal Government of Mr. Gladstone who first gave the trade unions their charter of freedom. It was the Government of Mr. Disraeli who improved that Act by the Act of 1875, giving them privileges which for thirty years they had universally believed in and enjoyed, and he was sure it must be a subject of great gratification to Lord Cross in his honoured old age that no one had done more for the benefit of trade unions than he. If it were proposed for the first time that a clause of this kind should be passed, and that trade unions should receive the immunity which under it they would enjoy, he could quite understand that reasonable objection might be taken; but were they to learn nothing from the experience of the past? The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition had told them that it was for others in the future whom they did not know and whose characters they could not conjecture. If it were not disrespectful he would say it were almost childish to remark that the course of conduct pursued for a whole generation by a large and influential body of men was not the policy their successors would pursue in the future. It was upon that practical experience of the past, and not upon any theory, ingenious or otherwise, or upon any knowledge of jurisprudence which he did not profess, that he ventured most humbly and respectfully to submit that the passing of this clause would be in the best interests of Parliament and of all classes of people in the country.

Sir GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend) said that, with regard to the legal element in this House, it was remarkable how their views really contradicted each other. The hon. Gentlemen on the other side said there were no organisations which came under the operation of the law except trade unions. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the very admirable speech he gave a short time ago, said the only organisations which was above the law would be trade unions and combinations of employers. Which was right? He thought it could be said they were perfectly justified in protesting against the introduction of the new 4th Clause. If they were in want of a series of arguments to justify them in objecting to this new clause it would be found in the speech of the Attorney-General himself on the introduction of the Bill in the earlier part of this session. It was crammed full of argument and illustrations from speeches by different Members of this House to the effect that trade unions should be responsible for their actions. If that was the reason in March, he could not quite understand why it was not the reason in August, and he must say that up to the present time they had not had a sufficient reason for the complete change of front on this question. He supposed that when the Bill was introduced in the first place by the Attorney-General it was not considered by the Government. Why did the Attorney-General and the Cabinet turn right round in their view on this question? He thought this House was entitled to have a full and proper explanation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer made another argument; he said the justification for giving this immunity to trade unions was because it was given to the employers. He thought that was a very poor argument. In the first place the employers had never asked for it, and they did not desire the privileges which this clause gave them. Besides, the conditions were not the same between the employer on the one side and the employee on the other. It all resolved itself into a question of damages. As he understood this Bill, they could not approach the trade union collectively. They could approach a working man individually. But what chance was there of getting damages from a working man individually? Supposing 2,000 workmen employed by a master stopped working at a given time; could the master summon those 2,000 before a magistrate? The idea was absurd.

MR. CLEMENT EDWARDS (Denbigh District) said that was precisely what was done in a South Wales case.

SIR GILBERT PARKER said that, generally speaking, the idea was absurd. In the case of an employer of labour thousands of pounds were often at stake, and sometimes the very existence of a firm. He could imagine cases where the action of a trade union would inflict untold injury upon the employer, and to say that on that account the employers were to stand on the same basis as the workmen was a misstatement and misapplication altogether. The conditions were not the same and they could not make them the same, and therefore, to say that they conferred these privileges on the working men because they were given to the employers under the same conditions was merely playing with words. It was a proposal to put one section of the community above the law of the country. He thought they should view with concern any proposal to alter the law in such a way as to put any section of the people above the law of the land. He was afraid that any legislation of that kind would be prejudicial to the general interest.

*MR. COMPTON RICKETT (Yorkshire, W.R., Osgoldcross) said he found in going about the country that the Taff Vale judgment had dealt a blow at the trade unions, and particularly the smaller ones, which was barely realised by the House, In some cases, subscriptions had fallen off, and the membership had declined. If there had not been hope of redress from this House he had little doubt that the decline would have been still more marked and would have ultimately threatened the existence of some of the unions. Nothing could be more disastrous for the country at large than that these unions should not continue to be representative of the trades for which they spoke. No intelligent employer of experience would desire to revert to the state of things of forty or fifty years ago, and be compelled to make terms with a mass of unorganised labour. That often meant an agreement with one set of men, and a repudiation of that agreement on the part of the others. Under such conditions employers would suffer far more than if there were a recognised leadership at the disposal of the men. He was arguing the question on the basis of expediency, as this House was really called upon to decide a practical issue. In dealing with the clause from the legal point of view, it must be remembered that there was always the right of action against an individual member of the union. Personal responsibility had not been cancelled. The man who broke the law could be made answerable for his misdeeds. In his opinion, the continued existence of the unions of this country depended upon the protection of their funds. He had heard workmen say more than once that they would not continue to subscribe at personal sacrifice if the money so contributed was to be confiscated by the lawyers, or to go as technical damages. Whatever might be its opinion in the abstract, was the House prepared to witness the gradual decay of these great labour associations as the result of the Taff Vale judgment? He urged that they were justified in passing the clause on the ground of common sense, and he believed that neither workmen nor employers would be a party to a scandalous misuse of their immunity.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 257; Noes, 29. (Division List No. 317.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Allen, A.Acland (Christchurch)
Asquith, Rt.Hon.HerbertHenry
Astbury, John Meir
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A.(Finsbury, E.)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, Hubert (Eastbourne
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn, Sir J.Williams(Devonp'rt
Benn, W.(T'w'r Hamlets, S.Geo.
Berridge, T. D. H.
Bertram, Julius
Bethell, J. H. (Essex, Romford)
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black, Arthur W.(Bedfordshire
Brace, William
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brodie, H. C.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J.F.L. (Lancs.,Leigh)
Bryce, Rt.Hn.James (Aberdeen
Bryce, J. A. (Inverness Burghs)
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt.Hn.Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Cameron, Robert
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton, Rt,Hn.RichardKnight
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Clancy, John Joseph
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins, SirW. J.(St.Pancras,W.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett, C H (Sussex, E.Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J.(Tynemouth)
Cremer, William Randal
Crooks, William
Crossley, William J.
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dickinson, W.H. (St.Pancras,N.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Duckworth, James
Duncan, C. (Barrow-in-Furness
Dunn, A. Edward (Camborne)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Essex, R. W.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gill, A. H.
Gladstone, Rt.Hn.Herbert John
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gooch, George Peabody
Grant, Corrie
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Griffith, Ellis J.
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r.)
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)
Haworth, Arthur A.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J.M.(Aberdeen, W.)
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hodge, John
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Horniman, Emslie John
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshir
Jowett, F. W.
Joyce, Michael
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D.
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Leese, Sir Joseph F.(Accrington
Lehmann, R. C.
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald, J.M.(Falkirk B'ghs
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Maclean, Donald
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down,S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal,E.)
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W.
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Marks, G.Croydon (Launceston)
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Menzies, Walter
Molteno, Percy Alport
Montagu, E. S.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morrell, Philip
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas
Murphy, John
Napier, T. B.
Newnes, F. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson, CharlesN.(Doncast'r
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid.
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly, James(Roscommon,N.
O'Malley, William
Parker, James (Halifax)
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs., Leek)
Pearson, Sir W. D. (Colchester)
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E.(Edinburgh, Central
Radford, G. H.
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Rees, J. D.
Richards, Thomas (W.Monm'th
Richards, T. F.(Wolverh'mpt'n
Richardson, A.
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson, Rt.Hn. E. (Dundee
Robertson, Sir G.Scott(Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon

Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rose, Charles Day
Rowlands, J.
Samuel, Herbert L.(Cleveland
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde))
Schwann,Sir C.E.(Manchester)
Scott,A.H.(Ashton-under-Lyne
Sears, J. E.
Seaverns, J. H.
Seddon, J.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Rt. Hon. T. (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim,S.)
Snowden, P.
Stanley, Hn. A.Lyulph (Chesh.)
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant,Sir Edward (Salisbury
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson,J.W.H.(Somerset,E
Thorne, William
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walsh, Stephen
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent
Ward,W.Dudley (Southampt'n
Weir, James Galloway
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)
Yoxall, James Henry

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

NOES.

Balcarres, Lord
Balfour,Rt.Hn.A.J. (City Lond.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Beach,Hn.Michael Hugh Hicks
Bowles, G. Stewart
Carlile, E. Hildred
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cave, George
Cavendish,Rt.Hn.Victor C.W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey-
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone,E.)
Craik, Sir Henry
Douglas, Rt. Hn. A. Akers-
Forster, Henry William
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol West)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.
Hills, J. W.
Keswick, William
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Nield, Herbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease,Herbert Pike(Darlington
Rawlinson,John Frederick Peel
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Smith,F.E. (Liverpool,Walton)
Thomson,W.Mitchell-(Lanark)

Tellers for the Noes—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

Mr. CLEMENT EDWARDS moved, in line 1, after "union," to insert "or any branch thereof."

Amendment proposed to the proposed new clause.

"In line 1, after the word 'union,' to insert the words 'or any branch thereof.'"—(*Mr. Clement Edwards.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir E. CARSON asked what was the effect of the Amendment?

*Sir JOHN WALTON said many branches were themselves unions. He thought they came within the definition of a union, but to remove all doubt it was thought desirable to insert the words proposed. It they were to protect trades unions they should protect the branches.

Lord R. CECIL asked whether this would include any branches which were not unions.

Mr. CLEMENT EDWARDS said it was intended to cover the case of a branch which was a constituent part of a union, but which under Section 7 of the Act of 1871 was not a separate and distinct union. If it were a separate and distinct union it would come within the clause as drafted.

Lord R. CECIL thought they were entitled to know what exactly the Attorney-General meant. He only accepted the Amendment because he thought all branches were unions. The hon. Member had told them that some branches were not unions.

Question put, and agreed to.

Sir CHARLES DILKE moved in line 2, after "members" to insert "or officials." He said the point in these words was a very simple one. Representative actions brought against mere members were prohibited by the words of the section, but he doubted whether representative actions brought against officers of a union as such were prohibited. It was to remove that doubt he moved the Amendment.

Amendment agreed to.

MR. CLEMENT EDWARDS moved, in line 2, after "all," to insert "or any." He said these words were consequential upon the acceptance of the Amendment as to branches.

Amendment proposed to the proposed new clause.

"In line 2, after the word 'all,' to insert the words 'or any.'"—(*Mr. Clement Edwards.*)

SIR E. CARSON said the hon. Member had not explained his object in moving this Amendment. Did he propose to render members of a trade union immune from any acts they might personally commit?

MR. CLEMENT EDWARDS: I am quite sure the right hon. and learned Gentleman has sufficient knowledge of the law to appreciate the precise effect of the words, which are governed by the words "on behalf of the union."

SIR E. CARSON: When you bring an action by selected individuals who represent the union they represent the whole union. I cannot see what meaning there is in saying "to represent any of the union."

LORD R. CECIL said the Amendment went a great deal further than the hon. Member supposed. The effect of it would be that if an action were brought against one man for something he had done and he had done it on behalf of himself or two other men the action could not be entertained. The whole object of the clause was to protect trade unions against actions arising out of unauthorised or rash acts of individual members; and the point was that the whole funds of the union ought to be safeguarded from actions at law. But this Amendment went much further and safeguarded against actions being brought not only against the union, but against any member thereof on behalf of himself or others.

MR. CLEMENT EDWARDS said the noble Lord was under a misapprehension. There was nothing in the clause or in his Amendment which would prohibit a representative action against one or more individuals selected to represent a number of other individuals for the acts which they were supposed to have committed. What was sought to be prohibited was an action against certain individuals selected when it was alleged that the acton was done on behalf of the society. It was to prevent action against the corpus of the society or any part of it by means of a representative action.

SIR JOHN WALTON pointed out that the wording proposed would make the clause read rather awkwardly, and suggested that the matter should be allowed to stand over until the Report stage.

MR. CLEMENT EDWARDS assented.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE moved, in line 3, to leave out from "union" to "shall" in line 5. He said the object of the Amendment was both to simplify the clause by getting rid of words of limitation and also to deal with the point of injunctions. The clause as it stood did not stop an action for injunction against a union or against the trustees. The word tortious which this Amendment would omit was a word of limitation and would not have been used except for the purpose of excluding certain actions which were conceivable, although they would not come under the word tortious or tort. Did the Government intend execution to issue against trade union funds in any case? The Government words did not seem to him to be clear on that point. Were the Government confident that their words would prevent execution issuing against the funds of trade unions in all cases, and if so why was it necessary to limit the clause by the word tortious? He should have thought it would be far simpler to exempt the funds altogether and absolutely.

Amendment proposed to the proposed new clause—

"In line 3, to leave out the words from the word 'union' to the word 'shall' in line 5."—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out, down to 'tortious' in line 4, stand part of the clause."

*SIR JOHN WALTON said he understood the right hon. Gentleman's first point to be whether it was intended by this clause to leave trade unions open to be sued in actions of contract.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: I put it generally.

*SIR JOHN WALTON said he did not know any action which, if this clause became law, could be brought against trade unions as such. He could not understand how an action for breach of contract could be brought against a trade union as such under Clause 9 of the Act of 1871. It would have to be against the trustees of the union in whom the funds were vested. With regard to the question of a tortious act, he gathered the effect of the clause would certainly be to exempt the funds from any liability for execution of any sort in such an action; because it said no such action could be brought and therefore no judgment could follow. With regard to injunctions, the object of the clause was to safeguard the funds of the union and in an action for an injunction there was no attempt to claim damages from the funds of the union. Such an action was brought to restrain the commission of an act. He would think it unwise to take any action in the nature of an injunction in such a case, because an injunction, to be effectual, must be in the nature of an action against an individual. He did not think an application for an injunction could be made effective; it could only be effective if against an individual.

MR. J. WARD said that as far as he could discover there was only a limitation in regard to the recovery of damages against a trade union, but he thought that there were many actions against those bodies which were not for the recovery of damages. Consequently he thought the Attorney-General would see that if he wished to make the funds of trade unions absolutely immune from litigation it was necessary to remove the words, "for the recovery of damages," which, having regard to the admissions of the Attorney-General, seem to him to be dangerous and sinister. The Attorney-General had explained that an injunction would be applied for and obtained against individuals, but said that the Court might as a matter of form name the union with those individuals. If after all this discussion and full reflection that represented the state of affairs, it was a very serious matter indeed for the trade unions, and he would advise that these words "for the recovery of damages" should be left out of the clause. He could imagine actions to obtain an injunction in which costs would be piled up and as the trade unions would have to indemnify the trustees for the costs of the defence. they would be just as much endangered under these conditions as they were at the present time.

MR. CAVE (Surrey, Kingston) said this was a very important Amendment, and he thought the Committee ought to understand what it meant. It meant that the trade unions could not be sued for damages for fraud or wrong or violence of any kind. The Amendment proposed that a trade union could not be sued for breach of contract. He could see no reason why a contract should not be entered into by a union through its agent, but under this provision, if a union entered into a contract with anybody and broke it, the other party to the contract would have no remedy against the union. The Amendment went a step further. If a union, through its agents, threatened an act of trespass or violence or other wrong, no Court was allowed to grant an injunction to prevent that wrong being committed. The result of the Amendment would be to free a union from all the consequences of a wrong or breach of contract, and from the possibility of being restrained if they had committed, or contemplated committing, a wrong. Personally, he agreed with much that had been said about the good work that unions had done, but it was wholly impossible for him, or any one who thought with him, to agree to the present proposition. It was an innovation in our laws and a grave injustice, not only to employers, but to all persons who had dealings with unions or suffered from wrong committed by them, and he could not conceive that this Committee would agree to extend the clause in such a manner as was now proposed.

MR. CLEMENT EDWARDS suggested that it would be convenient to the House if they disposed of the question as to the recovery of damages, which raised the question of injunction, before they came to the question of dealing with tortious acts. The Amendment in his name had simply to do with the recovery of damages.

THE CHAIRMAN said he had put the Question in the ordinary way, but if something else was wanted the right hon. Baronet might withdraw his Amendment.

MR. ATHERLEY-JONES said that what his right hon. friend wished to ascertain, and as to which they had not yet had a sufficient and satisfactory answer, was this: Supposing a trade union committed by its agents a wrongful act, such as paying money in support of a strike, or for picketing, or taking steps to induce men not to enter into the service of an employer, would it be possible for the employer to apply to the Court for an injunction to restrain the union from paying strike pay or for picketing or taking other similar action? Upon that they had no assurance from the Attorney-General. He thought he need hardly point out that the consequences of an injunction of that character might be far more disastrous to a trade union and its policy than an action to recover damages. With regard to the stopping of strike pay he thought hon. Members would agree with him that it would probably be a somewhat difficult operation. Undoubtedly in several actions which had been brought against trade unions one of the claims had been for an injunction to restrain the payment of strike pay. In a recent case in which he was concerned the Court indicated that it would be very difficult, although under certain circumstances it might be possible, to issue an injunction to restrain strike pay. But no decision had ever been given restraining the payment of strike pay. It would probably be desirable that his right hon. friend should not press this Amendment. Perhaps it would be best to leave the matter until the Report stage to enable the Attorney-General to see whether any change could be made.

MR. CLEMENT EDWARDS said he was not quite certain what course was going to be adopted, but as his proposal on the Paper was also involved in this Amendment he would like to detain the Committee for a few minutes. There had been a genuine attempt made to meet the demand made by organised labour, but by putting in this qualification and limitation the Attorney-General was falling a long way short of what it was understood the Government were pledged to do. They understood the Government to be pledged to place the unions in the position which they were understood to occupy prior to the decision in the Taff Vale case, and he respectfully suggested to the Attorney-General in this connection that he had entirely missed the point for which they had been contending. The whole question was whether a union as such was or was not a suable entity. Up to the time of Mr. Justice Farwell's decision a trade union was in precisely the position of any voluntary association that they could neither proceed by injunction nor bring an action for the recovery of damages. They were now altering so much of the Taff Vale decision as related to the recovery of damages and putting into the hands of employers a weapon which, when fully utilised, would be found to be ten times more dangerous to the trade unions of this country than any action for the recovery of damages could be. It had not been suggested that an action for an injunction to restrain the trustees of a union at the instance of that union should be prohibited. That came within the ordinary rule of breach of trust, and could be restrained in the ordinary way. No one suggested that they should prohibit an injunction against individuals, whether they were secretaries of trade unions or pickets, or whatever they were, who committed wrongful acts. What trade unionists did urge was that all actions against the *corpus* of trade unions as such should be prohibited. An injunction might be issued against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants for certain acts in South Wales. It issued against the organisation, which had ramifications throughout the United Kingdom. By the terms of the injunction, every branch, and the officials of every branch, of a society would be restrained from doing certain acts of which those persons might not have the slightest knowledge, and then when it was found that they had committed breaches of the injunction the union would be in the position of having committed a contempt of Court. He respectfully suggested to the learned Attorney-General that everything he wanted to do was done by leaving the injunction against individuals who were wrong doers, and that he should not make the Bill provide for the injunction to issue at large against trade unions. He need not weary the Committee by going into particulars, but there were conceivable circumstances — cases had come under his own notice —where an employer would get an injunction at the very threshold of a strike by alleging all sorts of things against the society. The injunction would prohibit the society from paying strike pay as being a means of inducing and procuring an unlawful act. In that way at the very threshold a strike might be crushed. He hoped that for the sake of the reputation of the Liberal Party, and for the sake of this Liberal Government, the Amendment would be accepted in so far as it allowed the prohibition of actions for injunctions against societies. If that was not done now there would be action after action in the law Courts showing how disastrous the rejection of this Amendment had been, and when the General Election took place, perhaps five years hence, it would be in the mouth of the working classes to show how they trusted the Liberals, and they would have the working classes doing with the Liberals of that time as they had done with the Tories.

MR. LYTTELTON assumed, as no answer had been made to the speech just delivered, that the Government adhered to their clause. Was that correct? The Government should inform the Committee what decision they were going to take on this very important point. Was it going to be another surrender? If it was he trusted that hon. Members would now once and for all make up their minds as to the validity of the decisions the Government had given, and the pretensions they had made in regard to this subject. They had said, and though they (the Opposition) voted against it they understood it perfectly well, that they wished to keep the funds of the trade unions immune in respect of the unauthorised acts of agents over whom the unions had not sufficient control. The Government did not wish to sanction illegality but only to preserve the union funds. But if this Amendment was accepted it would be in the power of any member of a union not merely to commit violence and fraud, or to conspire to do violence or to defraud, but to continue to do so notwithstanding that everybody knew what he was doing. The Courts would be powerless to restrain him. He would earnestly appeal to the Labour Members as to whether they wished at the very outset of their power in this Parliament to actually authorise the doing of perpetual wrong, because, if this Amendment was passed, actions which were against every right principle, actions which every person of right feeling would condemn, might be continued and persisted in month after month and year after year. And His Majesty's Courts would be powerless to enforce any remedy.

MR. ATHERLEY-JONES: Against the union.

MR. LYTTELTON: Or against individuals. ["No."] The words of the clause were—

> "An action against a trade union whether of workmen or masters, or against any members thereof, on behalf of themselves and all other members of the trade union"—

He submitted that if the words which followed—

> "For the recovery of damages in respect of any tortious act alleged to have been committed by or on behalf of the trade union"

were left out, all injunctions whether against a trade union or against its members would cease ["No."], and the consequence might be that actions of the nature which he had described might be persisted in for years.

*MR. RUFUS ISAACS thought there was some misconception in regard to the matter they were discussing. Might he point out to the right hon. and learned Member for St. George's, Hanover Square, that this clause did not give any immunity to any individual? The words he had read—

> "Or against any members thereof on behalf of themselves and all other members of the trade union"—

were merely inserted for the purpose of getting rid of the representative character of the action, and were not intended to give, and did not give, any immunity to any individual for any unlawful act he might commit. The main purpose of the clause was to grant immunity to the union funds in respect of actions which might be brought against the union for damages for any tortious act committed by them. He understood it was the intention of the Committee, as expressed in the divisions that had taken place, that no such action should be brought. But he did not think the Committee, so far, had expressed any intention to grant immunity to a trade union in respect of any unlawful act it committed, apart from the recovery of damages from the funds of the union. Speaking for himself he hoped that the Government would not accept the Amendment, because it seemed to him that if they did, the result would be that the trade unions would be able to commit unlawful acts if they were so minded, and no Court would be able to restrain them, although they might have expressed their intention of committing such acts, and mean to carry this intention into effect. He did not for a moment believe that the representatives of the trade unions claimed any such immunity. For example, suppose a union avowed its intention of intimidating persons, was not the Court then entitled to say that it would restrain that? Was there anyone who would complain of the trade union being asked not to do such things? But what was more important was that it seemed to him that in the discussion they were leaving out of consideration entirely the first three clauses of the Bill. He would ask those interested in trade unions to remember that those acts which the unions were desirous of being able to commit, and in respect of which they were seeking to be free from the control of the law, were already dealt with in the first three clauses. The great evil which the unions had suffered from was the extension of the doctrine of conspiracy to acts in which the unions had been held to have taken a part. But they had already got rid of that by Clause 1. The acts specified in that clause would be no longer unlawful, so they did not require the protection that a trade union should not be restrained by injunction from doing any of those acts. The same thing applied to Clause 2, so long as picketing was done peaceably and reasonably no unlawful act was committed. But supposing a union desired to go outside that clause and to do something unlawful? Why should the Court not be allowed to restrain it? Again, the same observations would apply to Clause 3. Something had been said in reference to a trade union being restrained from granting strike pay. He did not know of any action in which an injunction had been granted to restrain a union from granting strike pay, except the Denaby case. That was a totally different case from the cases they were now dealing with. It was a case in which one member of a union sought to restrain other members from applying the funds of the union in a manner not sanctioned by the trusts of the union; in other words, he sought to restrain the union from committing a breach of trust. All that was decided there was that one member of a union could restrain the union from so using the funds as to commit a breach of trust. That was quite a different point from that they were now dealing with. No employer could bring such an action. In the Denaby case the employers had to seek out a man who was a member of the union, and they had to pay him the rather high wage of £4 a week to keep him during the period they were seeking this injunction for the use of his name. That showed quite plainly that so far as they were concerned the only way in which in their view they could restrain the union was by getting a member to raise the question of breach of trust as between one member and other members. In his opinion no Court would ever restrain a union from granting strike pay, unless the granting of such pay was against the union's own rules. In order to meet the exigencies which had been referred to in the course of the debate there was no necessity to have this provision. The only effect of the Amendment would be to grant that which no member would get up and say he desired: an immunity from any action of the Courts restraining trade unions from committing acts which were admittedly unlawful acts.

MR. SHACKLETON said the Labour Members could not go into the point as to whether the law at present said this or whether the Bill would bring about the other. That was a matter for their legal friends, and while it was being argued they sat there rather bewildered. But they could say in honest English what it was they wanted. As to the question of strike pay he quite accepted the position that the only person who could stop strike pay was a member of the union, and that if he could stop it, it was because it was a breach of the rules if the union, not because it was a breach of law. He took it that after the Denaby case, the second case, actions by employers to restrain the granting of strike pay were stopped.

MR. J. WARD: Except through a member.

MR. SHACKLETON: Except through a member. If the unions were open to that attack to-day under the present law and under this Bill they would have to meet it in their own way. Of course, they could not say that a member of a union had not the right to see that the rules for the protection of the funds were enforced. In regard to this clause covering the question of damages, they certainly did want to make it certain that their funds should not be liable. They were of opinion that the clause as it stood would relieve their funds from any liability to damages. It had not been shown to his satisfaction that there was any danger to their funds in the clause. As to the point whether a union should be liable to an injunction he was with his right hon. friend thus far, that he was anxious that the union as such should be exempt. But he was also with the Member for Reading. The members of a committee who persistently instructed men to do wrongful acts ought to have an injunction granted against them as individuals.

MR. J. WARD: Not as men?

MR. SHACKLETON said he wanted to deal fairly with this matter. He felt a certain amount of responsibility and he wanted to state a fair case to the public. In his own case as a secretary if his committee persistently said a wrongful act should be done, he could not accept the position that nobody could come and say, "You must stop it." But he did say the union as such—the members of the union—should not be liable for anything that arose from it. The individuals responsible for carrying on a dispute should not be allowed to do illegal acts; and if they did those illegal acts some Court ought to be allowed to say, "It is time you stopped this." In the event of an injunction being granted he wanted it to be secured that the members out on strike should not lose their strike pay. The Attorney-General had assured them the clause would not have that effect. He suggested that the matter should be not settled to-night. It was a very important matter and some of his hon. friends sitting near him differed from him on the matter, and if it was possible so to arrange the clause that the points enumerated were safely secured he was willing to support it. It would be unwise to force these particular words in or out just now, and if the Attorney-General could manage to leave the matter over until the Report stage they could consider the question in the meantime and have words put in which would secure the union funds so that strike pay was not stopped as the result of an injunction. Then he thought they would all agree on the matter.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said he should be quite content to allow these words to be left over with the distinct understanding that they could raise the queston of injunction again on Report, and with a view to allowing the Government to look into the matter. He confessed he had not felt satisfied in the debate that the questions he asked had been really answered satisfactorily. The main question he asked was whether actions for injunctions could still be brought against unions. He understood the answer was yes. The other question was, "Is there any other action except an action of tort?" He would like a clear answer to that. With regard to injunctions he felt the private nuisance under the picketing clause was a matter which was likely to be raised and dealt with by injunction as it had been dealt with by injunction in the United States. It was a point which the Government ought to meet if they could.

MR. ASQUITH said he had listened to the speech of the hon. Member for Clitheroe and there was not a word in it with which he did not agree. His belief was that the clause as it stood carried out every one of the objects which his right hon. friend rightly desired; but he was quite ready to give the assurance that the Government would give it further consideration before the Report stage, and if they found any modification or addition was needed they would bring up words.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said he also agreed with the spirit of the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Clitheroe. He thought the hon. Member saw as clearly as any Member of the Committee that it would be grossly improper for the House to allow any body of men to go on committing a wrong and deprive the Courts of the country of the power of preventing that wrong being committed. The only caveat he put in was this—and he put it in entirely in the spirit of the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Clitheroe. He agreed with the learned Gentleman the Member for Reading in this: a committee of a trade union when endeavouring to do a wrong ought to be subject to the orders of the Court by which that wrongful act could be put an end to. But the Member for Clitheroe seemed to think that rule ought not to be extended to the union. If the union had no control then he quite agreed it was the actual responsible body that ought to be got at. There might be cases where the trade union was the really responsible body, and if one committee was dealt with by a Court of law another committee should be so dealt with. The principle laid down by the Member for Clitheroe ought to be accepted, but his interpretation ought not to be accepted without consideration. With his statement that the persons responsible should be made subject to the action of the Court he personally should be content; and he was quite sure the object which the Member for Clitheroe and he had in common would be fully attained if they confined themselves to the narrow limits of the formula which the Member for Clitheroe had himself suggested. Subject to that he believed the course he had proposed that they should put off the final decision of the point was well advised. He thought they were approaching an hour at which the Committee should report progress. It was a complicated problem they had to deal with, and the general comfort, convenience, and efficiency of the House ought to be considered. He could not help urging the Government and all interested in the measure to consider whether the course he suggested should not be followed. Everybody must feel that the speaking had been fairly divided between the two sides of the House and there had been nothing in the nature of undue delay. Very complicated questions had been got over at least as quickly as they ought to have been got over; and the House was much less fit now after sitting twelve hours to deal with these questions than it would be in happier circumstances.

MR. ASQUITH hoped the Committee would not leave their work unfinished. There were Amendments still on the Paper in the names of hon. Members on both sides of the House; but they were of such a nature as could be reasonably and easily disposed of.

MR. KEIR HARDIE asked whether the Government had any suggestion to make as to the amount of time to be devoted to the Report stage? If there was an understanding that a reasonable amount of time would be given on the Report stage the discussion to-night might be curtailed.

MR. ASQUITH: I have not the least hesitation in giving that assurance. Adequate time will be given.

*MR. BRACE said he did not quite appreciate the statement made by his hon. friend the Member for Clitheroe. Before committing himself he must see the undertaking in print, and therefore the Member for Clitheroe did not state the case for Labour Members like himself who at present did not feel they could say they were satisfied with the clause.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said he did not understand that the hon. Member for Clitheroe had given any undertaking. He thought they would not do any good by discussing the matter further at the present time, and he appealed to his hon. friends to let it stand over in the way suggested. He asked leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

LORD R. CECIL moved to report progress. The Committee had been sitting for close upon twelve hours, and apart from any question of getting the Bill through, they had sat long enough for a reasonable discussion of the Bill. This was a Bill of considerable difficulty. It raised questions of considerable interest requiring very close attention. Further there was a distinct Parliamentary pledge given that the Committee should not sit later than eleven o'clock that night. If that pledge was disregarded it would be impossible for the Opposition to pay the slightest attention to any pledge given by the Government in the future. They had a debate on the Guillotine Resolution of the Education Bill and the Chancellor of the Exchequer said in so many words that the only business to be taken before August 4, except the Education Bill, was Supply, one day for the Grantham impeachment, and one day for the Trade Disputes Bill. By any construction of his words that was all the Government asked them to do. It was in the faith of that pledge that the House passed the Guillotine Resolution. Then they came to the motion for the time of the House, made by the Prime Minister on the 30th July. In making his proposal the right hon. Gentleman gave a list of the Bills which he desired to be taken, and among them this Bill. Thereupon the Leader of the Opposition pointed out the extreme difficulty of taking this Bill in this session. He said it was a Bill of a very controversial character, and that it was ridiculous to ask the House to take a Bill of that kind after eleven o'clock at night. That was the whole burden of what his right hon. friend had said. He said it over and over again. He pointed out that it was in deference largely to the views of the Labour Members that the hour of eleven o'clock was fixed for the adjournment of the House and that it was utterly unreasonable to ask the House to take a Labour Bill after eleven o'clock at the fag-end of the session. What was the answer of the Prime Minister to that? It was not reported very fully, and the answer was not correct. He was present.

AN HON. MEMBER: You are wasting time.

LORD R. CECIL said he would ask the hon. Gentleman for the ordinary courtesy of debate. The Prime Minister said—

> "They did not propose to take more than the Committee stage of the Trade Disputes Bill at present, and their intention was to take that Bill between five and eleven o'clock on a Friday."

And as a matter of fact he went on to say that he would not ask the House to sit later than eleven o'clock. The Leader of the Opposition put the question to him again, and the Prime Minister said he did not propose to ask the Committee to stay later than eleven o'cock. That was perfectly clear and distinct. But it was not only his impression, it was the impression of the Patronage Secretary. Only the other day the hon. Member for Clitheroe asked the Patronage Secretary when they proposed to take this Bill again, and he said this—

> "It is rather difficult to say. Of course, the Government are very anxious that the Committee stage shall be taken before the holidays. I shall put it down at twelve o'clock as the first Order next Friday, and we will take it up to eleven o'clock."

And he said—

> "We cannot take it beyond eleven o'clock, because the Prime Minister has given a pledge that we should not."

MR. GEORGE WHITELEY: I was very particular about what I said. Will the noble Lord read on?

LORD R. CECIL:—

> "If we cannot finish it before eleven o'clock we shall have a good many hours on the Saturday, and we will put it down for that day. If we cannot get it on Saturday it will have to go over to the Autumn."

MR. GEORGE WHITELEY: Some objection was made to what I was remarking, and I said I was not quite sure whether the Prime Minister's pledge debarred us from going beyond eleven o'clock, but I looked into the matter, and found that the pledge did not debar us from going on.

LORD R. CECIL said he was quite content with that statement of the Patronage Secretary, because it showed that his impression was the same as he believed the impression of everybody else, namely, that the Prime Minister's pledge did debar them from going on, and, as a matter of fact, the pledge that he had read to the House was perfectly distinct—that they should not go beyond eleven o'clock. Of course, it was perfectly open to the Party opposite to disregard that pledge. They were in a majority and they could do it. Let it be perfectly clear, however, that it was the deliberate disregarding of a solemn Parliamentary pledge. He put it as high as that, and he was perfectly confident of it himself, for he heard the pledge given and he had no doubt of it. He was going to make a speech on that occasion, as a matter of fact, but he was asked by one of the hon. Members sitting on the front Opposition Bench not to say anything because it was thought that the Prime Minister's pledge was satisfactory, and it was not necessary to press the matter any further. No case could possibly be stronger from a Parliamentary point of view, and if they disregarded it they would gain a temporary victory to-night, but they would find that the conduct of their business would not be so smooth in future. If they broke this pledge, it would be the cowardly act of a great majority tyrannising over a small minority. He said that deliberately because he believed it, and he was quite sure that every right hon. Member on the Treasury Bench believed it too. He said that such conduct as that was utterly discreditable to the House of Commons, and would be utterly discreditable to the Government.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress; and ask leave to sit again."

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said he would pass over the compliments of the noble Lord, and the feelings and intentions and rules of conduct which he was good enough to attribute to the Government. He thought when he had been longer in the House he would be a little less dogmatic in imputing evil intentions to other people. What he said on the 13th July was what the noble Lord had read out, that it was intended to take this Bill on a Friday between five and eleven o'clock. That was last Friday. It was taken between five and eleven o'clock, and that was what they thought would be required for it. Then he (Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman) went on to say—

> "In that way, there will be time for the discussion of the really one point in the Bill which excites strong feeling."

That was their intention and idea. But it turned out that the noble Lord and others had a great deal to say upon the Bill, and they had had to have another Friday, and that Friday was not the subject of any announcement on the part of the Government. The Government, never had the intention of confining the discussion, but the intention they had was explicitly stated by him, and it was that this Bill should pass its Committee stage during this portion of the session. In order to do that, there being hardly any Amendments on the Paper which need occupy many minutes of time, the Government said that they ought to sit on to-night.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said there was no class of Parliamentary controversy which he disliked more than controversies as to the precise character of pledges, and as to how far those pledges had been kept or broken. He had had, he believed, a longer continuous experience, in fact, he knew he had had a longer continuous experience—[a laugh]—it was quite evident that some Members of the Committee were hardly in a condition to continue this debate. He had had a longer continuous experience of the responsibilities of leadership of this House than any man for a century, and he could assure the House that there was nothing more absolutely certain than this, that a Government that did not carry out in their full spirit, as well as in the letter, the engagements which it made about business, however it might succeed for the moment, was preparing for itself inevitable trouble in the future. The right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken, the present Leader of the House, had, he thought, forgotten what occurred upon the first occasion when the question of taking this Bill after eleven was first alluded to. It was at the time when he came down to the House on a Friday morning, and proposed to suspend the eleven o'clock rule. There then arose, as was natural, a discussion upon the business which was to be taken after eleven, and he (Mr. Balfour) made a strong protest against taking this particular Bill after eleven o'clock. He would not read the speech which he made on the subject, but the whole point of that speech was that they were working on the pledge originally given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that a single Friday should be given to the Trade Disputes Bill. There then was a proposal that that Bill should be taken on a certain Friday, and carried on without reference to the eleven o'clock rule. He protested against this, and he gave arguments which seemed to him then, and which seemed to him still, very powerful, to show that they ought not to continue this discussion after eleven, and it was in answer to a speech, of which that was the whole burden, and which was intended to plead with the Government and with the House against any such action, that the Prime Minister replied. He then said that—

> "After all, the strong point in his objection"—

that was his (Mr. Balfour's) objection—

> "to the proposal of the Government was the position given to the Trade Disputes Bill; But the Government did not intend to take more than the Committee stage of the Trade Disputes Bill before the House adjourned, and their intention was to take that on a Friday between 5 and 11—"

the point being that that was an answer to his appeal that the Trade Disputes Bill should not be taken after eleven. Because it was found that one day between the hours of five and eleven was not sufficient the Government came down and said that their pledge was at an end. He ventured to say that no man in the private transactions of life would ever put such an interpretation on a pledge. He was quite certain that if he had been responsible for any such refined interpretation when he was in the place of the right hon. Gentleman he would have been the first and the loudest in his reproaches. He personally raised no objection: so far as his own feelings were concerned he cared not whether they sat late to-night or whether they sat early to-morrow. But that the Government gave what everybody accustomed to Parliamentary practice would admit was a pledge and that they now proposed to depart from that pledge seemed to him to be absolutely clear. For his own part, if the Government were prepared, as he believed they were, to give them full time on the Report stage, he had no objection to the Committee stage being finished before they separated for the holidays, and he cared not whether it was done to-night or to-morrow. But that there was a pledge that their proceedings on this Bill should not go beyond eleven o'clock seemed to him absolutely clear. He had every confidence in the Prime Minister; he was quite sure that if he had time to look back on what passed and to recall all that passed he would agree that an undertaking of a really efficient and binding character was given, and that if any Member of the House chose to press it the Government had no choice but to defer this discussion till to-morrow morning.

Mr. ASQUITH said his right hon. friend the Prime Minister undoubtedly said that it was not intended to begin the discussion of this Bill after eleven o'clock. But even that was not by way of pledge; it was merely a declaration of the intentions of the Government. What was the position the right hon. Gentleman opposite now took up? Apparently it was this: that when eleven o'clock struck last Friday night the Prime Minister and the Government were under a pledge not to resume the discussion of this Bill. What, in the name of common sense, had they been doing for the last twelve hours? According to the right hon. Gentleman's contention every minute they had been sitting there since they met at twelve o'clock had been a breach of an understanding. That was the *reductio ad absurdum.* At what moment to-night did they begin to violate their pledge?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Eleven o'clock.

Mr. ASQUITH said they had continued the discussion till quarter to twelve, the right hon. Gentleman himself taking part, with general acquiescence on both sides of the House. He (Mr. Balfour) himself said he would not make a Motion to terminate the debate and it was not until the noble Lord on the back benches got up that it was suddenly discovered that during the whole of the last twelve hours they had been guilty of a gross breach of a pledge. The Government did not in the least assent to that view. They had given no pledge of any sort or kind, except that the Committee stage of this Bill should be concluded before they adjourned for the holidays.

Sir E. CARSON said he was not going to argue over again the question of the breaking of the pledge. They had their own view of that: they knew it had been broken and they knew it had been broken because minorities had to suffer. It was only on a par with the systematic bullying they had been subjected to for some time. After all, it was a very poor victory for a majority of 300 or 400 to bully a very small minority. But apart altogether from the broken pledge—and they were getting rather accustomed to broken pledges—he would like to remind the Government of the amount of business which they had had to go through during the last three or four weeks. It was all very well for right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Bench opposite to think that it was a very light matter; very few of them had been up till two o'clock in the morning. During the last three or four weeks—and he said it to the credit of the Government—there had been important Bills passed in this House, and sometimes debated, which no other Government would ever have thought of bringing on at the late hours this Government had done. They had done that work. What was the argument of the Chancellor of the Exchequer? He said the pledge only related to last Friday. And why were they to adjourn at eleven o'clock last Friday? Because working from twelve o'clock in the day till eleven o'clock at night was thought to be as much as the House could do with any kind of justice to the subject they had in hand. But what was the idea now? It was that after a week's work and after sitting up till two o'clock every night they were in a better condition to go on after 11 o'clock than they were on this night week. So far as many of them on that side who had been attending to this question the whole day—and with very great reason—were concerned, they had to admit that after sitting there seven hours beyond the usual time they were fairly exhausted. As the subject was a very technical one, many of them had had to take part in the debate a great number of times. He was sure the one person who would have the sympathy of everybody—he was the only Minister who had taken the least concern about this Bill—was the Attorney-General, who had undergone a tremendous amount of hardship all through this debate. For all these reasons, apart from any pledge, it was reducing the discussions of this House to an absolute farce, to say that with a House worn out as this was after a twelve hours sitting they should go on pretending to discuss matters of the most vital importance in regard to a Bill which, on the admission of everybody, was introducing absolutely new principles into the law of the country. He dared say the Government would not yield to that argument any more than to the other arguments that had been put forward, but would prefer to rest their victory and their reputation on bullying the Opposition and on breaking their pledges.

MR. PAUL earnestly hoped that the Government would not consent to the suspension of these proceedings until they had passed this stage of the Bill. There had been thirty Conservative Members present during the day, and it was a perfect farce that they should dictate to the 200 or 300 gentlemen who had come down to do their duty to their constituencies and to the country.

MR. FORSTER (Sevenoaks) reminded the hon. Member that it was only the presence of the thirty Conservative Members for whom he had such a profound contempt that saved his Government from defeat.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 31; Noes, 243. (Division List No. 318.)

AYES.

Ashley, W. W.
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour,Rt.Hn.A.J.(CityLond.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Beach,Hn.Michael Hugh Hicks
Bowles, G. Stewart
Carlile, E. Hildred
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cave, George
Cavendish,Rt.Hon.Victor C.W.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord John P. Joicey
Cecil, Lord R. (Marylebone, E.)
Craik, Sir Henry
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Forster, Henry William
Gibbs, G. A. (Bristol, West)
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hills, J. W.
Keswick, William
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Morpeth, Viscount
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease,Herbert Pike(Darlington
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Rawlinson,John Frederick Peel
Salter, Arthur Clavell
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, F.E.(Liverpool, Walton

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Viscount Valentia.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Agnew, George William
Alden, Percy
Allen, A. Acland (Christchurch)
Asquith, Rt.Hn.Herbert Henry
Astbury, John Meir
Atherley-Jones, L.
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Baker, Joseph A. (Finsbury,E.)
Baring, Godfrey (Isle of Wight)
Barlow, Percy (Bedford)
Barnard, E. B.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beale, W. P.
Beaumont, W. C. B. (Hexham)
Bell, Richard
Bellairs, Carlyon
Benn,Sir J.Williams(Devonp'rt
Benn, W.(T'w'r'Hamlets,S.Geo.
Berridge, T. H. D.
Bethell, J. H. (Essex, Romford
Bethell, T. R. (Essex, Maldon)
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Rt. Hon. Augustine
Black,Arthur W.(Bedfordshire)
Brace, William
Brigg, John
Brocklehurst, W. B.
Brodie, H. C.
Brooke, Stopford
Brunner, J. F. L.(Lancs.,Leigh)
Bryce, Rt.Hn.James(Aberdeen
Bryce, J.A.(Inverness Burghs)
Buckmaster, Stanley O.
Burns, Rt. Hon. John
Burnyeat, W. J. D.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas
Buxton, Rt.Hn.Sydney Charles
Byles, William Pollard
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carr-Gomm, H. W.
Causton,Rt.Hn.RichardKnight
Channing, Francis Allston
Cheetham, John Frederick
Cherry, Rt. Hon. R. R.
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Clarke, C. Goddard
Cleland, J. W.
Clough, W.
Cobbold, Felix Thornley
Collins,SirWm.J.(S.Pancras,W.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cooper, G. J.
Corbett,C.H (Sussex,E.Grinst'd
Cornwall, Sir Edwin A.
Cowan, W. H.
Cox, Harold
Craig, Herbert J. (Tynemouth)
Cremer, William Randal
Crooks, William
Davies, Timothy (Fulham)
Davies, W. Howell (Bristol, S.)
Dickinson,W. H.(St.Pancras,N.
Duckworth, James
Duncan, C.(Barrow-in-Furness)
Edwards, Clement (Denbigh)
Edwards, Enoch (Hanley)
Elibank, Master of
Essex, R. W.
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Everett, R. Lacey
Fenwick, Charles
Ferens, T. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro
Fiennes, Hon. Eustace
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir Walter
Freeman-Thomas, Freeman
Fuller, John Michael F.
Gill, A. H.
Gladstone,Rt.Hn.Herbert John
Glover, Thomas
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Greenwood, G. (Peterborough)
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hall, Frederick
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis
Hardie,J.Keir(MerthyrTydvil)
Hardy, George A. (Suffolk)
Harmsworth, Cecil B. (Worc'r)
Harvey, A. G. C. (Rochdale)
Haslam, James (Derbyshire)
Haslam, Lewis (Monmouth)

Haworth, Arthur A.
Hazel, Dr. A. E.
Hazleton, Richard
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Henderson, J.M.(Aberdeen,W.)
Henry, Charles S.
Higham, John Sharp
Hodge, John
Holden, E. Hopkinson
Horniman, Emslie John
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey
Hudson, Walter
Hyde, Clarendon
Illingworth, Percy H.
Isaacs, Rufus Daniel
Jackson, R. S.
Jardine, Sir J.
Jenkins, J.
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnson, W. (Nuneaton)
Jones,William(Carnarvonshire
Jowett, F. W.
Kekewich, Sir George
Kelley, George D.
King, Alfred John (Knutsford)
Laidlaw, Robert
Lamb, Ernest H. (Rochester)
Lambert, George
Lamont, Norman
Leese,Sir JosephF.(Accrington)
Lever, A. Levy(Essex, Harwich
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. David
Lough, Thomas
Lupton, Arnold
Lynch, H. B.
Macdonald, J. R. (Leicester)
Macdonald,J.M.(Falkirk B'ghs
Mackarness, Frederic C.
Maclean, Donald
Macpherson, J. T.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah (Down, S.
MacVeigh, Charles (Donegal,E.
M'Callum, John M.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Laren, H. D. (Stafford, W.)
Maddison, Frederick
Mallet, Charles E.
Manfield, Harry (Northants)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Marks, G.Croydon (Launceston
Marnham, F. J.
Mason, A. E. W. (Coventry)
Massie, J.
Masterman, C. F. G.
Menzies, Walter
Micklem, Nathaniel
Montagu, E. S.
Morgan, G. Hay (Cornwall)
Morrell, Philip
Murphy, John
Newnes, F.(Notts,, Bassetlaw)
Nicholls, George
Nicholson,CharlesN.(Doncaster
Nolan, Joseph
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Connor, John (Kildare, N.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Grady, J.
O'Kelly,James(Roscommon,N.
O'Malley, William
Parker, James (Halifax)
Paul, Herbert
Paulton, James Mellor
Pearce, Robert (Staffs. Leek)
Pearson, Sir W. D.(Colchester)
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, C. E. (Edinb'gh, Central)
Rainy, A. Rolland
Raphael, Herbert H.
Rea, Russell (Gloucester)
Rea, Walter Russell (Scarboro'
Rees, J. D.
Richards, Thomas(W.Monm'th
Richards, T. F.(Wolverh'mpt'n
Richardson, A.
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Charles H. (Lincoln)
Roberts, G. H. (Norwich)
Robertson SirG.Scott(Bradf'rd
Robertson, J. M. (Tyneside)
Robinson, S.
Robson, Sir William Snowdon
Rogers, F. E. Newman
Rowlands, J.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, C. Duncan (Hyde)
Schwann,Sir C. E. (Manchester)
Scott,A. H.(Ashton under Lyne
Seaverns, J. H.
Seddon, J.
Seely, Major J. B.
Shackleton, David James
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Silcock, Thomas Ball
Simon, John Allsebrook
Sinclair, Rt. Hon. John
Smeaton, Donald Mackenzie
Smyth, Thomas F. (Leitrim, S.)
Snowden, P.
Steadman, W. C.
Stewart, Halley (Greenock)
Stewart-Smith, D. (Kendal)
Strachey, Sir Edward
Strauss, E. A. (Abingdon)
Stuart, James (Sunderland)
Sullivan, Donal
Summerbell, T.
Taylor, John W. (Durham)
Tennant, Sir Edward(Salisbury
Thomasson, Franklin
Thompson, J.W.H(Somerset,E.
Thorne, William
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Verney, F. W.
Vivian, Henry
Walker, H. De R. (Leicester)
Walsh, Stephen
Walters, John Tudor
Walton, Sir John L. (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Ward, John (Stoke upon Trent)
Ward, W.Dudley(Southampton
Weir, James Galloway
White, J. D. (Dumbartonshire)
White, Patrick (Meath, North)
Whitehead, Rowland
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wiles, Thomas
Wilkie, Alexander
Williams, J. (Glamorgan)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
Wilson, W. T. (Westhoughton)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Whiteley and Mr. J. A. Pease.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: As in my opinion the Prime Minister has broken a deliberate pledge, I shall take no further part in these proceedings myself, and I advise my friends to follow my example.

[The right hon. Gentleman then left the chamber, followed by most of the Unionist Members.]

MR. CLEMENT EDWARDS moved to omit from the proposed new clause the words—

> "Provided that nothing in this section shall affect the liability of the trustees of such union to be sued in the events provided for by the Trades Union Act, 1871, Section 9."

In his belief the insertion of that proviso almost entirely nullified the effect of the former part of the section; in other words, he believed from a careful study of the section, and the decisions given upon it, that the action which, by the first part of the section was prohibited against the trade unions, might come in with all its effects against the trustees under that proviso. He was quite sure that the Attorney-General could not have intended it to be so. He was not raising this without very grave consideration, and, quite frankly, he believed that if this were carried there was a very great risk of undoing the whole intention of the previous part of the clause. Section 9 of the Act of 1871 provided, that—

> "The trustees of any trade union registered under this Act, or any other officers of such trade union who may be authorised so to do by the rules thereof, are hereby empowered to bring or defend, or cause to be brought or defended, any action or complaint in any court of law or equity touching or concerning the property rights or claim to property of the trade union."

To some extent, the Taff Vale case was got out of that section, but only to a slight extent. But there was a case which had been decided, where it had been held—and here was the importance of the point—that they might sue the trustees under that section for damages for tort and the plaintiff might then stand in the shoes of the trustees and get the damages out of the funds of the union. And if that were so, and his interpretation was right, then it followed that the effect of this clause was to say, in the first part, that they could not sue the union Tweedledum, but they had better get at the union Tweedledee. This was a case of libel where the trustees of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants were sued as owners of a paper, the organ of the union. His hon. and learned friend the Member for Reading argued in the case, and he set up as a method of defence that in this particular case they could not get at the funds of the union beyond the trustees, for the reason that this was a tort and was not such an action touching property as was contemplated by Section 9 of the Act of 1871. Mr. Justice Mathew, who gave judgment, overruled the point of view put by his hon. and learned friend the Member for Reading, and he said:—

> "In my opinion, property under Section 9 of the Act of 1871 means property generally, and an action attacking the assets of the society—for example, an action brought for breach of contract entered into on behalf of the society—would be an action touching or concerning the property of the trade union."

So the action which threatened the assets of the society, by a claim for damages, as in this case, would be an action that touched and concerned the property of the society. Every action, that was to say, brought hitherto against the trade union had been an action which threatened to diminish the assets of the society, and if this proviso went in saying that the first part of the section should do nothing to affect the liability of the trustees under Section 9 of the Act of 1871, and they still left standing that decision, given expressly upon Section 9 of the Act of 1871, this clause, without it intending to be so, would turn out to be a hollow pretence and a sham, and in a year or eighteen months time they would be in the position of having the Courts of law able to drive a coach and four through it. He would ask the Attorney-General to consider this. He might perhaps see his way clear to say that words should be introduced so as to meet the particular points which he had raised—so as to meet the possibility that under Section 9 of the Act of 1871 they could still have an action for tort arising out of a trade dispute. If he could not see his way clear, he regarded the matter of such imperative importance from the point of view of their pledges in the country, and from the point of view of labour that he would have to press his Amendment to a division.

Amendment proposed to the proposed new clause—

> "In line 5, to leave out from the word 'court' to end of clause."—(*Mr. Clement Edwards.*)

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

*SIR JOHN WALTON said he was sorry at the concluding observation of the hon. and learned Member's speech because his fears were purely imaginary, and his vews with regard to the clause and its interpretation were absolutely unfounded. He had always assumed that his hon. and learned friend advocated the *status quo*, and yet he wished to strike out of his clause words which he thought were essential to the maintenance of the *status quo.* The clause provided that no action should be brought against a trade union. It was possible that some ingenious tribunal might say that by that provision they entirely repealed Section 9 of the Act of 1871. No one wanted to repeal Section 9 of the Act of 1871. His hon. and learned friend did not wish it.

MR. CLEMENT EDWARDS: No.

*SIR JOHN WALTON said that hon. Members opposite certainly did not wish to repeal it. The Government wished to leave that Act in full force. And therefore under this clause, while no action of tort could be brought against a trade union, nothing that exempted that trade union from liability of that sort would interfere with the operation of the Act of 1871, Section 9. It had reference to a very limited class of cases indeed which were brought not against the trades union, but against the trustees of the trade union. If hon Members would allow him to refer to what these sections were, he thought they would agree that there was no trade union which sought to be free from that sort of liability, and it was only that sort of liability which was preserved by the last clause of this Bill. Section 9 said that the trustees of a trade union registered under this Act, who might be authorised to do so by the rules, were empowered to bring actions or to defend actions, or cause actions to be brought or to be defended, in any Court of law or equity, touching or concerning the property, right, or claim to property of the trade union, and should, in all cases concerning the property of such trade unions, sue and be sued. They might bring the action, and they might be subject to actions which touched or concerned their property. They might plead in any Court of law or equity in their proper names; that was to say, in the names of the trustees. They might be sued if their property was the means of inflicting an injury upon others. That was a provision of the Act of Parliament which was put into operation, and which it was not proposed to repeal, and which was framed with regard to the *status quo* which he understood his hon. and learned friend was anxious to preserve. And the only conceivable object of putting it in was to prevent the *status quo* being disturbed by a side-wind, and by an operation of the clause that it was not intended to have at all. As to the case of Linacre *v.* Pilcher, there a newspaper was established by a trade union out of its own funds, and was a part of its own property. It was just as much a part of its own property as its own premises and offices might be, or as any store which it might establish might be. There was nothing whatever in this section which said that the decision of Linaker *v.* Pilcher should be law. All that the section said was that the Act of Parliament should be law, and while the Act of Parliament remained law they were fulfilling their pledge by maintaining the *status quo.*

MR. J. WARD said that he was only a layman, but he understood that clauses in Acts of Parliament were generally decided by what followed. The last words of this clause if it remained as suggested would be—

> "Provided that nothing in this section shall affect the liability of the trustees of such union, to be sued in the events provided for by the Trades Union Act, 1871, Section 9."

He gathered from the Attorney-General that if these words were left out Section 9 of the Act of 1871 would still remain. In these circumstances he did not think that the words proposed to be left out should remain, because they limited, or seemed to limit, the previous provisions of the clause. He was very much afraid that if they remained they might be used to get at the funds of the trade unions in some way or other. He was not satisfied at all with the previous decision of the Committee in regard to this clause. He did not think trade unions would submit in any circumstances to having their committees, as committees, liable to injunctions or to actions of any description.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member must not go back on previous Amendments.

MR. J. WARD hoped, in the circumstances, the hon. and learned Member for Denbigh would persist in his Amendment.

MR. F. E. SMITH said that on this occasion he would certainly advise his hon. friends to vote with the Government. He rejoiced to see that even at this late period the Attorney-General had assented to the views which he and those of his friends who sat around him had attempted to press on the Government. He was glad to see the Secretary for War present, because he would be able to rejoice with him. The right hon. Gentleman and himself perfectly agreed on this point; probably, as the House was constituted at that moment, they were the only two Members who would be found in the same lobby. He said that because he saw the right hon. Gentleman was reported to have said—

> "Mr. Keir Hardie had written to the newspapers threatening Mr. Asquith and himself with all sorts of retribution if they would not toe the mark by voting for the particular proposals which Mr. Keir Hardie wished to carry out. Well, he was sure that neither he nor Mr. Asquith would budge one inch because of Mr. Keir Hardie's remarks."

He saw there was some dissent at the claim he had made that the right hon. Gentleman and himself were agreed on this point. But he begged to repeat the observation that the decision of the Government to incorporate in their Bill Section 9 of the earlier Act lent the strongest colour to the view that the contention supported by the Secretary for War and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had in the last resort carried the day in this highly controversial question. When the case was put to the Attorney-General, a case which had been decided in a Court of first instance, of successful proceedings involving the payment of damages being taken against a trade union for libel, what was his answer? He made two answers, one the fit complement of the other. In the first place he said the trade union had property, and that being so there was no inherent unreasonableness in making that property liable—a most powerful ally of the proposition he (Mr. Smith) had contended for ever since this Bill came before the House. It was the contention that had been made on those benches again and again, that when they had the element of property they should make that property liable. But the Attorney-General's ingenuity was not exhausted by that answer. In order to comfort hon. Gentlemen below the gangway who might have begun to doubt as to the value of the concessions they were deriving from this Bill, he gave a second answer. After all, he said, Linaker *v.* Pilcher, though it was a reported case, was only a decision of a Court of first instance. He complimented hon. Gentlemen below the gangway on the litigious prospects opened out to them by the Attorney-General. The judge who tried that case was a judge who in commercial experience and in knowledge of trade disputes was inferior to no lawyer on the bench, and speaking for himself he desired to thank the Government for the valuable concession which they had given even at the last hour to the cause he had been vainly endeavouring to press upon them, and for having established the proposition that when a trade union had property, had funds, and employed those funds in violating the common law rights of other citizens, those funds should be liable.

SIR JOHN WALTON said the Government had made no concession, and the hon. and learned Member's speech was highly inflammatory and imaginary. There was no difference of principle in regard to this clause. He was anxious to avoid the smallest danger that the area of liability of Section 9 of the Act of 1871 should be enlarged, and therefore he would suggest to his hon. and learned friend who proposed this Amendment that possibly if the words of the clause were modified in this way his point would be met—

"Provided that nothing in this section shall affect the provisions of the Trades Union Act, 1871."

That was a simple indication that they did not wish to repeal that Act. If he thought that these words would not meet the point then he would be glad to consider it further between now and the Report stage.

MR. CLEMENT EDWARDS: I should be glad to accept the words, but, frankly, I do not think they change the position.

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL (SIR W. ROBSON, South Shields) thought the hon. and learned Member opposite entirely misconceived the decision in Linaker *v.* Pilcher. He was in that case with his hon. and learned friend behind him, and he did not suppose that any trade unionist would desire to reverse the decision. It was a case entirely outside a trade dispute. The union entered into the business of newspaper proprietor just as it might have entered into the business of keeping a grocer's shop, and having entered into that business it assumed all the liabilities attaching to it. If it chose to make libellous observations, then like other newspaper proprietors it had to stand the consequences. But the case was altogether outside the scope of a trade dispute. It was a case of a trade union taking up another pursuit and assuming both the advantages and disadvantages of that pursuit in common with all other people.

MR. F. E. SMITH: I would ask the Solicitor-General whether he suggests that the libel was not published in the course of a trade dispute.

SIR W. ROBSON: It was not.

*MR. RUFUS ISAACS said he could answer that question. It certainly was not a case of a trade dispute. In addition to what had already been stated in regard to that case, his recollection was pretty clear that those who were responsible for the trade union were distinctly of opinion that having been proved to be wrong on the facts stated at the trial, and having been cast in damages, the case should not be carried any further. It was exactly the same position as if a trade union had been suing or had been sued for breach of contract in respect of property which it owned; for example, as if a union renting a house had been sued by the landlord for rent. Linaker *v.* Pilcher decided nothing more nor less than that the trustees were liable for a wrong done arising out of the publication of a newspaper owned by the union in the names of trustees, and one of the points at issue was whether the trustees were entitled to an indemnity from the union funds as they had been carrying on the business in the name of the union.

MR. CLEMENT EDWARDS said he did not differ one bit from the view put by the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General as to the point at issue in that particular case. But the danger of the whole position was in the ground on which the judge based his decision, and when one remembered that that judge probably more than any other judge had taken a friendly attitude towards trade unions, he solemnly warned the Committee of the great danger involved in accepting this proviso.

MR. JOHN WARD, after the explanations and the promise of the Attorney-General to reconsider the subject in view of the discussion that had taken place, appealed to the hon. and learned Member for Denbigh to withdraw the Amendment.

MR. CLEMENT EDWARDS, on the understanding that further consideration would be given to the matter before the Report stage, asked leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

New clause, as amended, agreed to, and added to the Bill."

Motion made, and Question "That Clause 4 stand part of the Bill" put, and negatived.

Bill reported; as amended, to be considered upon Tuesday, 23rd October, and to be printed. [Bill 342.]

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

Considered in Committee, and reported without Amendment; to be read the third time To-morrow at Ten of the Clock.

MUSICAL COPYRIGHT BILL.

Lords' Amendments considered, and agreed to.

CENSUS OF PRODUCTION (EXPENSES).

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, "That it is expedient to authorise the payment out of moneys provided by Parliament, of any expenses incurred for the purpose of the Census under any Act of the present Session to provide for taking a Census of Production."—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

Resolution to be reported To-morrow.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) BILL.

Consideration of Lords' Amendments.

MR. BRYCE moved, "That the House do agree with the Lords in the following Amendment—

> "In Clause 11, 'provided that, where the Court is satisfied in any particular case that, owing to the difficulty of showing title, the costs properly or necessarily incurred in respect of such payment amounted to a larger sum, the limit of £10 may be exceeded.'"

MR. SPEAKER said he had to acquaint the House that this Amendment was, or might still be, an infringement of the rights of the Commons. Of course, the possibility of an increase of rate, which might be caused by such order of the Court, was remote, but still it was a possibility, and in that respect it might be that an extra charge might have to be incurred. And therefore, as he had said, the Amendment was still, in his opinion, in an almost infinitesimal degree, but still in some degree, an infringement of the Commons' rights.

MR. BRYCE thought that, although it was late, the importance of disposing of this Bill, which must be disposed of to-night if it was to pass into law to-morrow, and which was awaited with the greatest anxiety and impatience in Ireland, justified them, in taking the matter now, and he would state the position in the fewest possible words. This House had disagreed with some of the Amendments made by the Lords. The first of those Amendments the Lords had abandoned and not insisted upon, or had agreed to the Commons' Amendment. The second raised an important question of privilege, and upon that the Lords had not insisted. The third Amendment now before the House was one upon which they disagreed with the Lords upon the question of privilege. The Lords had also not insisted upon that Amendment, but had substituted for it another Amendment, which was now before them. That Amendment, as Mr. Speakar had told the House, might possibly, to an infinitesimal degree, be an infringement of the privileges of the House to this extent, that it might possibly in certain cases impose a charge upon the rates. That, however, would be to a very small extent, and this Amendment did not cover any decision at which the House had arrived, as the former Amendment did. It only contemplated a certain class of cases, in which it was possible that there might arise some hardship to individuals. The Amendment itself therefore, on its merits, was not unreasonable, and he believed that it would remove a certain amount of not unnatural irritation in certain quarters. Of course, they all knew how important and valuable to them were the privileges of the House. They had been the very foundation of the power and strength of the House, and he thought they ought on every occasion to be jealously guarded. At the same time the House had never been dogmatic on the subject, and where it could be shown that its rights were fully vindicated, and where it was shown that an Amendment might be adopted without prejudice to those rights, it had never hesitated to waive its privilege, having asserted it. And therefore no harm was done to its rights, while at the same time the object of putting the Bill into a proper shape was in point of fact attained. That was the course which the Government thought the House might properly follow on this occasion. The Amendment itself was one which might perfectly well be accepted, and one which might be represented as an improvement of the Bill. They had asserted their rights, and their rights were admitted in this case from the fact that the Lords had substituted another Amendment which was to a very much smaller degree subject to the objection before taken; and under these circumstances he thought the case was one in which the House might properly waive its privilege and accept the Lords' Amendment.

Question, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment," put, and agreed to.

LUNATICS.

Order [this day] for a Return relative thereto read, and discharged.—(*Mr. Claude Hay.*)

MARRIAGE WITH FOREIGNERS BILL.

Lords' Amendments to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

Whereupon Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without Question put, pursuant to the Order of the House of the 13th July last.

Adjourned at twelve minutes after One o'clock a.m.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Saturday, 4th August, 1906.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

EDUCATION (PROVISION OF MEALS) BILL (No. 205).

CABS AND OMNIBUSES (METROPOLIS) (No. 206).

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS, &c., (No. 207).

Reports, &c. of the Select Committees of the House of Commons communicated (pursuant to message of yesterday); and to be printed.

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889.

University Court Ordnance, No. XVIII. (Edinburgh, No. 7). Alteration of Ordnance No. 16 of the Commissioners (1889) (Edinburgh, No. 1). Regulations for degrees in medicine; laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 208.)

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Standing Order No. XXXIX, considered (according to order), and suspended for this day's sitting.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) BILL.

Returned from the Commons with the Amendment made by the Lords to the Amendments made by the Commons agreed to.

MUSICAL COPYRIGHT BILL.

Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPOPRIATION) BILL.

Brought from the Commons. Read 1^a: Then (Standing Order No. XXXIX. having been suspended), read 2^a (The Lord Privy Seal [M. Ripon]); Committee negatived; Bill read 3^a, and passed.

COMMISSION.

The following Bills received the Royal Assent:—

1. Consolidated Fund (Appropriation).
2. Extradition.
3. Alkali, &c. Works.
4. Prevention of Corruption.
5. Justices of the Peace (No. 2).
6. Bills of Exchange Act (1882) Amendment.
7. Isle of Man (Customs).
8. Post Office (Literature for the Blind).
9. Charitable Loan Societies (Ireland).
10. Revenue.
11. Deanery of Manchester.
12. Solicitors.
13. Crown Lands.
14. Open Spaces.
15. Ground Game.
16. Fatal Accidents and Sudden Deaths Inquiry (Scotland).
17. Local Authorities (Transfer of Treasury Powers).
18. Public Works (Loans).
19. Local Government (Ireland) Act (1898) Amendment.
20. Statute Law Revision (Scotland).
21. Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs.
22. Dogs.
23. Colonial Marriages.
24. Musical Copyright.
25. Labourers (Ireland).
26. Post Office Sites.
27. Dean Forest.
28. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8).
29. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9).
30. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10).
31. Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 11).
32. Local Government Provisional Order (Housing of Working Classes).
33. London Government Schemes (London and Penge, &c.).
34. Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London, No. 1).
35. Paisley Gas and Water Provisional Order.
36. Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3).
37. Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4).

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

38. Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7).

39. Gas and Water Orders Confirmation.

40. Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1).

41. Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2).

42. Tramways Orders Confirmation.

43. Glasgow and South Western Railway Order Confirmation.

44. Water Orders Confirmation.

45. Newburgh and North Fife Railway (Extension of Time) Order Confirmation.

46. Paisley Roads Order Confirmation.

47. Inverclyde Bequest Order Confirmation.

48. Perth Corporation Gas Order Confirmation.

49. Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas).

50. Rutherglen Burgh Order Confirmation.

51. Wolstanton United Urban District Council Gas.

52. Great Northern Railway.

53. London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway.

54. Ascot District Gas (Electric Lighting).

55. Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Electric Power.

56. Portsmouth Water.

57. West Yorkshire Tramways.

58. London County Council (General Powers).

59. London United Tramways.

60. Twickenham and Teddington Electric Supply.

61. Watford Gas.

62. Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway.

63. Ritz Hotel, Limited.

64. Wirral Railway (Extension of Time.

65. Cardiff Railway.

66. Newcastle - upon - Tyne Electric Supply.

67. Baker Street and Waterloo Railway.

68. Southport and Lytham Tramroad (Extension of Time).

69. Wallasey Tramways and Improvements.

70. Western Valleys (Monmouthshire) Sewerage Board.

71. Edinburgh Corporation.

72. Crediton Gas.

73. Kent Electric Power.

74. Truro Gas.

75. Havana United Railways and Regla Warehouses.

76. Rochester, Chatham, and Strood Gas.

77. Folkestone, Sandgate, and Hythe Tramways.

78. South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways.

79. Bacup Corporation.

80. Cork City Railways and Works.

81. Derby Gas.

82. Middlesex County Council (General Powers).

83. St. John's (Westminster) Improvement.

84. Todmorden Corporation.

85. Tottenham and Edmonton Gas.

86. Macclesfield and District Tramways.

87. Poole Corporation Water.

88. Corporation of London (Blackfriars and other Bridges).

89. London County Council (Tramways and Improvements).

90. County of Durham Electric Power Supply.

91. Great Northern (Ireland) and Midland Railways.

92. Nettlebed and District Commons (Preservation).

93. Shropshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire Electric Power.

94. Buckhaven, Methil, and Innerleven Burgh Extension.

95. London Squares and Enclosures.

96. Sutton District Water.

97. Kingston-upon-Hull Corporation.

98. Pontefract Corporation.

99. Hackney Electricity.

100. Hampstead Garden Suburb.

101. London County Council (Money).

102. North West London Railway.

103. St. Pancras Electricity.

104. South Lincolnshire Water.

105. South Wales Electrical Power Distribution Company.

106. Watford and Edgware Railway.

107. Lancashire Electric Power.

108. Bristol Corporation.

109. Lord Tredegar's Supplemental Estate.

110. Bute (English and Welsh) Estates.

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes past Twelve o'clock to Tuesday, the 23rd October, at a quarter past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, 4th August, 1906.

The House met at Ten of the Clock.

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

Petitions against; From Aikton; Long Newton; Radlett; Silloth in Eskdale; and Wigton; to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL (RELIGIOUS TEACHING).

Two Petitions from Frittenden, against alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS (ELECTION OF ALDERMEN) BILL.

Petition from Manchester, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT 1889 (ORDINANCE).

Copy presented, of University Court Ordinance No. XVIII. (Edinburgh, No. 7) (Alteration of Ordinance, No. 16, of the Commissioners (1889), Edinburgh, No. 1, Regulations for Degrees in Medicine) [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 324.]

FORESHORES.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 4th August, 1906, directing the application of moneys received by the Board of Trade in the year ended 31st March, 1906, in respect of the rights and interests of the Crown in the Foreshores of the United Kingdom [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Postmen's Wages.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Postmaster-General if, for purposes of comparison, the postmaster of Belfast recently obtained statements of the wages paid to employees from the principal business houses in the city; and, if so, would the Postmaster-General explain why it was stated by the postmaster of Belfast, before the Select Committee of Inquiry on post office servants, that he was not aware such comparisons had been made.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The statement by the postmaster of Belfast before the Select Committee was perfectly correct. He was giving evidence about postmen only, and he had made no inquiries and obtained no information for the purpose of comparison with the wages of postmen.

Qualifications of Telegraphists.

MR. SLOAN: To ask the Postmaster-General if he will direct that telegraphists (male) at Belfast who are about to be tested in the higher duties of their class, with the view of passing the efficiency bar, will be afforded beforehand proper facilities to enable them to become familiar with the details of such test duties, particularly with regard to counter work, and that before being required to take charge of the counter they will have some experience of counter work generally.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) The Answer is in the affirmative.

Postal Delivery of Circulars.

MR. DU CROS (Hastings): To ask the Postmaster-General whether, in order to prevent delay in the delivery of ordinary correspondence there is any rule limiting the number of circulars to be taken out with the regular deliveries; if so, what is the number for each walk.

(*Answered by Mr. Sydney Buxton.*) It is the practice to make special deliveries of circulars when the regular deliveries would be seriously delayed if they were taken out with the letters; but no definite number has been fixed, as the circumstances must necessarily vary.

Imported Cement.

MR. JOHN WARD (Stoke-on-Trent): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he can give the number of tons of foreign cement imported into the United Kingdom in 1905, and the countries from which such cement came; also whether he can give the names of the firms in this country to whom the cement was consigned, the ports at which it was unloaded and stored, and the work upon which such cement was used; whether he is aware that the great bulk of such imported cement is retailed as British Portland cement; and what action, if any, he proposes to take to protect the public from fraud of this character.

(*Answered by Mr. Lloyd-George.*) A statement has been prepared and will be communicated to the hon. Member giving all the information available as to the quantity of cement imported from foreign countries into the United Kingdom at the various ports during 1905. The names of the ultimate consignees of the cement cannot be given as the law only requires the names of the importers or agents to be furnished in the "entries." Imported Portland cement bearing marks implying that the goods are of British manufacture would be required to have these marks duly qualified, so as to afford a definite indication of the country of origin, in accordance with the requirements of Section 16 of The Merchandise Marks Act, 1887. As to retail sale, a false trade description would appear to be applied if foreign Portland cement were retailed as British, and it would be open to anyone aggrieved to take action under the Act referred to.

Meeting of Intermediate Board, Ireland.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, with reference to the refusal of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland to furnish to Parliament the minutes of their meetings, whether the meetings of the Board are and must be conducted in secret; if so, has the Board any explanation to give of the fact that, while the minutes of its meetings have been denied to Parliament, full information of the nature of its recent proceedings appears to have been communicated to one of the Dublin Unionist newspapers; and, if the proceedings of the Board are not necessarily secret, whether there is anything to prevent the Board from publishing its minutes and admitting representatives of the Press to its meetings.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) The meetings of the Intermediate Board are not open to the public, and as it is an administrative Board it is undesirable that they should be. The Intermediate Education Board inform me that they are not aware that a report of their proceedings has at any time been communicated to any newspaper. It would, therefore, appear that any information as to the Board's proceedings which may have been (as alleged) communicated to the public Press can only have been so communicated through a breach of confidence. If this has occurred there must have been a grave dereliction of duty on the part of the person who has been guilty of such conduct as is alleged in the Question. With regard to the publication of the minutes of the Board, I beg to refer the honourable Member to my reply to the Question of the honourable Member for West Kerry on the 31st ultimo, in which I stated that the Board declined to send their minutes, which had, as they said, been always regarded as private and confidential.

Regulations for Secondary Schools.

MR. YOXALL (Nottingham, W.): To ask the President of the Board of Education, whether, under paragraph 8 of the Regulations of the Board for Secondary Schools, a scholar may be placed in the course of one year for certain subjects and in the course of another year for other subjects, according to the child's capacity, or whether if a child be placed in or promoted to any special part of the course, he must follow that course in all subjects.

(*Answered by Mr. Birrell.*) The usual practice is for a scholar to be placed in a certain year's course for all subjects; but where circumstances render it expedient, or better for the scholar, the method referred to in the first part of the Question may be followed.

Assistant Clerks.

MR. J. P. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he can state the number of assistant clerks (new class) employed in each Government department in the United Kingdom, and the number of promotions that have been made to the Second Division in these offices since assistant clerks (new class) were appointed.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna*): It would not be possible without much time and trouble to inform the hon. Member of the number of assistant clerks (new class) employed severally in each department, although no doubt a rough approximation could be arrived at from the Estimates. I am, however, able to state in continuation of information supplied in former years that the number of appointments made to the new class of assistant clerks since that grade was constituted is 2,146, and that the total number promoted to the second division up to 31st July, 1906, is 56.

Inland Revenue—Inspection.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, as there is an experienced staff of inspectors for the annual inspection of the outdoor branch of the Inland Revenue service, he will explain the object of the inspection undertaken annually by the Secretary of the Inland Revenue Board; whether that official has any experience of the outdoor work of the Department, and what is the annual cost of his services in this respect.

(*Answered by Mr. McKenna.*) There is no formal inspection by the Secretary. From time to time, not every year, he visits selected places. These visits greatly conduce, in the opinion of the Board of Inland Revenue, to the efficiency of the Department. The cost is trifling.

Legislative Council of the Punjab.

SIR H. COTTON (Nottingham, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether the Committee appointed to consider the reorganisation of legislative councils in India will take into their consideration the case of the legislative council of the Punjab, to which the privileges of interpellation, or of discussing the Budget, or of any form of popular representation, have not yet been extended.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Morley.*) I am not yet in a position to answer this Question.

Registration of Title, County Cork

MR. FETHERSTONHAUGH (Fermanagh, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that doubts have been thrown on the qualifications and validity of appointment of the local registration of title for county Cork under The Local Registration of Title (Ireland) Act, 1891; will he say if fees are collected from applicants for registration of their titles and from transferees of charges on registered land in respect of transfers; are these fees collected in cash or by means of stamps, and to what account are they paid; under what authority, statutory or otherwise, are these fees collected, and by whom; and is their collection with the approval of the Irish Government.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I beg to refer the hon. and learned Member to the Answer given by the Attorney-General for Ireland to his Question on this subject on Thursday last. That Answer details the statutory authority under which fees are collected. The approval of the Government to their collection is not necessary.

Tarbert Process Server.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whether he is aware that Captain Robert Leslie, D.L., Tarbert, county Kerry, and his solicitor, Mr. Thomas Windle, compelled with threats of instant dismissal the process server of Tarbert to serve notices to quit on some town tenants of Captain Leslie, and that as a result the civil bill officer has left the country rather than serve any more such notices; and will he say if it is part of the duty of a civil bill officer to serve such notices for a landlord or his solicitor; and, if not, will any notice be taken of this conduct on the part of a magistrate and a solicitor.

(*Answered by Mr. Bryce.*) I am informed that Michael Mangan, process and summons server, Tarbert, failed to appear at last Listowel quarter sessions, that he had neglected to serve several processes, and had been fined at the previous quarter sessions for neglect of duty. I am further informed that it is not the fact that Mangan was threatened by either Captain Leslie or Mr. Windle. I am advised that it is no part of the duty of a civil bill officer to serve notices to quit. In any event civil bill officers are under the control of the County Court Judge and not of the Executive Government.

Case of War Office Clerks.

MR. FLAVIN: To ask the Secretary of State for War, whether he will state what steps have been taken to test the accuracy of the Official Minutes in the War Office Files Nos. 74705 and 74706, dated respectively 17th and 20th April 1899 and 17th March 1900; and whether the money involved, of which the three established Civil Service clerks concerned were deprived, as stated on 16th June 1904, can now be publicly inquired into.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Haldane.*) The cases of these three clerks have been fully considered by my predecessors, and I am not prepared to re-open them.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Turbines for Torpedo Boat Destroyers.

MR. ASHLEY (Lancashire, Blackpool) I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty how many of the torpedo boat destroyers included in this year's Estimates will be fitted with turbine machinery; and whether any provision will be made on those vessels for opening the turbine cases while at sea for the purpose of carrying out repairs.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON, Dundee): All the destroyers included in this year's programme of new construction will be fitted with turbines. The details of the designs are still under consideration.

MR. ASHLEY: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty what provision of artisans and machinery will be made on foreign stations for carrying out serious repairs to turbines.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: This question is occupying the attention of the Admiralty, and I am not in a position to make any statement at present.

Rush Coastguard Stations—Right of Way.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether his attention has been called to the fact that on Thursday the 26th July last, an inhabitant of Rush, county Dublin, was prevented by several men of the coastguard station at that place from going through a passway which, though it has a gate at either end, has been open to the public for thirty-two years without restriction, and is, in fact, the only direct way of getting to the beach from one side of the town of Rush; whether he is aware that Mr. Walsh, in the effort to prevent him from going through the passway mentioned, was violently assaulted and dragged along the ground for a considerable distance, with the result that he has been obliged to go under the care of a local medical doctor; will he say why this attempt was made, after thirty-two years, to shut out the public from access to the beach at Rush through the passage mentioned; and what action the Government propose to take in the matter.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I am making inquiries in regard to this incident, and will communicate the result to the hon. Member in due course.

The Lance.

MR. ASHLEY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if it is intended to permit lancer regiments to resume the lance as a complement to their present service equipment.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. HALDANE, Haddington): The instructions laid down in Army Order 39 of March 1903 with regard to the use of the lance are still in force but they are under consideration.

Church of England in Natal.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that the revenues of the Church of England in Natal have been locked up for years, unable to be used by the curators because there is no Bishop of Natal; and whether, in view of the refusal of the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate a bishop, he proposes to take any action in the matter.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. CHURCHILL, Manchester, N.W.): It is not proposed to take any action in the matter.

Tilonke's Case.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD (Leicester): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether His Majesty's Government has had any information from the Natal Government stating why Tilonke is being tried by court-martial, although he was not taken in the field; why his counsel has been refused an adequate time to prepare for his defence; why no representatives of the public are allowed to be present at the trial; and whether His Majesty's Government has made representations to the Natal Government pointing out that such trials are not in accordance with the promises made to this House.

MR. CHURCHILL: I regret to say the Secretary of State has not received any information from the Natal Government on the subject.

Germany and Abyssinia.

MR. ASHLEY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the commercial Treaty recently concluded between Germany and Abyssinia, exempts German subjects in Abyssinia from the jurisdiction of native Abyssinian Courts and places them under German Consular jurisdiction; whether English subjects are subject to the jurisdiction of the Abyssinian Courts; and, if so, whether he proposes to take any steps to obtain for English subjects the same privilege which German subjects now enjoy.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir EDWARD GREY, Northumberland, Berwick): The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the negative. No arrangements have been made for exempting the subjects of any foreign Power from the jurisdiction of these Courts.

Income Tax on Foreign Trades.

MR. ASHLEY: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether his attention has been drawn to a decision of the House of Lords to the effect that companies whose office is in the United Kingdom, and whose property is situated in foreign countries or in other parts of the British Empire, are liable to pay Income Tax in this country as well as where their property is situated; whether he has considered the probable loss of business to this country which this decision may entail; and whether he proposes to take any steps in the matter.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. ASQUITH, Fifeshire, E.): The decision in question laid down no new principle, and was in accordance with the current of authority for the last thirty years. The Question which arose, and which was anwered in the affirmative, was, whether, upon the facts stated, the company was "resident" within the United Kingdom for the purposes of the Income Tax Acts. I see no reason to think that this judgment, which involves no alteration in the existing law and practice, will produce injurious effects; and I do not propose to take any steps in the matter.

Imports of Cement.

MR. J. WARD (Stoke-on-Trent): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he can give the number of tons of foreign cement imported into the United Kingdom in 1905, and the countries from which such cement came; also whether he can give the names of the firms in this country to whom the cement was consigned, the ports at which it was unloaded and stored, and the work upon which such cement was used; whether he is aware that the great bulk of such imported cement is retailed as British Portland cement; and what action, if any, he proposes to take to protect the public from fraud of this character.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE, Carnarvon Boroughs): A statement has been prepared and will be communicated to the hon. Member giving all the information available as to the quantity of cement imported from foreign countries into the United Kingdom at the various ports during 1905. The names of the ultimate consignees of the cement cannot be given as the law only requires the names of the importers or agents to be furnished in the "entries." Imported Portland cement bearing marks implying that the goods are of British manufacture would be required to have these marks duly qualified, so as to afford a definite indication of the country of origin, in accordance with the requirements of Section 16 of the Merchandise Marks Act, 1887. As to retail sale, a false trade description would appear to be applied if foreign Portland cement were retailed as British, and it would be open to anyone aggrieved to take action under the Act referred to.

London Water Supply.

MR. ASHLEY: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been called to a statement of Sir Alexander Binnie that the River Thames and Lea, from which the drinking water of London is drawn, receive above the waterworks intakes the more or less clarified sewage of 1,000,000 persons in the case of the Thames and about 250,000 in the case of the Lea, and that the late Sir George Buchanan, principal medical officer of the Local Government Board, stated that the drinking of such contaminated water ultimately results in death and disease to the consumers; and whether it is proposed to take any steps to secure a purer water supply for London.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. JOHN BURNS, Battersea): I have seen the statement made by Sir Alexander Binnie. I am informed that the whole question of the adequacy of the works of the Water Board and existing sources to deal with the present and future population of the water area is now under the consideration of a Committee of that Board.

Kinder Reservoir, Derbyshire.

MR. J. WARD: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he has received any reply from the Stockport Corporation with reference to the stoppage of work at the Kinder Reservoir, Derbyshire; and, if so, whether he can state the terms of the same.

MR. JOHN BURNS: I have received a reply from which it appears that the work at the reservoir has not been stopped altogether, and that portions of it are being proceeded with at the present time, but that owing to difficulties with regard to the foundation of the dam, part of the work has been suspended. It further appears that the largest number of persons at any time employed on the work was 321 in August, 1905. The number at present employed is twenty-five. It became necessary for a large number of the men to find other employment, but, so far as can be ascertained, at present only one man of those formerly employed is without work. Almost all the married men found employment on another work in the neighbourhood which is being executed for the corporation, others have gone to the Derwent Valley Water Works, and others to Garston, where a new dock is being made. It is stated that there was at one time a little distress, but that this was relieved out of funds at the disposal of the Workmen's Institute which is assisted by the corporation. So far as can be ascertained there is no distress now.

STREET BETTING BILL [LORDS].

As amended, to be printed. [Bill 343.]

CONSOLIDATED FUND (APPROPRIATION) BILL.

Read the third time, and passed.

ADJOURNMENT (AUTUMN SITTING).

Motion made, and Question proposed: "That this House at its rising to-day do adjourn until Tuesday, October 23rd next, and that for the remainder of the session Government business have precedence at every sitting, and at the conclusion of Government business on each day Mr. Speaker do adjourn the House without question put."—(*Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

MR. MURPHY (Kerry, E.) said he desired to raise several questions dealing with educational matters in Ireland.

He complained firstly of the action taken by Dr. Starkie, head of the Irish Education Board, in the course of public speeches, in attacking the clerical managers of the elementary schools. As far as he himself and those for whom he spoke were concerned they had no doubt whatever that Dr. Starkie might be a very clever and highly educated gentleman; they had nothing to say against him personally, but they did complain of the way he administered educational affairs in Ireland. He antagonised himself and put himself in opposition to the best educated and most powerful force in Ireland, viz., the Catholic school managers. What would be thought of the official head of the Education Department in England if that official went round making speeches attacking the clerical managers of elementary schools? He would not be allowed to do it. He thought Dr. Starkie should be restrained; he should be put into another sphere for the exercise of his great ability and power of administration. It was not the cleverest men who were always the best, and certainly when anyone in Ireland or elsewhere set himself in opposition to great public opinion as represented by the Catholic school managers, he had very little chance of dealing with matters in a satisfactory manner. He and other Members had argued the question in reference to the need of reform and improvement in the educational affairs of Ireland, and he believed he was right when he said that the present Chief Secretary and the Attorney-General were in agreement that things were unsatisfactory and in need of reform. With such affinity of feeling one might expect that something would be done, but they had been told by the Prime Minister that there was little hope of dealing with the question in the Autumn sitting. There were some 14,000 teachers affected by the present position of things in Ireland. It was impossible to have a prosperous country if its primary education was neglected and left in the present ruinous condition of such education in Ireland. He would suggest that the Attorney-General might ask the Chief Secretary to direct his attention to this question during the coming recess. He (Mr. Murphy) knew all about the conditions under which boys had to attend the elementary schools and of the little opportunity given them to make headway. A little expenditure upon these schools would make their condition more suitable for educational purposes. and would give the poor children who had to attend them clean and well furnished rooms. He hoped also some provision might be made for a new supply of books. Another matter he wished to bring before the notice of the House was that of the civil rights of teachers. He was informed that there was scarcely a county in England where the teachers were not allowed to enter into public life. In Ireland, however, every restriction was placed upon the teacher, and the result was that they were practically slaves at the mercy of the Public Department. Under such conditions they could not educate the children to become self reliant and self-respecting men. He hoped reforms would be immediately secured in this direction. Also, he hoped that the question of the salaries and pensions of teachers would be considered. It was because he took a deep interest in primary education that he had taken the present opportunity of referring to these matters, and he hoped the Attorney-General, who had always shown the greatest courtesy, would make it his business to represent to the Chief Secretary and the Department that there was a very strong feeling in Ireland with regard to primary education, and that such a state of affairs as at present existed could not be tolerated much longer.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.) also called attention to grievances in regard to Irish education, and especially to the case of a National school teacher who was dismissed without just cause by the school manager and was only able to secure a reversal of the decision by reason of the fact that the Board in Ireland, by the referees, were able to hold an inquiry into the facts. He complained further that the Intermediate Board and the National Commissioners were not duly responsible to this House, and that there was often undue delay in the payment of teachers' salaries. The Irish Administration at the present time was a fraud and a wanton. There were forty-one Boards in Ireland spending money over which this Parliament had no control. [AN HON. MEMBER: Try Home Rule.] There were millions of money expended of which Parliament, although it had to vote the cash, had no control of the spending. That was a state of affairs which if not promptly remedied by the present Government would have to be dealt with by another Government which would have to be substituted for the present one.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. CHERRY, Liverpool, Exchange) apologised for the absence of the Chief Secretary, and hoped that, considering the right hon. Gentleman's laborious week, the House would excuse him. Hon. Members from Ireland would remember in an especial degree the amount of trouble and anxiety the right hon. Gentleman had gone through in connection with the Labourers Bill, which in a few minutes would receive the royal assent. Everybody would agree that the Government had done an act which would certainly conduce to the increased prosperity of a great mass of the Irish people in securing that the measure should be passed into law before the adjournment for the summer recess. Everyone concerned in Irish administration would admit the extreme importance of the questions referred to by the hon. Member for East Kerry and the pressing call there was for legislating on them. But they could not do everything at once, and the Government would not have been expected during the course of the present session to deal with such a thorny question as Irish primary education while they were passing the Labourers Bill through the House. Primary education had been neglected in a shameful manner in the past. It called for action so soon as the House could possibly take it. He lamented that the funds which ought to have been devoted to primary education corresponding to the funds devoted in England to that purpose had been diverted and applied in other directions. That was one of the most regrettable circumstances connected with the late administration of Ireland. They were face to face with a great financial difficulty. If the position of primary education was to be improved and the schools were to be properly equipped, the teachers properly paid and the pupils given proper education, it would need the expenditure of a large sum of money. [Cries of "The development grant."] That grant had already been assigned to so many subjects that he doubted whether any sum would be available from that grant for this particular purpose.

MR. SLOAN: Assign it to the original purpose for which it was intended.

MR. CHERRY said he could not make a complete change at once. The Government would by some way or another secure sufficient funds for primary education. Every member of the Government regarded the matter as being of as much importance in Ireland as in England, and it must be dealt with. As to Dr. Starkie, he did not propose to enter into details of that question. The hon. Member would himself recognise what a very great difficulty every permanent official was placed in owing to the transitional stage of Irish administration. Irish administration in the past had been in an unsatisfactory condition. The present Government hoped to make a change in that, and it was one of their most earnest hopes that in the course of next session or some future session the administration of Ireland would be brought into closer connection with the people of Ireland. He was glad to hear that the hon. Member for South Belfast welcomed those changes.

MR. SLOAN: What changes?

MR. CHERRY: In the administrative boards.

MR. SLOAN: Yes, I should welcome changes in the administrative boards, but it must not be assumed that I shall welcome the changes suggested by the Government.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR: The leopard cannot change his spots.

MR. CHERRY hoped the hon. Member's speech would be remembered in the future, and add to the favour in which the proposals would be received by the House. He accepted it as an indication of the spirit in which the hon. Member would act, and hoped it would be adopted by other Members who sat for Ulster constituencies, although he could not say he had much confidence as to that. Mention had been made of the Intermediate Board, and complaints were made that it was not responsible to this House. Correspondence on that subject had been going on between the Board and the Government, and it would be seen when that correspondence was published that the Government had been asserting most strenously, and would continue to assert, that the Board was responsible to the House. Until the Intermediate Board and all the other Boards were made responsible to this House they would not have good government in Ireland. It was essential that the administration of any country should be under the control of the representative body.

MR. MACKARNESS (Berkshire, Newbury) referred to one or two aspects of the proposed grant of self-government to the Transvaal. On the general character of that grant of self-government he heartily congratulated Ministers. The new Constitution had the great merit of being based upon trust of the brave people who fought against us instead of the distrust which marked the Constitution proposed by the late Government, and he was convinced that no measure which was not based upon trust would ever succeed. He passed over the objection to the second Chamber, which was only provisional and temporary, but the withholding of any grant of responsible government to the Orange River Colony was more serious. Many Members on the Ministerial side were highly pleased with the attitude of the Government on the Chinese labour question, and welcomed the declaration that they would not tolerate when self-government was introduced any kind of labour which was accompanied by servile conditions. It was welcome because it showed the Government had resumed that attitude towards freedom of all labour which was abandoned by the late Government. It was also satisfactory as showing that the Government would encourage white labour in the mines and throw open to responsible reputable persons the power to recruit our own black subjects to take part in the working of the mines. But he wished to point out that under the proposed policy in the Transvaal the existing state of things in relation to the employment of Chinese labour in the mines would continue for some years unless stringent measures were taken. The record of murders and outrages committed by the coolies was appalling, and by the herding together of 50,000 Chinese of the lowest class without women a horrible moral cancer had been introduced into our new colony, and the population and settlers in the Transvaal were becoming habituated to practices that had always been held in deepest detestation by our race. He earnestly pressed upon the Government that instead of waiting, they should make every effort to hasten the repatriation of the Chinese, and, as far as it was possible, to obtain withdrawal of licences. Instead of allowing 5,000 more Chinese to come in and adding to the gravity of the situation, they should extend the admirable policy which they had begun, and persuade certain mineowners to withdraw the licences and begin at once a gradual system of repatriation of this class who could not be allowed to remain in South Africa without contaminating the public life and purity of the Colony. He held that the whole policy of the war in the Transvaal was a gross wrong to the people of the Transvaal, but it was still more wrong to introduce into that Colony this terrible moral cancer. He therefore appealed to the Prime Minister to press on the policy of repatriation.

MR. FIENNES (Oxfordshire, Banbury) said he had had no intention of speaking on this or any other question to-day, but having listened to the remarks of the hon. Member and because recently he had felt compelled to vote against his Party he wished to say a few words on this question. He had formed his opinion on the Chinese question from letters received from South Africa, from men who were in his Yeomanry regiment and who were now working in the mines;

men who though they disliked the principle of Chinese labour said the only way in which work could be provided for the many white men starving in the streets at that time was to have more Chinese labour. There always was a great scarcity of natives labour in the mines even before the war. There were now 50,000 Chinese on the Rand. Those 50,000 were finding work for 6,000 white men, and unless a substitute was found for those 50,000 Chinese the position of the 6,000 white men would be jeopardised. He would be only too glad to see 50,000 white men take their place; he would be only too glad to see the experiment of Mr. Creswell carried to successful issue, but at the same time if that could not be done substitutes for these 50,000 Chinese must be found. Until they could find those substitutes they would be running the risk of throwing out of work 6,000 white miners, which would mean a loss of four seats. Where, then, would be our British supremacy? He would like to know the opinion of the Ridgeway Committee on the Chinese labour question.

Mr. CHURCHILL was understood to say that there was no allusion to Chinese labour in the Report of the Committee.

Mr. FIENNES understood that, but there were such things as lobby rumours, and although he had no ground for his suggestion he would be glad to hear what any of the members of that Committee had to sayupon the labour question. So long as the Boers continued through their leaders to make violent speeches and to sow sedition as they had done, it was dangerous to give them a constitution. It it were true that the Boers before the war wished to drive us into the sea—he did not think it was true, but at all events it was one of the pretences on which we went to war—then ten thousand times more had the Boers got a reason now for wishing to drive us out of South Africa. He hoped and trusted with all his heart that we might be able to unite with the Boer nation, who proved so gallant a foe, and he believed there were some who wished to be loyal to the British Crown, and who looked forward to the time when they would be part of the great Empire which, he thought, they on the Ministerial side had as much reason to be proud of as hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House.

***Mr. REES** (Montgomery Boroughs) said his hon. friend the Member for Barnsley, who was unable to be present to-day, on Thursday last called attention to the failure of the Chinese Government to carry out the Mackay Treaty, to the necessity for further development of China by British concessions, and to the administration of the customs. To the last mentioned matter he himself called attention on his own behalf, and on behalf of his hon. friend the Member for Montgomeryshire, who was unavoidably absent. The Secretary of State's answer to a question he put yesterday disposed for the present of this matter, but he should be grateful if he could give any reply in other respects to the speech of the hon. Member for Barnsley, as it was regarded by his hon. friends and himself, and by all interested in the China trade, of paramount importance that the customs should remain as before under European control and supervision. An imperial decree to this effect not only containing the conventional and meaningless ending, "tremblingly obey," but also the intention that it should be obeyed, would appear to be the necessary cure for the present situation. He should be grateful to the right hon. Gentleman if he would give the House any information regarding the so-called Baghdad Railway project, a name which concealed rather than illustrated the immense importance of the scheme, which the representative of the Foreign Office in another place justly described as one of the greatest questions of our time, of similar character, and of equal moment to, the Suez Canal. He had endeavoured to show that His Majesty's Government formally consented in December, 1905, to allow the Turks to include military expenditure in the Macedonian Budget on the condition that the deficit, if any, should be supplied by drafts of the Ministry of Finance on the existing customs duties; that there was an annual deficit of £600,000 caused by military expenditure, which was being met from existing customs;

and that it was as clear as daylight that if they consented to the extra 3 per cent. customs duty they would liberate more than a sufficient sum to pay the interest on capital, more than sufficient to carry the railway through the Taurus range, into the Mesopotamian plain, whence the descent to the Persian Gulf was easy and inexpensive. We were absolutely bound to participate in the whole scheme under some international arrangement and to have political control of the Gulf section, under pain of losing our commercial and political position in Turkey, Persia, and the Gulf, of having the flank turned of our Indian North-West frontier, and of seeing our commanding position in the Middle East seriously compromised, if not destroyed. He had endeavoured to show, among other things, that no considerations affecting Macedonia, the possession of another independent Power, for which we were not responsible, and which it was doubtful if we could benefit, could justify our consenting to the increase of 3 per cent., except upon the clearest and most satisfactory guarantees for our participation in the proposed new avenue of approach to the Persian and Arabian Gulfs and the Indian waters. If the right hon. Gentleman considered it unwise to enlighten the House as to the situation, he did not ask for any revelations, but it would be a comfort to know that he rightly appreciated, as he was sure he did, the true proportions of the Macedonian question, and the Baghdad Railway, the former of which related to the well-being of a population, sympathy with which should not blind us to the political and commercial necessities of the situation as regarded our own people. There was, indeed, little reason to believe that the increase, if sanctioned, would really benefit the people of Macedonia. Another subject he was concerned about was that of the British Indians in the Transvaal. The Government, he knew, had no power to coerce, and he was the last man in the House to wish to coerce Colonial administrations. But certain speeches, epithets, and opinions, of individual Members, from which he profoundly differed, and which he deeply deplored, had found their way to South Africa where they occasioned very natural and very deep feelings of resentment. When, therefore, a Member, who regarded intervention from home in domestic Colonial affairs as generally unjustifiable and almost always disastrous, lifted up his voice in solemn protest against the treatment of our humane, civilised, and, in spite of intolerable provocation, always to the last degree helpful and friendly Indian fellow subjects, it was permissible to hope it would be taken in good part by the Colonial Government concerned, which indeed might reasonably reflect that its attitude in this behalf gave the only possible justification which could be found for the ungenerous criticisms and unfounded accusations of those who regarded our own flesh and blood in our own Colonies as oppressors of coloured and subject races.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD (Leicester) desired to draw the attention of the House to a matter germane to a Question which he had had several times on the Paper. But first of all he would ask the Under-Secretary for the Colonies a Question which arose out of his recent statement about the Transvaal Constitution. Would it be possible for the hon. Gentleman to give the House some information as to whether the Transvaal Parliament, when it was elected, could immediately proceed to change certain matters provided for under its constitution. He referred, for instance, to the boundaries of constituencies. Would it be competent for the Transvaal Parliament within the next year or so, say, to appoint a re-redistribution commission, or to enfranchise women? How far were the establishment of a second chamber, the basis of the franchise, the exclusion of the natives, and the particular constituencies fixed by the Letters Patent that had been issued, and how far could they be the subject of Bills that might be immediately introduced into the new Parliament? With reference to the Question on the Paper to-day in his name he should like to say that he totally disagreed with his hon. friend who had just addressed the House in his view of Empire. He did not hold the idea of a little corner of the Empire doing what it liked without admitting that the rest of the Empire had any right to interfere or to advise.

If we were to have an Empire we must have something that corresponded to a political unity, and if we were going to have that then the parts of the Empire that shared in the glory, pretension, and honour of belonging to it must, as a *quid pro quo*, allow some central Imperial authority to take charge of the traditions, the honour, and the reputation of the whole. He defied any Imperialist to come to a conclusion as to Empire apart from that, and, having come to that conclusion, he defied anyone to supplement that conclusion with any such doctrine as had been stated this afternoon. The point he wished to raise was the present operation of martial law in Natal, and particularly in connection with the trial which was either proceeding or had finished this week. The chief Tilonkwe was invited by the Minister for Native Affairs to go to Pietermaritzburg a week ago last Monday. Tilonkwe went, and was immediately arrested, and was told that he was to be tried by court-martial. The newspapers immediately published that the result of the trial was to be that Tilonkwe was to be either shot or hanged. After this was known, the Minister, or some responsible authority, allowed him to return to his tribe for the remainder of the week, when he was again summoned to Pietermaritzburg, and last Monday he was to be tried before the court-martial. That was in accordance with the statement made by the Under-Secretary in reply to a Question. He was not going to make any charge, but here was the case of a chief who was told to go to Pietermaritzburg, and when he obeyed the instruction was arrested and condemned to trial by court-martial. Then he was informed that he was going to be shot, and next that he could go back to his tribe for a few days, after which he was to return to Pietermaritzburg to undergo his trial. Surely a man would not obey a second summons under such circumstances. If the Minister for War ordered a court-martial to be held upon him (Mr. Macdonald), and he was told that he was going to be shot or hanged in the course of a week, he thought he should try to get a passage to America or some other place where a writ could not be served upon him. Supposing Tilonkwe had refused to obey the second summons, his tribe would have been said to be in rebellion, and an armed force would have been sent to vindicate the honour and secure the safety of the Colony. Last Monday, however, Tilonkwe returned, and he thought this House ought to pass a special vote of thanks to him for having done so. Tilonkwe was an exceedingly trustful man for having appeared in spite of his having been told that he was to be shot or hanged. Then he was brought before the court-martial, and counsel was provided for him. The counsel informed the Court that it was absolutely impossible for him to go into the papers in the time. The accusations made against Tilonkwe included deeds beginning in January last, before martial law was proclaimed, up to the other day, when it was stated he had said or done something which might be construed into an intention to commit a wrong. Although Tilonkwe's counsel appealed for time in which to examine the papers, the Court told him to go on immediately with the case. Certain people were in the Court who knew Tilonkwe personally, and his conduct as a tribal chief, but they were at once ordered out of Court. He might refer to one in particular whose name would carry weight amongst impartial people, and that was Miss Colenso, who at great personal inconvenience went to Pietermaritzburg to see, so far as she could, that justice was done. She was informed that she had no business to be present. So far as he had been able to read the accounts, whilst everybody else were turned out of court the Crown witnesses were allowed to remain in court and listen to the proceedings. He did not think that was exactly the kind of proceedings that our Natal colonists should impose. He had asked several times what the Government were doing in the matter. They had heard a great deal during the previous sitting about breaches of pledges, but he would like to remind the House what the Under-Secretary said in reply to a question on May 2nd regarding courts-martial. He said—

> "The Secretary of State has been informed that it is the intention of the Natal Government to try all natives other than those

actually taken fighting with arms in their hands by the civil tribunals and not by courts-martial."

It was not alleged that Tilonkwe was ever in the field, or that he had anything at all to do with the rebellion. The only allegation was that he said something rude to the magistrates, and refused to pay his poll tax. Therefore trying Tilonkwe by court-martial was a breach of the pledges given by the Natal Government, and communicated by the Under-Secretary to this House. It was quite impossible to carry the matter further, and all they could do was to utter their protest and express their heartfelt regret that they had not had a more satisfactory Answer to the Question addressed to His Majesty's Government on this matter. He was exceedingly sorry that they should start upon their holidays with such a thing as this pressing on their minds, and making them feel uncomfortable lest they had not fulfilled their responsibilities to the Empire in respect of what was going on in Natal at the present time.

The UNDER - SECRETARY of STATE for the COLONIES (Mr. Churchill, Manchester, N.W.) hoped his hon. friend would believe that the vigilance with which the Secretary of State was watching what took place in Natal would not be relaxed in the short period for which Parliament was about to adjourn. So far as their powers allowed them they would neglect no opportunity of bringing influence, by way of friendly counsel, to bear upon the Government of Natal. A very great number of communications passed almost daily between the Colonial Office and the Governor of Natal, and the Governor was constantly in council with the responsible Ministers and was constantly receiving from those Ministers minutes which were transmitted to this country. It was not possible for the Colonial Office with any advantage to say beforehand what friendly advice they would or would not give to the Natal Government. Any statement of that kind on behalf of the Government here would tend to offend the susceptibilities of Colonial self-government, and remonstrances or advice and representations which might otherwise have been considered favourably might be met in a harsh and unyielding spirit, and hardly any practical result would be achieved. He hoped his hon. friend did not suggest that he had been guilty of any breach of faith to the House. He gave the House the full substance of the statement of the Natal Government with regard to their intention not to try any prisoners by court-martial except those found in the field with arms in their hands. But he did not think it could be called a pledge. A pledge was something given in return for value received. The fact that the rebellion had extended in scope no doubt influenced the Natal Government. As to the case of Tilonkwe, he had not heard what verdict had been given by the court-martial, but the fact that the chief had returned to take his trial showed that he was not apprehensive about the proceedings. In regard to the sentences that had been given by the court-martial, they seemed to him to be not at all disproportionate to the gravity of the offences proved against the persons convicted. He had not heard of any capital sentences that were likely to be carried into execution, and the fact that the Natal Government had brought active operations in the field to a conclusion would no doubt relieve the administration of justice from anything like the appearance of severity.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil) asked whether there had been any confiscations of lands.

Mr. CHURCHILL thought there was no possibility of anything of the kind being apprehended in the immediate future. He had been asked whether the Transvaal Government would have authority and power to change the new Constitution. He hesitated to speak on matters of constitutional law. He could only say, speaking without authority in such a matter, that, subject to the assent of the Crown, it was within the competence of any responsible Government to make any changes they might choose, within their own jurisdiction, either in the franchise or the distribution of seats or in the constitution of its Legislature. With regard to the question whether it would be possible for the new Parliament to alter the boundaries of seats, it was an integral part of the Government's proposals that arrangements should be made for automatic redistribution, and he had no ground to suppose that such a power would be twisted to any partisan purpose. He thought the House would agree that the Government had tried to deal with the Transvaal in a perfectly fair and above-board spirit. They had endeavoured to frame a Constitution that would give all the elements of the country a fair chance of having their views represented, and would afford no Party an unfair triumph. As to the question of a Constitution for the Orange River Colony, the conditions were not the same there as in the Transvaal. There was no register of voters in the Orange River Colony as there was in the Transvaal, and on that account there must be delay in granting a Constitution to the Orange River Colony. But he did not think it was an extravagant expectation to indulge in when he said that, if the Government continued to receive the same loyal and confident co-operation from South African parties in dealing with this delicate problem as in dealing with the case of the Transvaal, they hoped to see both these Parliaments called together in the course of next year. He wished to say a word in reply to the hon. Member for the Newbury Division of Berkshire. On several occasions he had been asked for information about cases of murder committed by Chinese coolies, and he regretted that he had given the House a wrong impression in replying to a Question, when he said that there had been twenty-seven murders among the white population. On investigation it was discovered that only two of these twenty-seven were murders of white people, and that the rest were committed by coolies upon their fellow-labourers. [AN HON. MEMBER: Or blacks.] He had laid before the House on other occasions the plans which the Government had sanctioned for improving the security of the population other than Chinese against outrage. They believed and hoped that there would be a diminution of the violent crimes which had taken place lately in the short interval in which the administration of these matters would remain in their hands. Whether the extra police arrangements would be successful or not he could not attempt to forecast at this moment, but at any rate he thought hon. Gentlemen would agree that it would be much easier to administer and have effective control over the Chinese population, and effectively to reduce the number of that population, if they were supported, as they might very shortly be supported, by the opinion of a really representative Transvaal Parliament. As to the question of immorality, he thought it must be quite clear that the fact of so large a population living under conditions of enforced and unnatural celibacy must raise very disquieting reflections in the mind of anyone who contemplated the situation. The hon. Gentleman had rightly stated that the law in the Transvaal imposed severe punishments on whites and blacks under certain conditions, and he himself had not heard that that law had not been put in operation against the Chinese. It certainly should be put in operation, and if it should be found that it was at present neglected, instructions would be given to secure that the law should be made operative. But the hon. Gentleman proceeded to speak of an even worse aspect of the Chinese labour question. He made statements as to the unnatural vice which prevailed in the mines. The hon. Gentleman said it was rampant and obvious. All he could say was that he had never seen any document or paper—and a good many came before him—from South Africa which made reference to such a state of vice in the mines as that to which the hon. Member for Berkshire had called attention. It was only quite recently that the hon. Member, and several persons from South Africa, had brought the matter to the knowledge of his noble friend Lord Elgin. He must remind the hon. Member that when he asked him to place the statements on record in writing he declined to avail himself of that opportunity, and consequently the Colonial Office was not able to give that attention to the charges which no doubt they deserved. Having regard to the later evidence as to the condition of things which the hon. Gentleman had brought forward, it was necessary that immediate inquiry should be made. He understood, indeed, that his hon. friend had

had several consultations with his noble friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and that Lord Elgin has assured him that inquiries would be immediately addressed to Lord Selborne on the subject. He should suppose that, in these circumstances, the Colonial Office would be in possession of information on the subject before the House re-assembled. He had very frequently stated to the House the policy of the Government in regard to Chinese labour, and, in the absence of new facts, they were not inclined to change that policy. But, if such a state of things were disclosed as was indicated by the statements which had been brought before them by the hon. Gentleman, and if the charges he had made could be maintained, then he thought it would be clear that the general position of the Government in regard to Chinese labour, even during the transition period with which they were dealing, would have to be entirely revised. The hon. and gallant Member for the Banbury division of Oxfordshire spoke with knowledge on the subject of South Africa, for he had fought bravely in the field against the Boers. Therefore, his frank and straightforward opinions on South African matters deserved attention. The hon. and gallant Member made no attempt to repudiate or to answer the charges which were made by the hon. Member for Berkshire. All that he put forward was that the 50,000 Chinese were necessary if 6,000 white miners were to be kept in full employment, and that unless we kept them in full employment British supremacy would be imperilled. He would be sorry to place British supremacy on such a ground. He hoped that we should find other props and buttresses for British supremacy. He could only say that the matter would be carefully inquired into, and he hoped to be able to speak with some official knowledge on the question when Parliament re-assembled.

*MR. J. M. ROBERTSON (Northumberland, Tyneside) said he wished to pass one comment on the extraordinary proposition of the hon. Member for the Banbury division that we should be prepared to maintain abominable conditions of life for 50,000 Chinese in the hope of giving labour to 6,000 whites.

MR. FIENNES said he wished to thank the Under-Secretary for the Colonies for the extremely kindly way he had spoken of him. He had received numerous letters from South Africa, and he had taken every step to ascertain the facts in regard to the moral conditions of the Chinese who were working alongside whites in the mines. He had the letters and the facts before him, and, perhaps, in his hurry he had passed over some matters to which he should have liked to refer. He should have been glad to answer the hon. Member for Berkshire with regard to the moral conditions which were said to exist among the Chinese. He himself disbelieved the charges entirely.

MR. J. M. ROBERTSON said he had only to say on that head that what was going on was well known to the white miners on the Rand, who did not regard the presence of the Chinese as a means of giving labour to them. They had persistently opposed the presence of the Chinese. As to the lives of the Chinese, if his hon. friend did not believe the charges, he must know little of life in the East and of ordinary human nature under the conditions described. It had been notorious from the very first that these abominable conditions obtained, and it was a matter of some surprise to him that the Colonial Office should not long ere this have heard all about them. In regard to gold mines in other parts of the world it had been found possible to employ white labour. It was only in South Africa that it had been found necessary to sacrifice civilisation to the Stock Exchange. He desired, however, to turn from this subject to another which he feared was equally painful. About a month ago when the Foreign Office Vote was before the House the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs made an impressive appeal to the House on the subject of the executions which had taken place at Denshawi in Egypt. That appeal did not entirely silence the House, but it silenced the Ministerial side of the House, the general impression being that if they attempted to raise their voices in regard to the executions which had awakened horror throughout the country they might give an immeasurable impulse to a movement in Egypt which might end in bloodshed, or a large movement of troops. Now that there had been time to look into the situation he ventured to think that the House was no longer called upon to regard the appeal which the right hon. Gentleman then made. The right hon. Gentleman told them that there was a fanatical movement in Egypt which ought to prevent them from making comments which might make the position more difficult to deal with. There had since then been published among other papers an anonymous letter received by Lord Cromer ostensibly from a Moslem, but written in a style that astonished all students of the letter. The authenticity of the letter had caused the greatest doubt. It had been called in question by one who knew Egypt so well as Mr. Edward Dicey. That letter said that there was a general feeling among the Moslem population that if there should be a conflict between Turkey and any Christian Power, the tendency would be to take the side of Turkey. In that letter there was no new proposition. Such a statement had been made again and again and disregarded by Lord Cromer. In any case it was entirely irrelevant to the question of the Denshawai executions. It was admitted in a white document officially published that the assault upon British officers had nothing to do with any political movement. At the time this occurrence took place this House was shut, most of the leading Egyptian officials were away on furlough; Lord Cromer himself was absent, and there was nobody there to deal with any spirit of unrest which was said to exist. Evidently there was no fear of it on the part of the officials; and they could fitly discuss the sentences passed in the Denshawai case, though they could not go into the details of the trial. Even now the evidence taken at the trial was not before the House. Of course, no blame whatever attached to the right hon. Baronet; but if he had been content to publish to the House the semi-official reports given in the *Egyptian Gazette* they would have been regarded by most Members as quite sufficient grounds to discuss the matter on its merits. Great credit had been claimed officially on the score that all the judges were more or less familiar with Arabic. From all the reports which he had seen, however, they made extremely little use of their knowledge. The examination of fifty accused natives took but thirty minutes, and the bulk of the evidence was given by British officers. The papers which had been published alone sufficed to show that the charge of premeditation was not only false, but absurd. The only evidence as to premeditation was a suggestion that the fire broke out in the village about the time of the affray, and that that fire must have been the signal for premeditated action. The fact was that the officers came on the scene utterly unexpected by the villagers. The villagers resented the intrusion, and the affray followed it. He brought no species of charges against the officers. One had paid an appalling penalty for any indiscretion which they might have committed. He did not desire to charge them with more than indiscretion, except that there was one question which would have to be discussed when the matter was fully before the House. When that happened he should wish to discuss whether the gun which went off and wounded four natives was fired in the hands of Lieutenant Parker, or after having left his hands. He should be glad to accept the view that it was fired after it had left his hands, but it must be noted that he was put under arrest with a view to pacifying the villagers.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill, without Amendment.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners; the House went; and, having returned; Mr. Speaker reported the Royal Assent to a number of Acts. (See Col. 1789.)

Question again proposed, "That this House at its rising to-day do adjourn until Tuesday, 23rd October next, and that for the remainder of the session Government business have precedence at every sitting, and at the conclusion of Government business on each day Mr. Speaker do adjourn the House without Question put."

MR. J. M. ROBERTSON resumed his speech, maintaining that there was no evidence of anything in the nature of premeditation in connection with the Denshawai affray. A brutal assault was committed by the villagers, but they were provoked by what they might well have considered a trespass on the part of the officers. Mr. Findlay's assertion that the evidence was sufficient to convict six of the accused persons of murder was absurd; there was no murder. The blow doubtless might have precipitated the collapse, but he ventured to say that the officer would not have died of the blow had he not made the gallant run he did. It was clear that Major Pyne-Coffin could not have supposed that the officer was dangerously wounded, or he would never have ordered him to run six miles to the camp to bring help. It must not be forgotten that they were dealing with a very primitive people, who were exasperated, and were fairly quarrelsome at all times. Granting all that, it was not a murder. If the official who had asserted that any English jury would have found the first six prisoners guilty of murder, believed what he said, he was unfit to hold office anywhere in the British Empire. If he were not to be believed in what he said he was equally unfit to hold office. It was this egregious official who, in a letter in the White Book, had passed what must be termed a presumptuous censure on this House. It was he who figured on the one hand as grossly misrepresenting an act that was not murder at all, and then, on the other hand, as a person entitled to pass judgment on the House of Commons when some hon. Members protested against the affair. Yet that official had been allowed to publish his censure. It ought to be in the power of the Foreign Office to say what they thought about the matter. The official had been guilty of one of the grossest attempts to put a false aspect on the matter, and he had further falsified the facts when he said deplorable effects had been produced in Egypt by what was said in this House. The deplorable effects were produced by the executions. This was the old spectacle of an incompetent bureaucrat attempting to put the blame for blunders upon everyone else rather than where it properly lay—on himself. The official was in fact, trying to bluff this House. In view of the publication of this letter as an official letter he was sure the right hon. Baronet would admit that whatever he might think of the position in Egypt the House was bound to say something in its own defence. This was another illustration of that which occurred during the South African War, when every species of rational or humane criticism on the conduct of the war was met by the cry that the critic was helping the enemy. They must say nothing whatever, when their country's fortunes were in grave danger, against the men endangering them, because you might encourage the other side. They had seen what amount of sincerity underlay that kind of argument. They had seen a responsible politician broadly hinting to an old enemy that he was expected to rebel. Broad hints had been given to the old enemy that he was expected to dismiss all the British in the Civil Service of the Transvaal. Politicians who took up that point of view would, he supposed, still condemn him for asking the House to condemn what had been done in Egypt. He would recall to the House the admirable line of action that was recently taken by the Secretary of State for India in a somewhat similar case. Through an official miscarriage an appeal made by a man under sentence of death was not received by the authorities to whom it was sent until the man had been executed. In that case what happened at most was a very grave informality, and it involved no serious miscarriage of justice; yet the Secretary of State passed a grave and serious censure upon those concerned. Why could not a similar censure be passed in the far more serious, atrocious, and lamentable case of these executions in Egypt? There were, he supposed, two reasons why it should not be passed. First there was the official point of view. The officials in Egypt apparently supposed there was a need of terrorism at the present time, and that in dealing with crime they must do more than suppress it and deal out just punishment; in fact, that they must resort to what had been most justly termed in another direction methods of barbarism, and terrify by wholesale slaughter for an act which would here rank as homicide. The only justification was the old plea that they must leave the matter in the hands of the man on the spot. He knew no more absurd line of action than that the man on the spot was to be trusted because he was the man on the spot. They knew this man on the spot in the past. History showed that he was a wrecker of civilisation, a bungler in his business, and at all times a false prophet. The whole process in this case could be summed up thus: it was an act of revenge for not displaying a want of due respect towards a body of British officers, and such an act was sure to be applauded by a number of politicians who stood with equal devotion for religion in the schools and revenge in the forum. Mr. Findlay, the gentleman who said that any British jury would have found those men guilty of murder, said the brutal attack on British officers had nothing to do with political animosity, but that it was due to the insubordinate spirit sedulously fostered during the past year by unscrupulous agitators. Here was a village in Egypt where, so far as they knew, all the inhabitants were illiterates, and in no way could have been affected by any agitation that went on in the journals of Cairo. It was another false pretence of the bureaucratic party. Mr. Findlay, describing the trials, said there was no trace of panic or vindictiveness. He ventured to say there was no trace of anything else. If the taking the lives of four men for one act of homicide, the flogging of eight others, and the sentencing of others to penal servitude, was not an act of vindictiveness, no act of vindictiveness ever took place in human history. The very well-intentioned course of the Secretary of State in begging this House not to discuss the matter, and his reasons for giving that advice, had not helped to improve the situation. The right hon. Gentleman brought a sort of sweeping charge against the fanaticism of the people of Egypt. What had been the result? Already the people of Egypt were not only outraged at the bloodshed, but outraged at the right hon. Gentleman's allegation. They declared that there was no other country in the world where there was less exhibition of fanaticism. If some of them had been in this House during the debates on the Education Bill they might with the same amount of plausibility have applied a similar comment upon the affairs of this country. There was far more fanaticism in India at the present moment than in Egypt. The whole judicial episode would have been impossible in India; and no Indian official, however misguided or wrong-headed, would have ventured to say that such a proceeding was justified. In this connection they might recall the very strong feeling in Japan against the introduction of an alien civilisation fifty or sixty years ago. Brutal assaults upon foreigners were frequent, and more than one Legation lost a member from this cause. Legation buildings were set fire to, and the assassinations were of a very savage character. There was then, if ever, ground for panic, and some display of vindictiveness on the part of the white population; but no one ever proposed to the Government of Japan that it should resort to public executions or any species of torture; and human life in Japan was now as safe as anywhere in Europe, because panic was not allowed to rule, and the officials were not led to become, as they usually did in such cases, cruel cowards. What could be said of civilisation in Egypt when such proceedings as these could take place? Even Lord Cromer proposed that there should be in future a revision of the sentences of this abnormal tribunal. Well might Lord Cromer propose it. The tribunal had no code whatever, and was free to inflict any punishment. Lord Cromer further suggested that it would be well to stop flogging, but there he was in opposition to Mr. Findlay, who thought that there should be flogging; because, as he put it, the Egyptian was a fatalist, and did not greatly fear death. In that case, the executions were doubly indefensible. There was no reason for thinking that offences against the Army of occupation could not be duly punished by the tribunals that already existed in Egypt. Court-martial action of this kind ought not to be possible in Egypt or anywhere else. If an officer was assaulted why could the matter not be dealt with in the ordinary way? In the past such acts had been severely punished, and again and again after such offences had been met by due punishments, attempts had been made on the official side to secure more exemplary punishments. The military authorities always seemed to have the idea of making an example of someone. With regard to the financial administration of Lord Cromer, that was above his criticism. He had greatly improved the condition of Egypt altogether, and praise was due to him upon that score. That, however, was no reason for putting Lord Cromer above the law. They had heard a good deal about the danger of putting trade unions above the law, and it was just as dangerous to put Lord Cromer above the law. The action of the authorities in regard to the execution in Egypt would have been reprimanded in any other part of the Empire save Egypt. The great deeds of Lord Cromer were no reason for permitting under his control acts of mere revenge which were unworthy of the traditions of the British Empire.

MR. MOLTENO (Dumfriesshire) said he would like to say at the outset of his remarks how warmly he welcomed the statement that the Government intended to confer upon the Orange River Colony a similar measure of self-government to that which they had conferred upon the Transvaal. That announcement would allay any feeling of doubt and suspicion that had arisen in South Africa as well as in this country. He wished to express his regret that the hon. Member for Oxfordshire had stated that the Dutch were engaged in a seditious propaganda in South Africa. They had it on the authority of Lord Milner that the Dutch had frankly observed the Vereeniging Treaty. Personally he had had a great deal to do with South Africa and he knew of no such state of things as that which had been asserted by the hon. Member, and he deeply regretted that such a statement had been made in this House. With regard to the Denshawi executions, upon a former occasion the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs asked the House not to criticise that incident until they were in possession of the facts. To-day they were in possession of those facts, and he trusted that in what he had to say he would not be unmindful of the difficulties which those who administered the affairs of Egypt had to meet in the discharge of their duties. He did not, however, think that the man on the spot was the person who ought to be entrusted with the policy and the principle which ought to be administered in Egypt. Those were matters which ought to be settled in this House, and they could not escape from their responsibilities in regard to that matter. Therefore, he thought it was quite right and proper that they should discuss this matter. He did not propose to go into detail, but he would just state the salient facts. They had had four executions for one death, and they had resorted to the system of flogging and public executions. He regretted that they had adopted that extremely hasty method of dealing with this question. What was the condition of the country? Was there anything to justify resorting to such extreme measures? It was a fair reflection of the position when they realised that this special tribunal, which was created in 1895, had only been called into operation once. It could hardly be suggested that these outrages had followed upon any serious outbreak of crime, or that the state of the country justified them in resorting to such drastic punishments. He found that this crime had been described as homicide with robbery. It was curious that Mr. Findlay described it as a particularly brutal and premeditated murder. He thought the punishments had been very excessive. Two persons had been condemned to penal servitude for life, and sixty years penal servitude had been divided amongst ten persons. Flogging had been carried out in such a way as to create a sense of horror to all those who read the Blue-book. Even Lord Cromer suggested that in future the decision of this special tribunal should be confirmed by some superior authority, and his Lordship did not conceal his dislike of this mode of procedure. He also proposed that the terms of the decree should be so amended as to permit in the future punishments of this kind to come under the penal code. Where the ordinary law did not permit these punishments to be carried out they should not be allowed to resort to this special tribunal. He hoped the Government would give their support to the suggestions which had been made by Lord Cromer. He would also like to know if the Minister for Foreign Affairs could tell them what sort of defence was set up by the prisoners. He should also be glad to know whether the evidence given at the trial would be forthcoming. Then there were the circumstances attending the death of a native. A native was found with his head broken open, and apparently a court of inquiry was held to go into that subject. Had that inquiry been concluded and what was the result? [Cries of "Divide."] The tone of the despatch as far as Mr. Findlay was concerned seemed to him to be wholly unsatisfactory, for he used certain threats if they adopted the course of discussing these matters in the House of Commons. It did not seem to him to be quite proper for any officials to make threats of that kind to this House.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir EDWARD GREY, Northumberland, Berwick): The hon. Member who has just sat down has corrected an omission in the speech of the hon. Member for Tyneside, when he referred to the appeal which I made on a previous occasion not to discuss this question. The hon. Member for Dumfriesshire pointed out that I asked the House not to discuss the matter until we had full information before us. The hon. Member for Tyneside omitted that, and that was really the point of my appeal. The Court in Egypt was composed of the highest Judges. It had come to a decision, after taking evidence for three days, on a very serious case, and if the House of Commons had rushed to the assumption, and had been unwilling to wait for further information before it came to the assumption, that such a decision must necessarily be wrong, the effect must have been most prejudicial and must have conveyed the impression abroad that, the moment anything occurred which the House of Commons did not quite understand, it was at once assumed that the official on the spot was to blame. That impression I wished to avoid, and I have to thank the House for having responded as they did to the appeal which I made the other day. Of course it follows from that, that now the Papers are before the House, I do not complain of anybody exercising his right of saying what he thinks upon them. But I must demur to the suggestion that the anonymous letter, published in the Blue-book, addressed to Lord Cromer is to be put on one side. Lord Cromer is likely to be the best judge of whether such a letter is likely to be genuine or not. I read that letter with very great interest, and it seemed to me to bear on the face of it evidence that it probably represented, as nearly as you can get it from one person, the truth of the native mind. The first intimation I got, after we came into office, of restlessness — I do not want to use the word fanaticism if it is objected to—or of unsettled feeling in Egypt was in the very early days, at a time when we were one of four Powers in occupation of certain islands belonging to the Sultan because of difficulties which had arisen with Turkey about the Macedonian question. That fact had begun to have its effect in Egypt, and when you have conflicts of that kind with the Turkish Government—conflicts which, unfortunately, it is impossible for us to avoid—you may be quite sure it is bound to have a certain effect on the Mahomedan races who are under British rule or in countries under British occupation. Then there was the further difficulty about the frontier question—at one time a very serious matter—and, undoubtedly, anybody who reads the Akabah Blue-book will see that it is perfectly natural, and indeed inevitable, that there should have been restlessness and an unsettled feeling created by these occurrences. I think that in time that will pass, but it has been necessary already to increase the garrison in Egypt. That was done some months ago, and, undoubtedly, if that feeling were to spread, we should have to take the further measures to which Mr. Findlay refers for still further increasing the garrison. It was that sort of step which I wished to avoid, and that was why I deprecated premature discussion in the House on this particular question. The nature of the speech of the hon. Member for Tyneside makes it necessary for me to say one or two words on a personal matter in connection with this subject. I regret much of the language which was used by the hon Member for Tyneside. Surely if your officials have done wrong, you can criticise them without calling them constantly "cowardly officials."

MR. J. M. ROBERTSON: I did not apply that term to Mr. Findlay.

SIR EDWARD GREY: No. The hon. Member applied it generally, but those terms were constantly used throughout the hon. Member's speech.

MR. J. M. ROBERTSON: There was no constant reference to cowardly officials at all. There was no imputation of that kind against the officials in this case, and I only spoke of Mr. Findlay because he had, in a letter which the right hon. Gentleman has published, made an attack upon this House.

SIR EDWARD GREY: I will come to Mr. Findlay in a moment. But there were other expressions in the speech of the hon. Member which I think were equally unfortunate. If you are to assume, where you think a mistake has been made, that your officials in general are likely to be guilty either of moral or intellectual deficiencies, and if you are to assume and to adopt the tone that they have done wrong, you are undoubtedly adopting a tone which would make it quite impossible to conduct the business of the British Empire. Let me come to the question of Mr. Findlay. I think the hon. Member for Tyneside has mistaken the character of the particular telegram from Mr. Findlay with which he found so much fault, and which, I could not help thinking, was in part responsible for the tone of much of his speech. I think that if he had not regarded it as a provocative telegram, his own language would have been softer than it was. I do not think it was so intended by Mr. Findlay. I did not take it so. I did not take it at all as a criticism of the House of Commons, but at a statement of the effect which, as Mr. Findlay said, it was his duty to make. If I made a statement, or used language in this House which had a prejudicial effect abroad, I should expect the officials of the Diplomatic Service to inform me of what that effect had been, and I should consider it their duty to do so. Mr. Findlay was, in my opinion, quite rightly performing his duty in saying what the effect, as a matter of fact, and not of criticism, of certain proceedings in the House of Commons would be on the spot, and I think he was bound to say so. One of the difficulties of governing the British Empire is that criticism of what is done in various parts of the Empire is always certain to have a disturbing effect on the spot. That is not always the paramount consideration, but the officials on the spot ought to let us know what it is, because it is one of the elements which we must take into account in forming a judgment. I might, on some future occasion, find it my duty to use language in the House which I knew would have an unfortunate effect in a particular country abroad, but which, for graver considerations, I thought it necessary to use. I should expect our representative abroad to tell me the effect on the spot, but I should reserve to myself the decision of whether that was or was not to be the paramount consideration. In this case Mr. Findlay was bound to point out what the effect of discussion in this House would be; and that leaves it to the House to decide whether that effect should be the paramount consideration or not. I do not think he has gone beyond his duty in stating the fact. As Mr. Findlay has been attacked, I must say that his whole career in the Diplomatic Service makes us sure that he is a man of character and ability who is fitted to render useful service. As to whether the telegram, if sent, ought to have been published, I knew that it was not sent for publication; but I had promised the House the fullest information; I wished to edit these things as little as possible; and I published the message in order to give the House the full truth, so that they might bear the consideration in mind. I left it to the House to consider what weight it ought to have with them, just as Mr. Findlay left it to me. The House should take it as a statement of fact, and not as criticism upon itself—the placing before it of facts which, however disagreeable, ought to be borne in mind. As to the trial itself, I have promised that the evidence shall be published; but it is quite impossible that a case of this kind, which has been tried by the highest tribunal in Egypt, should be retried in the House of Commons with some Members for the defence and some for the prosecution. The House may say—Is it impossible that any decision of this special tribunal should be reconsidered? The tribunal corresponds to what over here would be a tribunal of the Home Secretary, the Lord Chief Justice, and other Judges; and I do not see how you can have any legal appeal. But from any tribunal however high there should be some room for appeal to the prerogative of mercy. Another point is the question of holding executions in public. At best I think it is a very doubtful expedient and should never be resorted to except in the rarest cases; and flogging in public I should say should never be resorted to. As to the nature of the punishment which this court might inflict under the decree, that decree was passed only eleven years ago. This is the first serious occasion on which it has been brought into operation; and I think it is quite natural that certain defects in the decree should be disclosed. Lord Cromer, after reviewing the whole of the proceedings, has dealt with all these points and has suggested that there should be certain modifications in the decree; and they will receive the prompt support of His Majesty's Government. For the rest, I entirely agree with Lord Cromer's interesting memorandum reviewing the whole case. I agree with his opinions. I agree with what he confirms as well as with what he suggests for modification. But when we come to the question of responsibility in Egypt, it is not so easy to talk about "the man on the spot" in Egypt as in some other cases. It is assumed that the man on the spot is always wrong. Sometimes he is wrong, and the consequences are bad. Sometimes he is right, and the consequences are still bad, because he is not listened to. But in Egypt the responsibility is very difficult to state. Egypt is not a Crown colony. It is governed under the Khedive by a Government partly of natives and partly of British officials, and the whole Government has the most complicated machine behind it—the British occupation. But Lord Cromer's guiding principle has been to advise in matters of general policy, but to interfere as little as possible in matters of administration with the actual working of the machine itself. As to certain matters he is absolutely powerless. In the first place, where European interests are concerned, the power lies not in his hands, or in those of the Egyptian Government, but, under the Capitulations, in the hands of fifteen different Powers. In the second place, all questions connected with the Mahomedan religious and special judicial institutions are outside his control altogether. In the third place, all civil and criminal matters are administered by Judges who are for the most part irremovable and who are entirely independent. These are serious inroads on responsibility, and if anyone were to study on paper what the Egyptian Government is, combined with the British occupation, they would come to the conclusion that it is an unworkable system. But Lord Cromer has succeeded in making it work for many years. But it is very complicated, and on any question of administration as apart from policy, it must be exceedingly difficult to say where and how the responsibility is to be placed. If you wish to simplify this state of things, one course would be to turn Egypt into a Crown colony. But that means an enormous change involving great political changes quite out of the question—such as the disappearance of the Khedive and other things affecting the whole international situation. I put a change of that kind out of account. It is not within the range of practical politics. Or you might simplify the question of responsibility by leaving Egypt again to native rule, or, rather, what it would soon become, to Turkish administration. The responsibility would then be simplified, but the result would not be satisfactory. And no one thinks of that course any more than of turning Egypt into a Crown colony as a matter of practical politics. The question of the Chinese Customs—a most important point—has been raised. With regard to Sir Robert Hart, we have had no information that he intends to resign, and I am not in a position to say what his intentions may be. I assume that when he does resign he will take some more direct method of intimating the fact than that which has hitherto been stated in the Press. With regard to the Chinese Customs, I do regard it as most vital in the interests of trade, in the interests of Chinese revenue, and in the interests of Chinese credit, that the administration of the Customs should be maintained on the lines on which it has been so successfully worked hitherto, and that it should be maintained as an efficient and honest administration. Chinese progress is intimately bound up with the maintenance of the Chinese Customs on the lines laid down by Sir Robert Hart, and that is a subject which will receive the close attention of His Majesty's Government. On the question of the Baghdad Railway I have no statement to make. That railway is a German concession. One section of it has been made. I admit it is an enterprising and important undertaking. If, later on, either this country or other Powers interested in that part of the world are to be brought into the matter, it will be because they are brought in by agreement with the German interests. When the Germans wish for participation, then will be time enough to discuss whether any countries, and, if so, what countries, should participate, and if so, on what conditions. With regard to the increase of the customs duties in Turkey, I will only say we have not yet agreed to that increase. It is true we have stated certain conditions on which we are prepared to agree. If we do agree it will be for a limited period of years, and I think the time to discuss whether our action was right or not can only arise when we have taken definite steps and can place our policy before the House.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith Burghs) said his object in rising was to ask the Secretary for Scotland as to the nature of the Bill which he had introduced the other day in regard to land legislation. He understood that it was based upon compulsory purchase, but he now understood that it was based not upon compulsory purchase, but compulsory leasing, and perhaps the right hon. Gentleman could clear up any doubt upon that point. The Bill not being in print, it was not possible to ascertain its objects with certainty. He did not rise to criticise the provisions of the Bill, but having served on the Small Holdings Committee he would ask the right hon. Gentleman to keep his mind to some extent open in order to ascertain more clearly upon the evidence which that Committee had taken, whether greater flexibility could be secured in regard to the small holdings which might be set up. By flexibility he meant this. In one part of the country they had freeholders established, in another they had yearly tenants, or they might have a system of feuars, as they termed them in Scotland, who were there under permanent conditions. If a system of permanent leasing was introduced they would have to create a comprehensive system of rules and regulations and the system must be based upon dual ownership. He believed that dual ownership was the worst possible form of tenure. He therefore laid great stress upon this question of flexibility, and he thought it would be very disastrous to the success of small holdings if that flexibility were wanting. The State could perfectly well purchase the land required, whether for small holdings or for the holdings contemplated by his right hon. friend in his Bill. The lands should be purchased upon a large and adequate scale, and where small holdings were required a great deal could be done in the way of organisation. That should be started in suitable centres rather than upon any scattered scale throughout the land, and he thought the right hon. Gentleman would find opposition to his proposals if he took the opportunities of purchase as they offered. Some of the owners might object to purchase, he thought wrongly, because in his opinion it was a proper check upon the vagaries of particular owners, and every farmer, he was afraid, would object to a proposal by which he would see other people put down upon his farm. Desiring as he did most earnestly the creation of small holdings, he could not conceal from himself that, compulsory leasing being the basis of the Bill, the right hon. Gentleman would be well advised if he took full advantage of the Report of the Small Holdings Committee which had not yet come to hand.

*MR. MORTON (Sutherland) called the attention of the Prime Minister to a grievance which existed in a district (Elphin) in Sutherlandshire. Early in the year a petition was sent from this district to the Postmaster-General asking for a telegraph station as there was not one within about twenty miles. In reply the people were asked to guarantee the whole of the expense, £100 per annum, whereas they had been promised in the debates arising out of the Budget, that two-thirds would be borne by the Department. The Prime Minister had said that we ought to colonise our own country. The right hon. Gentleman's statement was greatly welcomed all over the country, and the carrying out of it would greatly aid the settlement of the "unemployed" question, and he (Mr. Morton) hoped that it would have the immediate attention of his right hon. friend. In Sutherland increased postal and telegraphic services were urgently needed, and he hoped that the Prime Minister would see that the poor crofters in Sutherland were treated as well as the rich people in other counties. He also wished to know on behalf of the hon. Member for South Gloucestershire whether the Home Secretary proposed to legislate upon the question of vaccination. Vaccination was a very troublesome question, but at least all parties should be treated equally before the law. With regard to the land question in Scotland which had been raised by the hon. Member for Leith Burghs, he did not propose to go into that further than to say that the Scottish people seemed more anxious as a rule to rent than to purchase land. There should be compulsory renting of the land with the option, if necessary, of compulsory purchase, the object being to induce the land owner to let at a fair rent with fixity of tenure and no unfair conditions.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. GLADSTONE, Leeds, W.) replied that the present condition of the law was extremely unsatisfactory, and he would be glad to see it amended. But the Home Office only had to administer the law as it stood. He believed the whole administration of the Vaccination Act was under the consideration of his right hon. friend the President of the Local Government Board.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Mr. SINCLAIR, Forfarshire) said he recognised to the full the cordial support Sir Arthur Bignold had given to the main provisions of the Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill. In him everybody recognised a progressive and enlightened owner of land who was desirous to open up the land, as far as possible for the benefit of the people of his own country. He was sorry that the Bill was not in the hands of Members, but the delay would only be brief.

MR. MORTON: Will it be next week?

MR. SINCLAIR: Probably. As he had said before, they wished to open up the land in the interests of the country, and that could only be done gradually; the Bill attempted nothing else, and it held out certain inducements which, in the belief of the Government, would mean progress in that direction. But the Bill rested mainly upon agreement, and it was hoped that the adjustments might be carried out largely by agreement. It was only where agreement was found impossible, and where, for instance, there might be unreasonable refusal on the part of one of many interested in the land, or where one might be unable or unwilling to give his consent, that the exercise of compulsory powers came in, and then only after careful examination by public authority of a semi-judicial character, with every possible safeguard for existing rights. It was agreed on all hands, at any rate on the Ministerial side of the House, that compulsion, in some form or other, was absolutely necessary. It was certainly the experience of those bodies who had worked land legislation in Scotland that without compulsion in some form or other their whole efforts could not be properly and successfully developed. The question raised to-day was, should there be purchase, or was it possible to attain the object in view by compulsory letting of the land? If so, must they transfer the whole ownership of the land, or was it possible to transfer the use of the land in the public interest? Looking at it from the point of view of the public interest, what were the conditions under which small holdings might have some prospect of being successful? As his hon. friend had suggested, there must be some regard to markets, communications, transport, and security of tenure, without which combination would not be undertaken for this purpose. All these objects so far as he could see, could equally be achieved by a system of compulsory letting as by a system of compulsory purchase. Then there was the landowner's interest. He did not think he was wrong in assuming that in a large majority of cases the landowners of the country were willing to let their capital remain in the land, even under the new conditions, if the return to them was going to be equal under the new conditions to what it had been under the old. Why then force them to remove their capital? The obstacle hitherto to the development of small holdings had been the initial obstacle of expense.

MR. G. CROYDON MARKS (Cornwall, Launceston) called attention to the fact there were not forty Members present.

House counted and forty Members being found present.

MR. SINCLAIR, resuming, said there had been endeavours to overcome the obstacle of expense, as hon. Members would see when they studied the provisions of the Bill, if not wholly, at any rate in part. In contrasting again the system of purchase with the system of letting, he would point out that under the system of letting the landlord was relieved from his outlay on repairs, and got a net rent, while a return was secured to the tenant, who was all the time improving the interests of the land, and if the land was sold in the public interest then the landlord reaped his share, and the largest share of the increment, in the capital value of the land. So much for the public interest and the landlord's interest. They were familiar with the system of purchase, and his hon. friend had expressed his view of the system of compulsory leases as a rigid and not flexible system. Under the Crofters Act he thought there had been more renouncement of tenancy in the taking of poor and the larger holdings, more interchange of occupancy of holdings, than had been possible under any system of land purchase. Added to that, the amount of capital needed for the holding was much less in the case of the occupying tenant than in the case of the owner; but on the whole there was good ground for the belief in Scotland that for the needs of Scotland a system of occupying tenancy was certainly desired. In conclusion he expressed the hope that hon. Members would be good enough to reserve any final conclusion until they saw the Bill in print.

*MR. ESSEX (Gloucestershire, Cirencester) invited the President of the Local Government Board to state whether in a short period of time he would pass under review the present Poor Law system of the country. The separation of aged couples in workhouses was a scandal and an outrage. Then the system which obtained throughout our rural villages of compelling sons and daughters to contribute to the maintenance of their parents in workhouses, often inflicted hardships upon people who out of very slender earnings had already to provide for a family. He did not for very good reasons move the reduction of the Vote when it was under consideration, for he would much rather address his plea to the right hon. Gentleman's heart.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN assured his hon. friend who had just sat down that his right hon. friend the head of the Department was well aware of the condition of things to which reference had been made, for he had had the advantage from sitting next to his right hon. friend of seeing the notes he had taken in legible hand writing. Postal facilities in the Highlands also was a matter of which he had no doubt the Treasury realised the importance while having regard to the general interest of taxpayers. He made a little appeal now to the House, after the *olla podrida* of the day, including some little matters and others of great importance. Mr. Speaker had been in the chair for a long time during a great many days and nights and he was sure was anxious to be relieved from his duties for a time. It was convenient to have Mr. Speaker and the overburdened officials of the House to put this plea upon, while all the time it was themselves who wished to get away; but from Mr. Speaker downwards they all wished to go, and unless there was any matter of such urgency to raise that it could not go over till October he appealed to hon. Members to consult the feelings and comfort of their fellow Members by bringing the discussion to a close.

Mr. SEDDON (Lancashire, Newton) said he would willingly respond to the Prime Minister's appeal, but asked two minutes in order to call attention to the disorders in Widnes on a question of a right of public meeting in a public square. The right of meeting there had never been questioned until the last few weeks. The dominant Party on the bench was very sore at the great turnover to the Labour Party at the last election, and they had been persistently summoning people to the Court. He was given to understand that when he left this House he would lose his privilege as a Member, and would become a prison guest of His Majesty. He was afraid that there was likely to be public disorder in Widnes if the Home Secretary did not see his way to use his good influence to secure again the right of public meeting which had been enjoyed for long years in the square.

Mr. GLADSTONE said that the facts stated by his hon. friend were not within his knowledge, and he had no control over either the local police or the magistrates, but he would certainly make full inquiry, and he would be glad if he could promote a settlement of any question threatening the public peace.

Mr. EVERETT (Suffolk, Woodbridge) said he wanted before the House separated to make an appeal to the Prime Minister that during the recess he and the officials should consider the possibility of effecting further saving of time in the taking of divisions. The House was very grateful for what had been done in saving time and labour in tramping through the lobbies. Could we not now take a step further? We decided questions by a majority. Why not do as all other public bodies do, vote by show of hands or by standing up, only actually dividing when there was not an unquestionable majority visible to the Chairman? Many days of valuable Parliamentary time would be saved in this way in the course of a session, and "the time of Parliament was the treasure of the people." Was not our time more precious instead of less precious than that of other public bodies, none of whom wasted the time in divisions that we did.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved, "That this House at its rising to-day do adjourn until Tuesday, 23rd October next, and that for the remainder of the session Government business have precedence at every sitting, and at the conclusion of Government business on each day Mr. Speaker do adjourn the House without Question put."

CENSUS OF PRODUCTION (EXPENSES).

Resolution reported.

"That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys provided by Parliament, of any Expenses incurred for the purpose of the Census under any Act of the present session to provide for taking a Census of Production."

Resolution agreed to.

Whereupon Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the Order of the House of the 13th July last, adjourned the House without Question put till Tuesday, 23rd October.

Adjourned at one minute before Two o'clock.

[APPENDICES.]

APPENDIX I.

PUBLIC BILLS

DEALT WITH IN VOLUME CLXII.

Those marked thus * are Government Bills. The figures in parentheses in the last column refer to the page in this volume. "[H.L.]" following title indicates that the Bill originated in the House of Lords.

(A.) HOUSE OF LORDS.

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
*Alkali, &c., Works	*Earl Carrington*	Royal Assent 4th August (1789)
*Bills of Exchange Act (1882) Amendment	*Lord Chancellor*	Committee Report } 27th July (4) Read 3^a and passed 30th July (401) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Charitable Loan Societies (Ireland)	*Lord Denman*	Read 2^a 30th July (330) Committee Report Read 3^a and passed } 31st July (610) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Colonial Marriages [H.L.]	*Earl of Elgin*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Consolidated Fund (Appropriation)	*Marquess of Ripon*	All Stages 4th Aug. (1789) Royal Assent ,, ,, (1789)
*Crown Lands	*Marquess of Ripon*	Read 2^a 30th July (405) Committee Report Read 3^a and passed } 1st Aug. (1019) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Deanery of Manchester	*Marquess of Ripon*	Read 2^a 30th July (401) Committee Report Read 3^a and passed } 31st July (611) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Dean Forest	*Lord Denman*	Read 2^a 27th July (3) Committee Report } 30th July (395) Read 3^a and passed 31st July (610) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Dogs	*Earl Carrington*	Read 2^a 27th July (54) Committee 30th July (395) Report Read 3^a and passed } 31st July (611) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1791)

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
*Education (England and Wales	*Earl of Crewe*	Read 1^a 30th July (401) Second Reading 1st Aug. (883) " " 2nd " (1180) " " 3rd " (1475)
*Extradition [H.L.]	*Lord Chancellor*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1789)
*Fatal Accidents and Sudden Deaths (Inquiry) Scotland	*Lord Chancellor*	Read 1^a 30th July (288) Read 2^a 1st Aug. (1021) Committee Report Read 3^a and passed } 2nd Aug. (1306) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Fertilisers and Feeding Stuff	*Earl Carrington*	Read 2^a 27th July (28) Committee 30th (330) Report Read 3^a and passed } 31st July (610) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
Ground Game	*Lord Burghclere*	Read 3^a and passed 27th July (31) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Isle of Man (Customs)	*Marquess of Ripon*	Read 2^a 27th July (4) Read 3^a and passed 30th July (401) Royal Assent 4th Aug (1790)
*Justices of the Peace (No. 2)	*Lord Chancellor*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Labourers (Ireland)	*Lord Denman*	Read 2^a 27th July (33) Committee 30th July (346) Report 31st " (610) Read 3^a and passed 31st July (667) Consideration of Commons Amendment 2nd Aug. (1306) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Local Authorities (Transfer of Treasury Powers)	*Earl Granard*	Read 2^a 2nd Aug. (1179) Committee Report Read 3^a and passed } 3rd Aug. (1465) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
Local Government (Ireland) Act (1898) Amendment	*Lord Ribbesdale*	Read 1^a 2nd Aug. (1179) Read 2^a Committee Report Read 3^a and passed } 3rd Aug. (1470) (1572) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Marriage with a Foreigner	*Earl Beauchamp*	Read 2^a 31st July (608) Committee Report Read 3^a and passed } 1st Aug. (608)

(A.) HOUSE OF LORDS—*continued.*

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
*Musical Copyright	*Earl Beauchamp*	Read 1ª 31st July (667) Read 2ª 1st Aug. (1022) Committee Report Read 3ª and passed } 22nd Aug. (1306) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Open Spaces	*Earl Carrington*	Read 2ª 27th July (30) Committee 30th July (342) Report Read 3ª and passed } 31st July (610) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Post Office (Literature for the Blind)	*Earl of Granard*	Read 2ª 30th July (326) Committee Report Read 3ª and passed } 31st July (610) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Post Office Sites	*Earl of Granard*	Committee Report Read 3ª and passed } 31st July (610)
Prevention of Corruption [HL]	*Earl of Halsbury*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1791)
Public Slaughter Houses	*Earl of Donoughmore*	Read 2ª 31st July (603)
*Public Works Loans	*Marquess of Ripon*	Read 1ª 2nd Aug. (1179) Read 2ª Read 3ª and passed } 3rd Aug. (1468) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Revenue	*Marquess of Ripon*	Read 1ª 27th July (3) Read 2ª 30th „ (330) Read 3ª and passed 31st July (610) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland)	*Earl of Mayo*	Read 1ª 31st July (609)
*Solicitors	*Lord Chancellor*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (179)
*Statute Law Revision (Scotland)	*Lord Chancellor*	Committee Report Read 3ª and passed } 1st Aug. (1022) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)

(B.) HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
*Alkali, etc. Works	*Mr. John Burns*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1789)
*Bills of Exchange Act (1882) Amendment	*Sir J. Walton*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Census of Production	*Mr. Lloyd George*	Read 2º 1st Aug. (1171)
*Charitable Loan Societies (Ireland)	*Mr. Cherry*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Colonial Marriages	*Mr. Churchill*	Read 2º 30th July (583) Committee 1st Aug. (1142) Report Read 3º and passed } 2nd Aug. (1459) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
*Consolidated Fund (Appropriation)	*Mr. Asquith*	Read 1° 1st August (1137) Read 2° 2nd Aug. (1382) Committee Report } 3rd Aug. (1785) Read 3° and passed 4th Aug. (1804) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1789)
*Crown Lands	*Mr. McKenna*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Deanery of Manchester	*Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Dean Forest	*Mr. McKenna*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Dogs	*Sir E. Strachey*	Consideration of Lords Amendment 2nd Aug. (1459) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Education (England and Wales)	*Mr. Birrell*	Read 3° and passed 30th July (476)
*Extradition [H.L.]	*Sir Edward Grey*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1789)
*Fatal Accidents and Sudden Deaths Inquiry (Scotland)	*Mr. T. Shaw*	As Amended 28th July (278) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs	*Sir E. Strachey*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
Ground Game	*Mr. Beale*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Isle of Man Customs	*Mr. McKenna*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Justices of the Peace (No. 2)	*Sir W. Robson*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1789)
*Labourers (Ireland)	*Mr. Bryce*	Lords Amendments considered 1st Aug (1138) Lords Amendments considered 3rd Aug. (1786) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Light Railways	*Mr. Lloyd-George*	Bill withdrawn 2nd Aug. (1382)
*Local Authorities (Transfer of Treasury Powers)	*Mr. McKenna*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
Local Government (Ireland) Act (1898) Amendment	*Mr. Patrick O'Brien*	Read 2° 31st July (880) Committee Report Read 3° and passed } 1st Aug. (1137) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Musical Copyright	*Mr. T. P. O'Connor*	Read 3° and passed 31st July (857) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
*National Galleries of Scotland	*Mr. Sinclair*	Read 2° 28th July (222)
*Open Spaces	*Sir E. Strachey*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
Poor Law (Scotland) Amendment	*Sir T. Glen Coates*	Read 1° 30th July (476)
*Post Office (Literature for the Blind)	*Mr. Buxton*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Post Office Sites	*Mr. Buxton*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Prevention of Corruption [H.L.]	*Sir J. Walton*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1791)
*Public Works Loans	*Mr. McKenna*	Read 1° 30th July (476) Read 2° 31st July (877) Committee Report Read 3° and passed } 1st Aug. (1137) Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Revenue	*Mr. Asquith*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Sale of Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland)	*Mr. Sloan*	As Amended Considered Read 3° and passed } 30th July (584)
*Sea Fisheries (Scotland) (Application of Penalties)	*Mr. Sinclair*	Read 1° 31st July (729)
*Small Leaseholders (Scotland)	*Mr. Sinclair*	Read 1° 28th July (257)
Solicitors [H.L.]	*Sir Ed. Clarke*	Committee Report Read 3° and passed } 31st July (879) Royal Assent 4th Aug. 1790
*Statute Law Revision (Scotland)	*Mr. T. Shaw*	Royal Assent 4th Aug. (1790)
*Street Betting	*Mr. Yoxall*	Read 2° 31st July (860) Committee 1st Aug. (1144)
*Trade Disputes	*Sir W. Robson*	Committee 27th July (120) Committee 3rd Aug. (1607)

APPENDIX II.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, SESSION 1906.

List of Rules, Orders, &c., which have been presented during the Session, and are required by Statute to lie for an appointed number of Days upon the Table of the House.

In Continuation of List given in previous Volume.

Title of Paper.	Date from which the Period runs.	Period to lie upon the Table.
Factory and Workshop Acts (Period of Employment),—Copy of Order, dated 24th July 1906, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in pursuance of Section 36 of The Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, revoking an Order of the 12th January 1884, and granting a special exception as regards the period of employment of women and young persons in Factories in the county of London, in which letterpress bookbinding is carried on [1 Edw. VII., c. 22, s. 126 (3)]	28 July	40 days
Factory and Worshops Acts (Period of Employment),—Copy of Order, dated 24th July 1906, made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in pursuance of Section 36 of The Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, revoking certain previous Orders and granting a special exception for a period of one year as regards the hours of employment of women and young persons in certain classes of Factories and Workshops [1 Edw. VII., c. 22, s. 126 (3)]	28 July	40 days
Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889 (Ordinance),—Copy of University Court Ordinance No. XVII. (St. Andrews, No. 3) (Institution of Degrees in Agriculture and relative Regulations) [52 and 53 Vic., c. 55, s. 20]	31 July	12 weeks
Shop Hours Act, 1904,—Copy of Order made by the Urban District Council of Portadown, and confirmed by the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, closing certain Shops within the said Urban District [4 Edw. VII., c. 31, s. 3 (3)]	1 August	40 days
Shop Hours Act, 1904,—Copy of Order made by the Council of the City of Bath, and confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, fixing the Hours of Closing for Hairdressers' and Barbers' Shops within the City [4 Edw. VII., c. 31, s. 3 (3)]	1 August	40 days
Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889 (Ordinance),—Copy of University Court Ordinance No. XVIII. (Edinburgh, No. 7) (Alteration of Ordinance No. 16 of the Commissioners (1889), Edinburgh No. 1, Regulations for Degrees in Medicine) [52 and 53 Vic., c. 55, s. 20]	4 August	12 weeks

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TO THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

[AUTHORISED EDITION].

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Bills: Read First, Second, or Third Time = 1R., 2R., 3R. [*c.*] = Commons. [*l.*] = Lords. *Amendt.* = Amendment. *Os.* = Observations. *Qs.* = Questions. *As.* = Answers. *Com.* = Committee. *Con.* = Consideration. *Rep.* = Report.

Where in the Index * is added with Reading of a Bill, or a Vote in Committee of Supply, it indicates that no Debate took place on that Stage of the Bill, or on that Vote.

Subjects discussed in Committee of Supply are entered under their headings, and also under Members' Names, without reference to the actual Vote before the Committee.

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Adcock *v.* Rex, Case of

Result of Trial, etc.
Q. Mr. Lonsdale; *A.* Sir J. Walton, *July 30*, 471.

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Financial Secretary—Rt. Hon. E. Robertson.

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    - Munitions of War, Restrictions on Importation of, *Aug. 2*, 1355.
    - Second Chamber, Consultation of High Commissioner as to Nominations for, *Aug. 2*, 1349.
    - Statement as to Terms of New Constitution, *July 31*, 729–753.
  - War Contribution Loan Liquidation, Proposals as to, *July 31*, 751, 752.
- Uganda—Removal of Seat of Government to Kampala proposed, *Aug. 3*, 1587.

Civil Contingencies Fund

- Repayments
  - Letters Patent Conferring Degree and Knighthoods, Information as to.
    - *Qs.* Mr. Weir; *As.* Mr. McKenna, *July 31*, 673.
  - Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Special Steamers, etc., for.
    - *Q.* Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. McKenna, *July 31*, 727.
  - Sanderson, Sir T., Reason for Remitting Charges to, on Creation as Baron.
    - *Q.* Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. McKenna, *Aug. 1*, 1045, 1046.
  - Vote for, *July 31*, 838; *Aug. 1*, 1074.

Civil Service

- Assistant Clerks (New Class)—Number Employed, Promotions, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. Nannetti; *A.* Mr. McKenna, *Aug. 4*, 1797.
- Superannuation—Retention of certain Civil Servants after age of Sixty-five—Copy of Minute ordered, *July 27*, 61; Presented, *July 28*, 206.

Civil Service Commission

- Report Presented, *July 30*, 287, 407.

Civil Service Estimates

- Art and Science Buildings—£45,800, *Com.* July 31*, 809; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1070.
- Bankruptcy Department of Board of Trade—£5, *Com.* July 31*, 813; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1071.
- Board of Education—£6,339,600, *Com.* July 31*, 823; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1073.
- Board of Trade—£160,373, *Com.* July 31*, 813; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1071.
- British Museum—£99,998, *Com.* July 31*, 823; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1073.
- Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum—£27,121, *Com.* July 31*, 819; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1072.
- Charity Commission—£16,079, *Com.* July 31*, 813; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1071.
- Colonial Office and Grant in Aid connected with Emigration—£29,050, *com., July 31*, 729; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1070.
- Colonial Services—£827,952, *Com.* July 31*, 829; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1073.
- County Courts—£2, *Com.* July 31*, 819; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1072.
- Cyprus (Grant in Aid)—£1,000, *Com.* July 31*, 830; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1073.
- Diplomatic and Consular Services—£303,856, *Com.* July 31*, 829; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1073.
- Foreign Office—£40,396, *Com., Aug. 1*, 1127.
- Harbours under Board of Trade—£14,606 *Com.* July 31*, 810; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1076.
- Home Office—£124,085, *Com.* July 31*, 813; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1071.
- House of Commons Offices—£17,900, *Com.* July 31*, 813, *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1071.
- House of Lords Offices—£10,210, *Com.* July 31*, 813; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1071.
- Inter-Parliamentary Conference—£5,000, *Com.* July 31*, 838; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1074.
- Ireland
  - Charitable Bequests and Donations Office—£1,049, *Com.* July 31*, 814; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1071.

[*cont.*

July 27—*Aug.* 4.

Civil Service Estimates—*cont.*
- Ireland—*cont.*
  - County Court Officers, etc.—£66,088, *Com.* July 31,* 820; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1072.
  - Development Grant—£85,000, *Com.* July 31,* 837; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1074.
  - Dublin Metropolitan Police—£35,721, *Com.* July 31,* 820; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1072.
  - Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum—£3,576, *Com.* July 31,* 820; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1072.
  - Education—£633,223, *Com.* July 31,* 824; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1073.
  - Endowed Schools Commissioners—£510, *Com.* July 31,* 824; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1073.
  - Hospitals and Charities—£199, *Com.* July 31,* 834; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1074.
  - Land Commission—£124,215, *Com.* July 31,* 820; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1072.
  - Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions—£32,652, *Com.* July 31,* 820; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1072.
  - Lord-Lieutenant's Household—£2,672, *Com.* July 31,* 814; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1071.
  - National Gallery—£1,766, *Com.* July 31,* 824; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1073.
  - Prisons—£62,556, *Com.* July 31,* 820; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1072.
  - Public Record Office—£3,484, *Com.* July 31,* 814; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1071.
  - Public Works Office—£23,938, *Com.* July 31,* 814; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1071.
  - Public Works and Buildings—£96,477, *Com.* July 31,* 810; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1070.
  - Queen's Colleges—£2,361, *Com.* July 31,* 824; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1073.
  - Railways—£28,663, *Com.* July 31,* 810; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1070.
  - Reformatory and Industrial Schools—£55,995, *Com.* July 31,* 820; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1072.
  - Registrar-General's Office—£7,132, *Com.* July 31,* 814; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1071.
  - Royal Irish Constabulary—£710,038, *Com.* July 31,* 820; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1072.
  - Valuation and Boundary Survey—£12,276, *Com.* July 31,* 814; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1071.
- Land Registry—£25,602, *Com.* July 31,* 819; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1072.
- Law Charges—£31,954, *Com.* July 31,* 819, *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1072.
- Local Government Board—£147,470, *Com.* July 31,* 813; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1071.

Civil Service Estimates—*cont.*
- Lunacy Commission—£10,736, *Com.* July 31,* 813; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1071.
- Mercantile Marine Services — £69,873, *Com.* July 31,* 813; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1071.
- Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances—£383, *Com.* July 31,* 834; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1074.
- Miscellaneous Expenses—£10,743, *Com.* July 31,* 837; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1074.
- Miscellaneous Legal Buildings—£34,800, *Com.* July 31,* 809; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1070.
- Miscellaneous Legal Expenses—£21,914' *Com.* July 31,* 819; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1072.
- National Gallery—£7,038, *Com.* July 31,* 823; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1073.
- National Portrait Gallery—£2,619, *Com.* July 31,* 823; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1073.
- Prisons—£394,255, *Com.* July 31,* 819; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1072.
- Rates on Government Property—£340,656, *Com.* July 31,* 810; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1070.
- Reductions and Economies, Proposals as to. *Q.* Sir R. Hobart; *A.* Mr. McKenna, *Aug. 1,* 1046.
- Reformatory and Industrial Schools—£113,977, *Com.* July 31,* 819; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1072.
- Registrar-General's Office—£25,412, *Com.* July 31,* 813; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1071.
- Repayments to Local Loans Fund—£58, *Com.* July 31,* 837; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1074.
- Repayments to Civil Contingencies Fund—£22,958, *Com.* July 31,* 838; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1074.
- Scientific Investigation, etc. — £33,650, *Com.* July 31,* 823; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1073.
- Scotland
  - Crofters Commission—£2,445, *Com.* July 31,* 819; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1072.
  - Education—£1,122,128, *Com.* July 31,* 824; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1073.
  - Fishery Board—£13,691, *Com.* July 31,* 814; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1071.
  - Law Charges and Courts of Law—£50,828, *Com.* July 31,* 819; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1072.
  - Local Government Board—£10,470, *Com.* July 31,* 814; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1071.
  - Lunacy Commission—£3,731, *Com.* July 31,* 814; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1071.
  - National Gallery, etc.—£768, *Com.* July 31,* 824; *Rep.* Aug. 1,* 1073.

[*cont.*

Civil Service Estimates—*cont.*

Scotland—*cont.*

Peterhead Harbour—£22,000, *Com.* July 31*, 810; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1070.

Prisons—£52,600, *Com.* July 31*, 819; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1072.

Register House, Edinburgh—£27,745, *Com.* July 31*, 819; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1072.

Registrar-General's Office—£3,241, *Com.* July 31*, 814; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1071.

Secretary's Office—£9,750, *Com.* July 31*, 814; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1071.

Secret Service—£10,000, *Com.* July 31*, 813; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1071.

Stationery and Printing—£401,480, *Com.* July 31*, 813; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1071.

Supplementary-Public Elementary Schools —£200,000, *Com.* July 27*, 119

Supreme Court of Judicature—£179,066, *Com.* July 31*, 819; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1072.

Supreme Court of Judicature and other Legal Departments—£59,586, *Com.* July 31*, 820; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1072.

Surveys—£124,578, *Com.* July 31*, 810; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1070.

Telegraph Subsidies and Pacific Cable—£49,497, *Com.* July 31*, 829; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1073.

Temporary Commissions — £27,000, *Com.* July 31*, 837; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1074.

Treasury Chest Fund—£14,600, *Com.* July 31*, 830; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1073.

Treasury and Subordinate Departments—£59,911, *Com.* July 31*, 813; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1071.

Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905, Expenses under—£200,000, *Com.* July 31*, 838; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1074.

Universities and Colleges and Intermediate Education, Wales—£140,400, *Com.* July 31*, 824; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1073.

Wallace Collection—£3,821, *Com.* July 31*, 823; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1073.

Woods, Forests and Land Revenues Office —£12,756, *Com.* July 31*, 813; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1071.

Works and Public Buildings—£45,278, *Com.* July 31*, 813; *Rep.* Aug. 1*, 1071.

Clancy, Mr. J. J. [Dublin Co., N.]

Army Horses—Accommodation for Private Chargers, etc., of Officers, in Government Stables, *Aug. 2*, 1346.

Dublin Ordnance Survey Staff—Case of Mr. J. Fagan, *Aug. 2*, 1381.

Education—Intermediate Board Meetings, Press Admittance to, Publication of Minutes, etc., *Aug. 4*, 1796.

Clancy, Mr. J. J.—*cont.*

Howth Harbour and Ireland's Eye, Unsafe Condition of Sunken Rocks near, alleged, *Aug. 2*, 1379.

Kingstown Police Court — Complaint against Superintendent Talbot, *Aug. 1*, 1063, 1064.

Labourers (Ireland) Bill, Lords' Amendts., *Con., Aug. 1*, 1138, 1142.

Rush Coastguard Station Passage, Public Right of Way through, *Aug. 4*, 1800.

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) Bill, *Con., July 30*, 592.

Clanricarde Estate

Situation on. Eviction of M. Ward, etc. *Os.* Mr. Long, *Aug. 1*, 1439, 1441; Mr. Bryce, 1439, 1452.

Clifden Estate

Schools, Endowment of. *Q.* Mr. Meagher; *A.* Mr. Bryce, *July 30*, 420.

Clifford of Chudleigh, Lord

Dogs Bill, *Com., July 30*, 395, 396, 398.

Education (England and Wales) Bill, 2R., *Aug. 3*, 1502.

Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Bill, *Com., July 30*, 330, 335, 336, 339, 341.

Clonbrock, Lord

Labourers (Ireland) Bill, 2R., *July 27*, 40–42; *Com., July 30*, 367, 368, 371, 380, 387.

Commons' Amendts. to Lords' Amendts., *Con., Aug. 2*, 1310.

Clough, Mr. W. [Yorkshire, W.R., Skipton]

Street Betting Bill, *Com., Aug. 1*, 1162.

Clyda River

Salmon Poaching Prosecution—Payment of Costs incurred by Mr. D. O'Connell, *Q.* Mr. Abraham; *A.* Mr. Cherry. *July 30*, 432.

Clyde, Firth of

Foreshore, Right over and Management of. *Q.* Mr. Watt; *A.* Mr. Kearley, *July 31*, 682.

Clynes, Mr. J. R. [Manchester, N.E.]

Army Barrack Painting Contracts, Fair Wages Clause in, *July 31*, 674.

Coal

Statistical Tables for British Empire and Principal Foreign Countries (1883–1905) Ordered and Presented. *Aug. 3*, 1582.

Coal Mines
Inspection System, Proposals as to Extension of.
Q. Lord Balcarres; *A.* Mr. Gladstone, *July 28*, 215, 216.
Welsh Mines, Inspection of—Salary, etc., of Mr. Atkinson.
Q. Mr. S. Hill; *A.* Mr. Gladstone, *July 28*, 215.

Cochrane, Mr. T. H. [Ayrshire, N.]
Fatal Accidents and Sudden Deaths Inquiry (Scotland) Bill, *Com.*, *July 28*, 283.
National Galleries of Scotland Bill 2R., *July 28*, 248, 250.
Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill, Intro., *July 28*, 266–270.
Workmen's Compensation Bill Insurance—Effect of Clause 1, *July 28*, 216.

Cogan, Mr. D. J. [Wicklow, E.]
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) Bill, *Cont.*, *July 30*, 593.

Coinage and Currency
Nickel Coins, Issue of, instead of Bronze, proposed.
Q. Mr. Essex; *A.* Mr. Asquith, *July 31*, 705.

Colchester, Lord
Education (England and Wales) Bill, 2R., *Aug. 2*, 1236.

Collins, Sir W. J. [St. Pancras, W.]
Channel Islands Merchant Shipping Laws, Proposals as to, *Aug. 2*, 1359.
London Ambulance Service, Proposals as to, *Aug. 2*, 1357.

Colonial Marriages Bill
c. 2R., *July 30*, 583.
Com. and *Rep.*, *Aug. 1*, 1142.
Con. and 3R.* *Aug. 2*, 1459.
l. Commons' Amendts., *Con.*, *Aug. 3*, 1578.
Royal Assent, *Aug. 4*, 1790.

Colonial Office
Secretary of State—Rt. Hon. Earl of Elgin.
Parliamentary Secretary—Mr. W. Churchill.
Vote for, *July 31*, 729; *Aug. 1*, 1070.

Colonial Services
Vote for, *July 31*, 829; *Aug. 1*, 1073.

Colonies and Protectorates
(*See also* names of Colonies, etc.)
Coolie Labour Regulations Return, Date of Presenting.
Q. Mr. Nield; *A.* Mr. Churchill, *July 28*, 213.
Crown Agents, *see that title.*

Colonies and Protectorates.—*cont.*
Report, Annual, Presented, *July 30*, 286, 406.
Statistical Tables Presented, *July 30*, 287, 406.

Committee of Selection
Report Presented, *July 27*, 3.

Congested Districts Board, Ireland
Land Purchased by, Prices paid, etc.
Qs. Mr. Flynn; *As.* Mr. Bryce, *Aug. 1*, 1052.

Congested Districts Board, Scotland
Land Purchase by, Price paid, etc.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. Sinclair, *Aug. 2*, 1323.

Consolidated Fund
Grant out of Towards making good Supply, *Com.** *July 31*, 850; *Rep.** *Aug. 1*, 1137.

Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill
c. 1R., *Aug. 1*, 1137.
2R., *Aug. 2*, 1382.
3R.* *Aug. 4*, 1804.
l. 1R., 2R., and 3R.* *Aug. 4*, 1789.
Royal Assent, *Aug. 4*, 1789.

Consols
Decline in, Losses of Post Office Savings Bank Investors, etc.
Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. Asquith, *July 31*, 704.

Constabulary, Royal Irish
(*See also names of places.*)
Cast off Clothing, Disposal of.
Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Bryce, *July 27*, 66.
Inspectors, age for Retirement of.
Qs. Mr. Murphy; *As.* Mr. Bryce, *July 30*, 442.
Promotion System.
Qs. Mr. Flynn; *As.* Mr. Bryce, *Aug. 2*, 1374, 1375.
Reduction, Proposals as to.
Qs. Mr. Reddy, Mr. J. Redmond; *As.* Mr. Bryce, *July 21*, 722, 723.
Q. Mr. Flynn; *A.* Mr. Bryce, *Aug. 2*, 1374, 1375.
Vote for, *July 31*, 820; *Aug. 1*, 1072.

Coolmountain
School Teacher's Salary, Amount of.
Q. Mr. E. Barry; *A.* Mr. Bryce, *July 31*, 714, 715.

Cooper, Dr. G. [Southwark, Bermondsey]
House of Commons Kitchen Committee Employees, Hours and Conditions of Labour of, *July 30*, 433.

[*cont.*

Cooper, Dr. G.—*cont.*
- Lunacy
  - Commissioners, paid, increasing Number of, proposed, *Aug. 1*, 1117.
  - Inspection of Asylums, Defects of Present System, *Aug. 1*, 1117, 1118.
  - Persons sent to Asylums instead of to Workhouses, growing Practice of, *Aug. 1*, 1119, 1120.
  - Plans for New Buildings, Reasons for Delay in Inspection and Passing of, *Aug. 1*, 1118, 1119.
  - Treatment of Pauper Lunatics, Appointment of Commission of Inquiry into, proposed, *Aug. 1*, 1120, 1121.
  - Visiting Staff from the Outside, Provision of, proposed, *Aug. 1*, 1120, 1121.

Corbett, Mr. A. C. [Glasgow, Tradeston]
- Alcoholic Beverages produced and consumed in various Counties—Return proposed, *July 30*, 429.

Corbett, Mr. T. L. [Down, N.]
- Children who live (or whose Mothers live) in Non-inspected Semi-charitable Institutions, Mortality among, *July 31* 707.
- Factories, Women and Girls working outside Protection of Acts, Necessity for dealing with Question, *Aug. 1*, 1126.
- Glenties Sheep-dipping Inspector, Qualifications of, *Aug. 1*, 1030.
- Malta, Restrictions on Protestants in
  - Promise made to Roman Catholic Archbishop, etc., *July 30*, 453.
  - Protestant Mission Services, Prohibition of, Date of Tabling Correspondence, *July 28*, 212, 213.
- Opium Trade, Proposals as to Legislation to restrict, *July 28*, 221.
  - Indo-Chinese, Proposals for dealing with, *Aug. 2*, 1350.
- Portavogie Harbour Works, Decision as to, *Aug. 1*, 1060.
- Rescue Homes—Jurisdiction of Home Office, *July 31*, 706.

Cork
- Post and Telegraph Office
  - Telegraph Department
    - Overseers, Duties of.
      - *Q.* Mr. A. Roche; *A.* Mr. Buxton, *Aug. 2*, 1379.
    - Staff required in.
      - *Q.* Mr. A. Roche; *A.* Mr. Buxton, *Aug. 2*, 1380.

Cork—*cont.*
- Post and Telegraph Office—*cont.*
  - Telephone Department Vacancies, Method of appointing to.
    - *Q.* Mr. A. Roche; *A.* Mr. Buxton, *Aug. 2*, 1380.
- Registration of Title.
  - Fees, Authority for collecting, etc.
    - *Q.* Mr. Fetherstonhaugh; *A.* Mr. Bryce, *Aug. 4*, 1798.
  - Registrar—Conditions of Appointment of Mr. Wright.
    - *Q.* Mr. Fetherstonhaugh; *A.* Mr. Cherry, *Aug. 2*, 1328.

Cork City Railways and Works Bill
- *c.* Lords' Amendts., *Con.* July 27*, 57.
- *l.* Royal Assent, *Aug. 4*, 1792.

Corporation of London (Blackfriars and other Bridges) Bill
- *c.* Lords' Amendts., *Con. July 30*, 565.
- *l.* Royal Assent, *Aug. 4*, 1792.

Corrib, Lough
- Ferry between Kilbeg and Knockferry, Decision as to Grant for, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. Hazleton; *A.* Mr. Bryce, *July 30*, 439.

Cotton, Sir H. J. S. [Nottingham, E.]
- India
  - Bengal, Eastern—Schoolboys expelled for attending Swadeshi Meeting, *July 30*, 414.
  - Flogging as Judicial Punishment, Abolition of, proposed, *July 31*, 697.
  - Punjab Legislative Council, Reorganisation of, proposed, *Aug. 4*, 1798.
- Tibet Convention—Date of Tabling Ratification, etc., *July 31*, 674.

County Courts
- Vote for, *July 31*, 819; *Aug. 1*, 1072.

County of Durham Electric Power Supply Bill
- *c. Con.** 3R.* *July 30*, 402.
- *l.* Commons' Amendts., *Con.* July 31*, 597.
- Royal Assent, *Aug. 4*, 1792.

Courthope, Mr. G. L. [Sussex, Rye]
- Guards—Musketry Averages, Cost of Mobilising, etc., *July 28*, 210, 211.
- "Montagu," H.M.S., Cost of Salving, *July 28*, 208.

Courtney, Lord
- Transvaal Self-Government Proposals—Terms of New Constitution, *July 31*, 640–646.

Craig, Captain J. [Down, E.]
- Armagh Orange Disturbance—Case of Lucinda Roche, *July 31*, 693.
- Listowel Union Poor Law Relief, Increase in Cost of, *July 31*, 691.
- Militia Sergeants and Buglers on the Permanent Staff, Allowance to, *Aug. 1*, 1041.
- Poor Law Commission, Irish Representation on, *Aug. 2*, 1330.

Craig, Mr. C. C. [Antrim, S.]
- Antrim Magistracy, Political and Religious Opinions of, *Aug. 1*, 1064.
- Dungannon Disturbances—Police Measures to Preserve the Peace, etc., *Aug. 1*, 1061.
- Street Betting Bill, *Com.*, *Aug. 1.*, 1147, 1149, 1157, 1162.

Craik, Sir H. [Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities]
- National Galleries of Scotland Bill, 2R., *July 28*, 255-256.
- Transvaal Chinese Labourers
  - Crimes of—Measures proposed for Protection of White People, etc., *July 30*, 456.
  - Repatriation—Procedure in Case of Change of Mind by Coolie, *Aug. 2*, 1348.

Crediton Gas Bill
- *l.* Commons' Amendts., *Con.* July 27*, 2.
- Royal Assent, *Aug. 4*, 1792.

Crete
- Reform Proposals, Details of.
  - *Q.* Mr. Lonsdale; *A.* Mr. Runciman, *July 30*, 457.

Crewe, Earl of—*Lord President of the Council*
- Education (England and Wales) Bill, 2R, *Aug. 1*, 885, 911, 915, 916, 917, 936, 1006, 1007; *Aug. 2*, 1296, 1297; *Aug. 3*, 1481.
  - Religious Instruction—Powers of Local Authorities to pay Substitutes for Teachers who refuse to give Instruction, *Aug. 3*, 1467, 1468.
- Labourers (Ireland) Bill, 2R., *July 27*, 50-54, *Com.*, *July 30*, 351, 352, 362, 373, 374, 379, 381, 382, 383, 384, 386, 393.
  - Commons, Amendts. to Lords' Amendts., *Con.*, *Aug. 2*, 1312.
- Local Government (Ireland) Act (1898) Amendment Bill, 2R., *Aug. 3*, 1471.
- Public Works (Loans) Bill, 2R., *Aug. 3*, 1468, 1469.
- Religious Instruction in Council Schools—Number of Schools in which no Religious Instruction is given, *July 27*, 5, 6.

Crimean War
- Balaclava Charge Survivors, Pensions of.
  - *Q.* Mr. Dobson; *A.* Mr. Haldane, *Aug. 1*, 1032.

Crimes and Criminal Offences
- Imprisonment in Default of Paying Fines in 1904—Facilities allowed for Payment of Fines, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. Cameron; *A.* Mr. Gladstone, *Aug. 2*, 1333, 1334.

Criminal Appeal Bills
- Return Presented, *Aug. 2*, 1179.

Criminal and Judicial Statistics
- Ireland—Criminal Statistics, Presented *July 31*, 598, 671.

Crombie, Mr. J. W. [Kincardineshire]
- National Galleries of Scotland Bill, 2R., *July 28*, 242.

Crossley, Mr. W. J. [Cheshire, Altrincham]
- Ecclesiastical Commissioner, Licensed Premises on Estates of, *July 31*, 684.
- Street Betting Bill, *Com. Aug. 1*, 1163.

Crown Agents for the Colonies
- Offices of—Administration, work and organisation regulations for.
  - *Qs.* Mr. Walker; *As.* Mr. Churchill, *July 31*, 700, 701.

Crown Lands Bill
- *l.* 2R.* *July 30*, 401.
  - *Com. Rep.* and 3R. *Aug. 1*, 1019.
  - Royal Assent, *Aug. 4*, 1790.

Cullinan, Mr. J. [Tipperary, S.]
- Street Betting Bill, *Com. Aug. 1*, 1151.

Cunard Company
- Government subsidy, amount of, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. Bellairs; *A.* Mr. McKenna, *Aug. 3*, 1589.

Cusack Estate
- Untenanted Land, Disposal of.
  - *Q.* Mr. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Bryce, *July 30*, 421.

Cyprus
- Grant in Aid, Vote for, *July 31*, 830; *Aug. 1*, 1073.

Daly Estates
- Untenanted Lands, Disposal of.
  - *Q.* Mr. Duffy; *A.* Mr. Bryce, *July 30*, 425.

Dalystane
- Labourer's Cottage Scheme—Ownership of Land, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Bryce, *July 30*, 434, 435.

Dalziel, Mr. J. H. [Kirkcaldy Burghs]
- Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) Bill 2R., *Aug. 2* 1410.

Davies, Mr. T. [Fulham]
Electric Lighting Undertakings, Audit of Accounts of, *Aug. 2*, 1360.

Davies, Mr. T. H. [Hackney, N.]
India—Karachi Grain Traffic, Railway Arrangements for Dealing with, *July 30*, 434.

Davies, Mr. W. H. [Bristol, S.]
Bristol Corporation Bill, Lords' Amendments, *Con. Aug. 2*, 1428.

De Salis Estate
Sale proposals for
Q. Mr. Lundon; *A.* Mr. Bryce, *July 30*, 415.

De Vesci Estate
Reinstatement Claim of S. Maxwell.
A. Mr. Delany; *A.* Mr. Bryce, *July 31*, 688.

Dean Forest Bill
l. 2R.* *July 27*, 3.
*Com.** *July 30*, 395.
3R.* *July 31*, 610.
Royal Assent, *Aug. 4*, 1790.

Deanery of Manchester Bill
l. 2R. *July 30*, 401.
Com. Rep. and 3R.* *July 31*, 611.
Royal Assent, *Aug. 4*, 1790.

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Q. Mr. Murphy; *A.* Mr. Bryce, *Aug. 2*, 1374.

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Q. Mr. Gibbs; *A.* Mr. Haldane, *July 31*, 691.

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